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Bhāraśīva

Bhāra = Śiva Śivas

On the Lwanl Glacier Oct., 1930

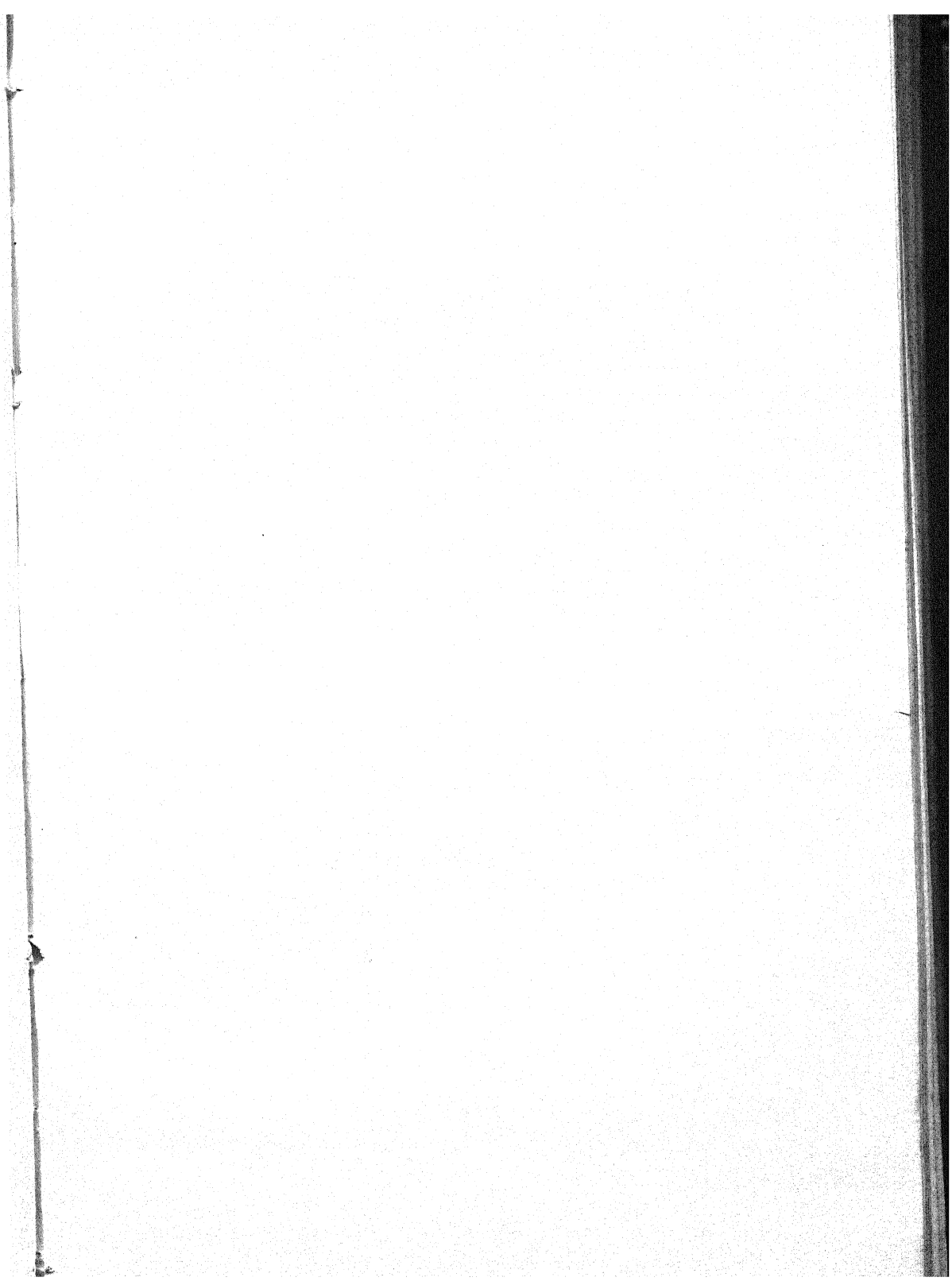
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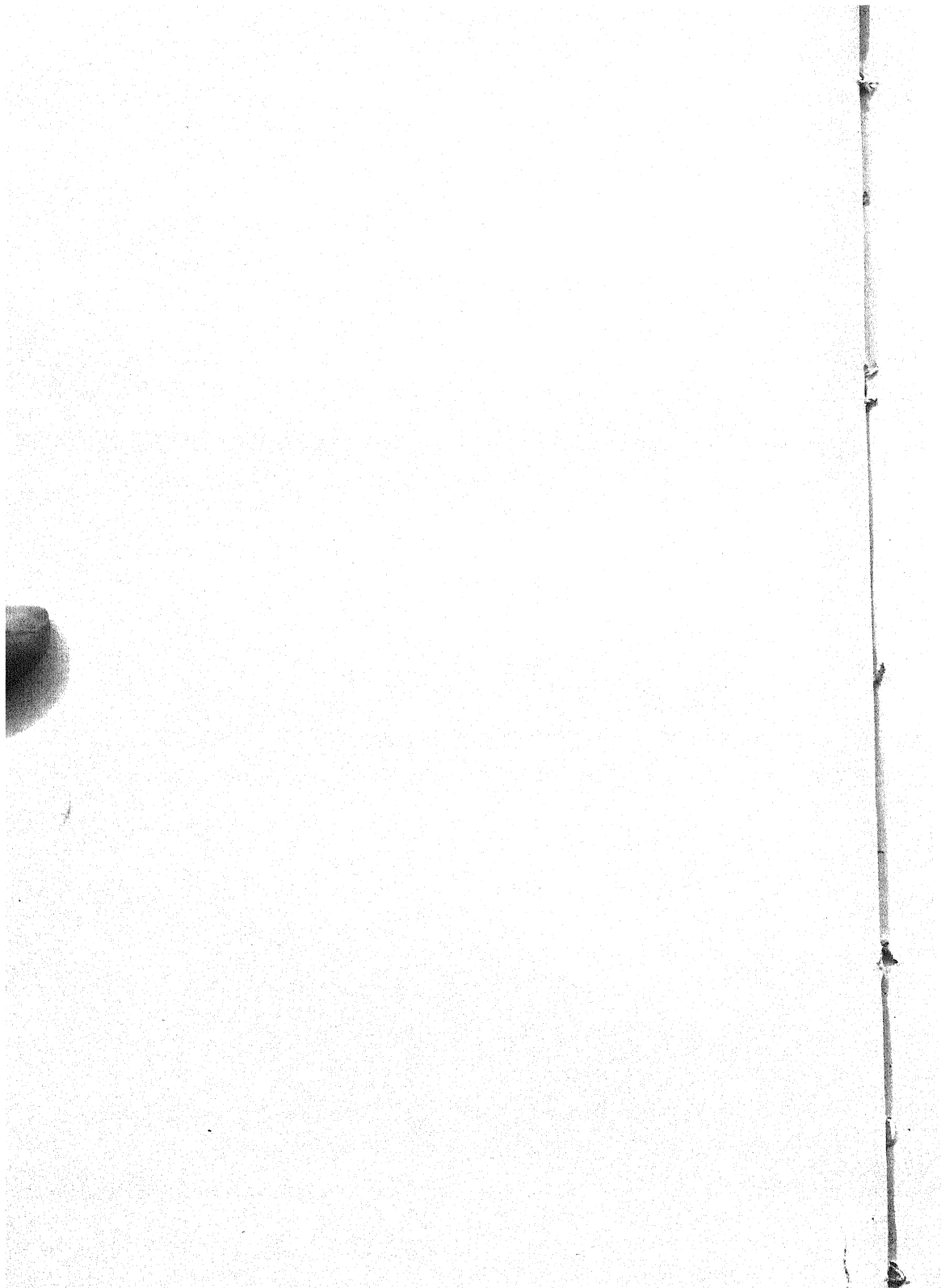
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Pāli plate of Govindachandra of V, S. 1171

Skirts of Nanda Devi





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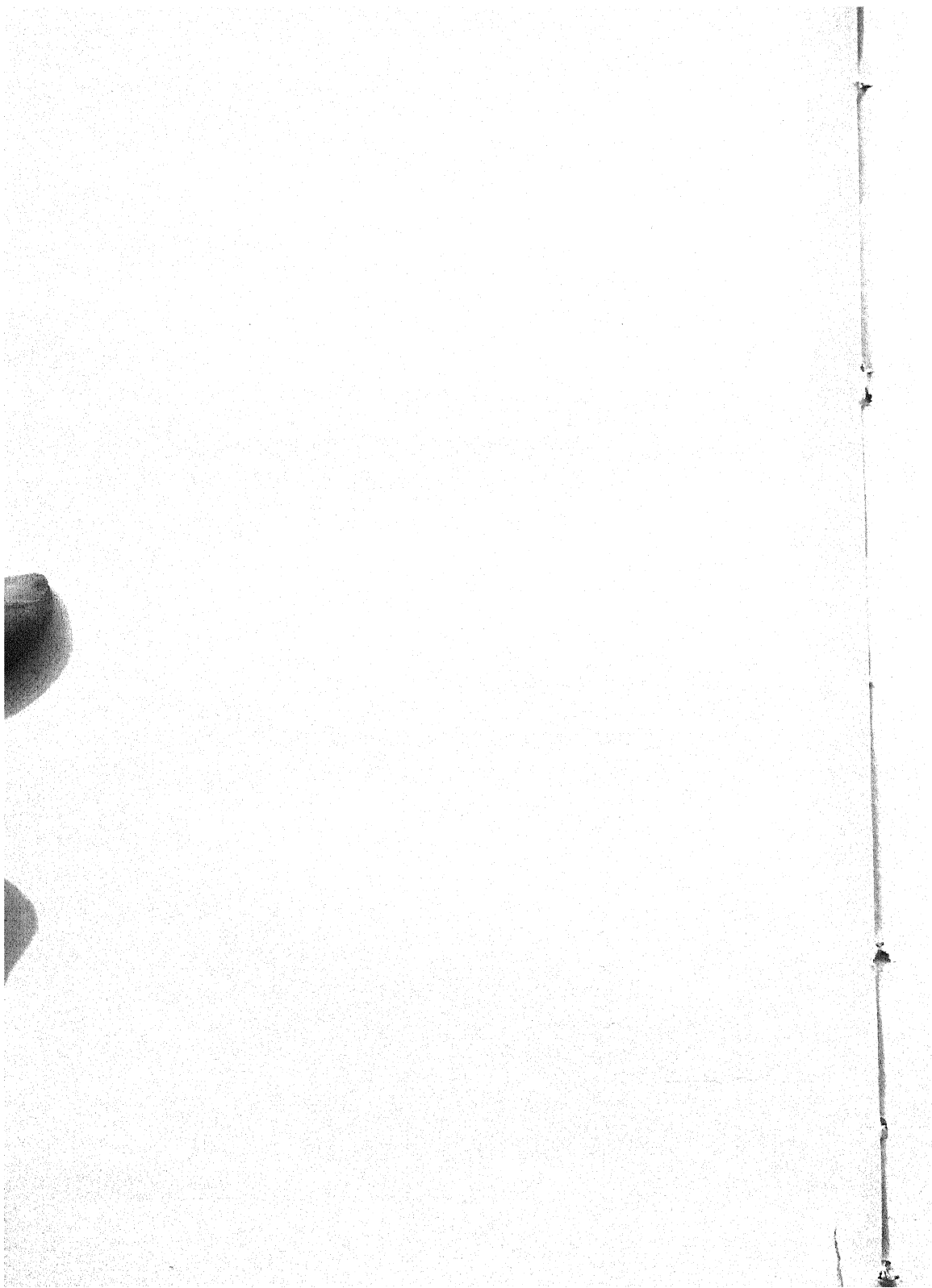


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[PARTS I-II.]

HISTORY OF INDIA
c. 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.
[NĀGA—VĀKĀṬAKA IMPERIAL PERIOD.]
By K. P. Jayaswal.

FOREWORD

This work is divided in five parts: (i) INDIA UNDER THE NĀGA DYNASTY (150 A.D.—284 A.D.), (ii) THE VĀKĀṬAKA EMPIRE (284 A.D.—348 A.D.) with an APPENDIX on the LATER VĀKĀṬAKA KINGDOM (348 A.D.—520 A.D.), (iii) HISTORY OF MAGADHA (31 B.C.—340 A.D.) and SAMUDRA GUPTA'S INDIA, (iv) SOUTHERN INDIA [240 A.D.—350 A.D.] and THE UNIFICATION OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH; and (v) THE EFFECTS OF GUPTA IMPERIALISM. This reconstruction is based primarily on the Purāṇas, and has been executed in consequence of a suggestion of the Editor-in-Chief of the *Indian Antiquary* [1932, p. 100]. The author acknowledges his thanks to Mr. K. K. Roy, M.A., for his ungrudging help in preparing this volume and for several useful suggestions.

The reader will forgive a few repetitions due to the plan of the work having overlapping periods.

July 23rd, 1932.

*

*

*

The period 180 A.D. to 320 A.D. is called the DARK PERIOD. I undertake the work with the prayer

'Lead me from darkness to light.'

K. P. J.

PART I.

India under the Nāga Dynasty [c. 150 A.D.—284 A.D.]

‘Daśāśvamedhāvabhṛitha-snānānām BHĀRA-ŚIVĀNĀM’

‘Of the BHĀRA ŚIVAS who had performed Ten Aśvamedhas followed by baths of completion’—[Vākāṭaka Royal Copper-plate Deeds]

I. INTRODUCTORY.

RE-FOUNDERS OF THE IMPERIAL HINDU THRONE.

1. Dr. Vincent Smith in the last edition (1924), as well as Period regarded as in the earlier editions, of his Early blank. History of India declared:

- A. ‘So much, however, is clear, that Vāsudeva was the last Kushān king who continued to hold extensive territories in India. After his death there is no indication of the existence of a paramount power in Northern India’ (page 290);
- B. ‘Probably numerous Rājas asserted their independence and formed a number of short-lived states but historical materials for the third century is so completely lacking that it is impossible to say what or how many those states were’ (page 290);
- C. ‘The period between the extinction of the Kushān and Āndhra dynasties, about A.D. 220 or 230, and the rise of the imperial Gupta dynasty, nearly a century later, is one of the darkest in the whole range of Indian history’ (page 292).

In other words, the period is a ‘blank’ in the history of India as he put it at page 291. This hopelessness has been tacitly acquiesced in up to this time. After working at the materials available I find that none of the three statements cited above can be accepted and need be repeated in future. The materials are copious, as we shall see below, and for two

sections of the period, scientifically arranged for us by Hindu historians.

2. The statement that there was no paramount power before the Imperial Guptas is thoroughly incorrect and cannot be maintained for a moment. The history of the Imperial Hindu revival is not to be dated in the fourth century with Samudra Gupta, not even with the Vākātakas nearly a century earlier, but with the Bhāra-Śivas half a century earlier still. There is not a line about the Vākātakas in the history of Dr. Vincent Smith, nor a line about the Bhāra-Śivas in any text-book. About the latter I have not seen even a paper written upon in any of the historical or archæological journals, although the main history of both these dynasties is contained in well-attested documents on copper or stone, and as we shall see, fully set out in the Purāṇas, which is supported by coins. The miss and neglect is due to the fact that the editors of those records, Fleet and others, did not read the facts contained in the inscriptions though they read the inscriptions. And as Vincent Smith who surveyed the history of India missed the period, following the lead of Fleet and Kielhorn, the period was declared to be blank. But as a matter of fact it is unusually full as compared with many periods of Indian history. Dr. Fleet while translating the Vākātaka inscriptions even missed the prominent expression *Samrāt*, 'EMPEROR OF ALL-INDIA,'¹ the title of Pravarasena I, who assumed it after performing as many as four sacrifices of imperial sovereignty, that is, four *aśvamedhas*.

3. The Emperor Pravarasena I, of the dynasty of the Vākātakas, who was crowned, as we shall presently see, a generation before the Emperor Samudra Gupta, was the Emperor of Āryāvarta and also a large portion of the South, if not of the whole of the South, im-

Vākātaka Emperor
and the preceding
Power.

¹ See Matsya Purāṇa, ch. 113, verse 15, on the definition of *Samrāt*; in vs. 9-14 the limits of India [as distinguished from Further India, § 149A] are given, and *Samrāt* is the emperor of 'all' (*kṛtsnam*) India.

mediately before Samudra Gupta. And it was the position of that Brahmin Emperor, Pravarasena the Vākātaka, which Samudra Gupta took over from his grandson Rudrasena I, described as Rudra Deva,¹ the leading sovereign of Āryāvarta in the list given in the political biography of Samudra Gupta published on the Allahabad pillar.

4. It was a continuation by Samudra Gupta of that imperial rule and paramount sovereignty which had been in the hands and the keeping of the Vākātakas for 60 years before Samudra Gupta, as is evident from the Vākātaka inscriptions and the Purāṇas. I say advisedly 'in the hands and the keeping of the Vākātakas', for they had inherited that paramountcy from the Bhāra Śivas whose dynasty had performed no less than *Ten aśvamedhas* on the Ganges—a repeated assertion of their imperial position in Āryāvarta. It is needless to state that the *aśvamedhas* were at the cost of the Kushan² Empire, That history written in the orthodox Hindu fashion of these imperial functions sums up the breaking-up of the Kushan Empire and the driving of the Kushans further and further north-west towards the confines of the Salt Range.

5. The Emperor Pravarasena got his son Gautami-putra married to the daughter of the Bhāra Śivas. Bhāra Śiva King, Mahārāja Bhava Nāga. This event was so important in the history of the Vākātaka dynasty that it was incorporated in their dynastic history and repeated in all the official deeds of the Vākātakas. There it is recorded that before this political marriage, the *rājavanśa* (dynasty) of the Bhāra Śivas had performed Ten Horse-Sacrifices on the Ganges which they had acquired by valour; that with the holy water of the Ganges they had been crowned kings. The Bhāra Śivas adopted Śiva as the presiding deity of their empire. The site of the *daśāśvamedha* of the Bhāra Śivas performed on the bank of the Ganges, seems to me to be the sacred site come down to us as *Daśāśvamedha* at Benares,

¹ See § 64, below.

² I have preferred the foreign form *Kushan* and have left it unpunctuated.

the earthly home of Lord Śiva. The Bhāra Śivas issuing from Baghelkhand must have reached the Ganges through what we now call the Ancient Deccan Road terminating at the town of the Goddess Vindhyaśini [Mirzapur, U.P.]. The district of Benares was at one end of the Kushan Empire. It was far removed from its western seat. If a new power arising from the Vindhya hills were to reach the plains and if it went, not through Baghelkhand but through any part of Bundelkhand, it would reach the Jumna and not the Ganges. The site of the home of the Vākātakas also gives an indication: the ancient town of *Vāgāt* (= *Vākāta*) from which the *Vākāta* family derived its name, I have discovered in the northern part of the Orchha State in Bundelkhand; and the Vākātakas were evidently the neighbours of the Bhāra Śivas¹. There are other indications which I shall discuss in their proper places, in the shape of monuments, place-names, and coins which fix the seat of the Bhāra Śivas between Kauśāmbi and Benares.

6. To perform ten *āsvamedhas* before or up to the time of
 Beginnings of the Bhāra Śivas. Pravarasena I and his *āsvamedhas*, the dynasty of the Bhāra Śivas must have been in existence for about at least a century. To put it roughly here, their rise is to be dated about 150 A.D.

7. The real contribution of the Bhāra Śivas is the founda-
 Contribution of the Bhāra Śivas. tion of a new tradition—or rather the revival of an old tradition—the tradition of Hindu freedom and sovereignty. The national law-book, the Mānava Dharma Śāstra, had laid down that Āryāvarta was the God-given land of the Āryas and that the Mlechchhas must live beyond that and outside. This was their political and international birth-right² prescribed by the sacred law of the land. It had to be vindicated. The tradition initiated by the Bhāra Śivas was kept up by the Vākātakas and was taken over by the Guptas and fully maintained by the

¹ There is a pillar at Durehā (Jāso State, Baghelkhand) which bears the inscription *Vākātakānām* and below it their royal wheel-mark. See appendix at the end of the book.

² For this ruling idea see the references cited under § 38.

subsequent emperors from Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya to Bālāditya. If there had been no Bhāra Śivas there would not have come into existence a Gupta Empire and the Gupta Vikramādityas.

8. The history of those Bhāra Śivas is set in lapidary by the Vākāṭaka historiographer. Never so shortly, yet so pregnantly, was a history in miniature set in, as in these three lines

of the copper-plate¹:

ainsabhāra-sannivāsita-Śiva-liṅgōdvahana-Śiva-suparitusṭa-samutpādita-
rājavamsānām parākram=ādhigata-Bhāgīrathy=amala-jala-mūrdhā-
bhishiktānām daśāśvamēdh=āvabhṛitha-snānānām Bhāraśivānām

‘Of [the Dynasty of] the Bhāra Śivas whose royal line owed its origin to the great satisfaction of Śiva on account of their carrying the load of the symbol of Śiva on their shoulders—the Bhāra Śivas who were anointed to sovereignty with the holy water of the Bhāgīrathī which had been obtained by their valour—the Bhāra Śivas who performed their sacred bath on the completion of their Ten Aśvamedhas’

9. The last Kushan emperor was Vāsudeva who was ruling up to the year 98 of the Kushan era as evident from a Mathurā inscription.² Either in the last years of Vāsudeva (c. 165 A.D.) or on his death (176 A.D.) the imperial rule of the Kushans came to an end. The end of the Kushan rule synchronizes with the rise of the Aśvamedhin Bhāra Śivas. When they rise, the power they had to face and break was the imperial Kushan.

II. IDENTIFICATION OF THE BHĀRA ŚIVAS.

10. After a century of Kushan domination, a Hindu king in the person of the Bhāra Śiva king was consecrated to Hindu sovereignty with the holy waters of the Ganges. The significance of this statement is that after an interregnum of hundred years he became the first legal king. In this connection we may recall the Purāṇic statement about the foreign kings in India in those days, namely that they were not consecrated kings: *naiva mūrdhābhishiktās te*.

¹ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 245, 236.

² Lüders, *List*, No. 76 (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. X, supplement).

Now, is it possible that the Purāṇas will fail to record these *Mūrdhābhishikta* kings, consecrated to the throne with Vedic hymns and Vedic rites, a line of lawful kings, who performed not one or two but ten *āsvamedhas* in the sacred land of the Āryas—an achievement which was not to the credit of any of the ancient dynasties of the Kali Age whom the Purāṇas have described? The Śuṅgas performed two, and the Śuṅgas are in the Purāṇic list of the Emperors. The Sātavāhanas performed two, and the Sātavāhanas have been recorded. The Bhāra Śivas, who performed ten, could not have been left out. And in fact, they have not been left out.

11. We have in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions one of the Bhāra Śivas named, and we have in that name that he was a Nāga king—‘of the Nāgas. Bhāra Śivas—[i.e. of the dynasty of the Bhāra Śivas]—Mahārāja Śrī Bhava Nāga’. The Purāṇas describe, after mentioning the fall of the Āndhras and their contemporaries the Tukhāra-Muruṇḍa dynasty [i.e. the dynasty we now call the Imperial Kushan], the rise of Vindhyaśakti on the Kilakilā, that is, the Vākāṭaka dynasty in Bundelkhand, ‘Kilakilā’ being a river near Panna.¹ The Purāṇas in explaining the importance of the rule of the son of Vindhyaśakti begin to describe the Nāga Dynasty. The Nāga Dynasty arose at Vidiśā, the well-known seat of a viceroyalty under the Śuṅgas.

12. The Purāṇas divide the Nāga dynasty of Vidiśā into two parts:
The Nāgas of Vidiśā.

¹ To Rai Bahadur Hira Lal I am indebted for the information that the *Kilakilā* is a small river near Pannā. I have since ascertained, through the kind offices of Mr. Śaradā-Prasad of Satnā (Rewah) that one crosses it on the road Satnā-to-Pannā, about 4 miles E. of Pannā, and the river enters the town of Pannā. It still bears its original name. It finally falls into the Ken under the name *Mahāur*. Probably the entire table-land of Pannā was termed *Kilakilā* at the time. It agrees with the contemporary designations of other territorial units like *Kosalā* and *Mekalā*. [Since the above information I have personally seen the river and found it called ‘Kilkila’ on two tablets on its bridges in Pannā, erected in 1870 A.D., marked ‘Kilkila Bridge’.]

(A) Those kings who flourished before the end of the Śuṅgas, and

(B) those kings who flourished after their end.

We must recall here that the Matsya and the Bhāgavata chronicle¹:

‘Suśarmānam prasahya (or, pragrhya) tam

‘Śuṅgānām ch=aiva yach=chhesham kshapitvā tu
balaṁ tadā.’

‘[The Āndhra king] having taken Suśarman (the Kāṇva king) a prisoner and having destroyed whatever had been left of the Śuṅga power at that time.’

This statement would refer to the Śuṅga power which had been left in Vidiśā, their ancestral home. And as the Purāṇas here are dealing with the Vaidiśa kings, the statement about the Vaidiśa Nāgas coming into power before and after the Śuṅgas, must refer to the Āndhra or Sātavāhana period when the Sātavāhanas become the emperors of Āryāvarta in addition to their being the emperors of Dakṣiṇāpatha, i.e. about 31 B.C.²

13. The kings before 31 B.C. in the Nāga dynasty, according to the Purāṇic chronicles, were:

(1) *Śeṣha*, ‘king of the Nāgas’, ‘conqueror of his enemy’s capital’ (Surapura³—according to the Brahmanḍa).

(2) *Bhogin*—son of King Śeṣha.

(3) *Rāmachandra*, chandrāmśu,⁴ as the second descendant, i.e. a grandson of Śeṣha.

(4) *Nakhavān* (or, *Nakhapāna*), i.e. *Nahapāna*.

It is noteworthy that the Vishṇu Purāṇa omits this name from the list, evidently for the reason that it was not to be read in the line of the Nāgas.

¹ Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text*, p. 38.

² J.B.O.R.S., I, 116:

Pushyamitra: acc. 188 B.C.

Śuṅgas: 112 years } 157

Kāṇvas: 45 years } 31 B.C.

³ *Surapura* may be *Indrapura*, now *Indor Kherā* in the Buland-Shahr district, where a large number of the so-called Mathurā coins have been found. See A.S.R., XII, p. 36 ff.

⁴ I do not read *Chandrāmśu* separately, as the Vishṇu Purāṇa does not read it so.

- (5) *Dhana-*, or *Dharma-varman* (*Dharma*, according to the *Vishṇu*).
- (6) *Vaṅgara*.¹ The *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* without naming him call him the fourth descendant, i.e. he was the fourth descendant from *Śeṣha*; probably *Dharma* (5) was the third descendant of *Śeṣha*.

The *Purāṇas*, after this, make the definite division from the next king, the *Bhāgavata* omitting the previous names altogether and the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* stating that the next kings flourished '*after the end of the Śuṅga Dynasty*',² that is, after the conquest by the *Sātavāhanas* of *Nahapāna*, and their arrival in Central India and their conquest of the *Kāṇvas* and the *Śuṅgas*. These post-*Śuṅga* *Nāgas* were:

- (7) *Bhūta Nandi* or *Bhūti Nandi*.
 (8) *Śiśu Nandi*.
 (9) *Yaśo Nandi* [younger brother of *Śiśu Nandi*]; other kings are left unnamed.

14. Before proceeding further we should notice here that the *Vāyu* calls these *Vaidīśa Nāgas* The *Vṛisha* or *Nandi* *Nāgas*. '*Vṛisha*'³—*Śiva's* bull, i.e. '*Nandi*', with which the names of the kings coming after the close of the *Śuṅga* dynasty end. It seems that the title *Bhāra Śiva*, which was taken up later, is connected conceptually with the '*Vṛisha*' of the *Vāyu* and the '*Nandi*' of the names.

15. There is a positive confirmation of the existence of these post-*Śuṅga* *Nāgas* in the first *Nāga* inscription. century A.D. At *Padampawāyā*, which is the site of *Padmāvati*, a statue of *Yaksha Maṇibhadra* was dedicated by some members of a public body in the fourth year of the reign of '*King Svāmin Śiva Nandi*'.⁴

¹ This name, as a name, is traceable in a village-name *Vaṅgara* [near *Nāgaudh*] in the *Khoh* copper-plate of *Mahārāja Hastin*. G.I., page 105.

² भूति[भूत]नन्दिस्तथापि वैदिशे तु भविष्यति राजानां तु कुलस्थाने । [Par-giter's PT., p. 49, n. 15.]

³ दृष्टान् वैदिशकांश्चापि भविष्यांश्च निबोधत । (II. 37-360.)

⁴ *Archæological Survey of India Report*, 1915-1916, p. 106, plate LVI.

The script of the inscription is earlier than that of the early Kushans. The 'i'-vowel-marks do not curve and are straight; seriph is not developed. The style of the Yaksha image is also early. The script will place the record in the first century A.D. Śiva Nandi would be one of the unnamed kings coming after Yaśaḥ Nandi. As the Purāṇas generally omit the names when a dynasty comes under an overlordship, Śiva Nandi was probably the king superseded by Kanishka. It is stated in the Purāṇas that Padmāvati passed under a ruler named Vinva-phāni who is to be identified with the viceroy of Kanishka, Mahākshatrapa Vanaspara (§ 33). Śiva Nandi up to his fourth year was an independent king, for the inscription is dated in his regnal years and not in the Kushan Era. Under the Kushans the dating was universally in their imperial era. The royal style '*svāmī*' is exactly after the fashion of the earlier Sāta-vāhanas.¹ It was a term denoting '*sovereign*' which was borrowed from Hindu politics, and which was adopted by the early Śaka rulers of Mathurā, for instance, in the Āmohinī inscriptions of Samvat 42 of the reign of '*Svāmī*' Mahākshatrapa Śodāsa—a style which went out of use at Mathurā since the rule of Kanishka.

16. It seems that from the time of Bhūta Nandi when the Padmāvati dynasty was re-established as treated by the Bhāgavata, they made Padmāvati their capital. A famous Śivaliṅgam called Svarnabindu was established there, and seven centuries later in the time of Bhavabhūti it was popularly alleged (*ākhyāyate*) that it had no human origin. The platform of the Svarnabindu Śiva has been discovered by Mr. Garde at Pavāyā.² An image of

¹ See Lüders, List No. 1100 for Puṣumāvi. Cf. No. 1174 for Nahapāna. See below § 26 A.

² A.S.R., 1915-1916, p. 100 ff. On the description of Padmāvati, see Khajuraho inscription, E.I., Vol. I, page 149. The description (1000-1 A.D.) is worth quoting. It runs :—'There was on the surface of the earth a matchless (town), decorated with lofty palaces, which is recorded to have been founded here between the golden and silver ages by some ruler of the earth, a lord of the people, who was of the Padma dynasty, (a town which is) read of in histories (and) called *Padmāvati* by people versed in the Purāṇas. This most excellent (town) named Padmāvati built in an

Nandi with human body and bull's head has also been found there, and also a number of sculptures in the 'Gupta style'.

17. Let us take a series of coins which, in my opinion, belongs to this early Nāga dynasty. Some of the coins are generally assigned to Mathurā. In the British Museum there are coins of *Śeshadāta*, *Rāmadāta*¹ and *Śiśu-chandra-dāta*. The script of the *Śeshadāta* coin is the oldest and belongs to the first century B.C. In the same series there are coins of *Rāmadāta*. These three kings, in my opinion, are identical with *Śeṣha-Nāga*, *Rāma-chandra* and *Śiśu-Nandi* of this dynasty. Amongst themselves they are connected by their coinage—a fact already recognised.² The coins of *Śeṣha* and *Śiśu* are intimately connected with those of *Virasena*, as already pointed by Prof. Rapson (J.R.A.S., 1900, page 115). *Virasena*'s coin, reproduced by Prof. Rapson, has a serpent rising over the throne, on which is seated a female figure holding a jar in her up-raised right hand, the figure being evidently that of *Gaṅgā*. Another coin of *Virasena*, reproduced by General Cunningham, has a *nāga* standing by a male figure. The *Nāga* figures there, on the analogy of the coins of *Nava Nāga* (§20), complete the name as '*Virasena Nāga*'. The *Vṛisha* or *Nandi*, serpent and *triśūla* are prominent on the *Nāga* coins.

18. The word '*dāta*' in *Śiśu cham. dāta*³ and *Śeṣha dāta*, *Rāma dāta*, etc. may not correspond to '*datta*', as hitherto held, but to '*dātri*' or '*dātva*', which is evident in *Śiśuchandra dāta*—meaning 'liberal,' 'sacrificer,' 'protector,' 'donor'. This is further evident from the legend '*Rāmasa*'—without *dāta*—on some coins of the series.⁴

unprecedented manner, was crowded with lofty rows of streets of palaces, in which tall horses were curvetting: with its shining white high-topped walls, which grazed the clouds, it irradiated the sky; (and) it was full of bright palacial dwellings that resembled the peaks of the Snowy Mountain.'

¹ Mr. Carlleve found at Indor Kherā a coin of '*Rāma*' (*Rāmasa*) without the addition of *dāta*. A.S.R., Vol. XII, p. 43.

² Rapson, J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 109.

³ J.R.A.S., 1900, pl. opposite p. 97, fig. No. 14.

⁴ A.S.I., Vol. XII, p. 43.

19. There are also coins of *Uttama dāta* and *Purusha dāta*,¹ *Kāma dāta* and *Śiva dāta* (mentioned by Prof. Rapson as *Kāmadatta* and *Śivadatta* in J.A.R.S., 1900, p. 111), and also of *Bhava dāta* [illustrated in J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 97, pl., fig. No. 13, which, read by Prof. Rapson as of *Bhīmadāta*, really reads as of *Bhavadāta*]². Against these there are the unnamed kings of the line in the Purāṇas amongst whom figures *Śiva Nandi* of the Pavāyā inscription who can now be easily identified with *Śiva dāta* of the coins.

21. Thus we have the following names of the dynasty against which we have coins of this connected series:—

- | | | |
|--|----|---------------------------|
| (1) Śesha, Nāgarāja | .. | (coins) Śesha dāta. |
| (2) Rāma chandra | .. | „ Rāma dāta. |
| (3) Śīsu Nandi | .. | „ Śīsu chandra dāta. |
| (4) Śiva Nandi (from inscription: one of the unnamed kings of the Purāṇas) | .. | „ Śiva dāta. ³ |
| (5) Bhava [Nandi?] [one of the unnamed kings] | .. | Bhava dāta. |

22. Whether the early Nāga princes, Śīsu Nāga and others, ruled at Mathurā or not we cannot say. For, Mathurā was the mart where coins from adjoining territories, e.g. Padmāvati, Vidiśā, Ahichhatra, etc., came. We have, however, the Purāṇic datum that they ruled at Vidiśā and that the first king, Śesha, was the conqueror of his enemy's capital. In view of the fact that the Brahmaṇḍa gives *Surapura* as the description of the town conquered, we would be authorised in assuming that he took *Indrapura*, now in the Buland-shahr district, a very important town in those days⁴ where a number of coins of these early Nāgas have been found. We do find Śiva Nandi's rule extending up to Padmāvati. In any case, the political connection of Mathurā with Vidiśā had been very old, and it was again

¹ V. Smith, C.I.M., pp. 190, 192.

² Cf. V. Smith, C.I.M., p. 193.

³ Described by Prof. Rapson as *Śiva-datta* in J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 111.

⁴ A.S.R., Vol. XII, p. 36 ff.

firmly established in the later Nāga history. The presumption that the earlier Nāgas played a part in ousting the Mathurā satraps is not discounted by the fact that we have a line of kings at Mathurā with 'Mitra'-ending names in coins found there in the period succeeding the satraps, as these coins seem to be later.¹

The Vidiśā Nāgas'
Chronology.

§ 22A. Approximately the following table will represent the chronology of the Vidiśā Nāgas:

C. 110 B.C. to 31 B.C. 5 successions but four generations.	Śesha (110-90 B.C.)	(Coins)
	Bhogin (90-80 B.C.)	(No coins)
	Rāma-chandra (80-50 B.C.)	(Many coins)
	Dharma-varman (50-40 B.C.)	(No coins)
	Vaṅgara (40-31 B.C.)	(No coins)

The time of the kings after 31 B.C.—probably henceforward at Padmāvati—would be as below:

Circa 20 B.C.-10 B.C. Bhūta Nandi (No coins).

10 B.C.-25 A.D. Śīśu Nandi (Many coins).

C. 25 A.D.-30 A.D. Yaśaḥ Nandi (No coins).

[The unnamed kings in the Purāṇas: under whom will come, c. 50 A.D., Śiva Nandi (from the inscription of his 4th year and from coins as 'Śiva dāta'); c. 80 to 175 A.D., comes the Kushan rule with the withdrawal of the Nāga kings to Purikā and Nāgapura-Nandi-vardhana in the Central Provinces (§§ 31A, 44).]

Reconstructing the list of the early Nāgas, we get the following kings:—

1. Śesha Nāga.
2. Bhogin.
3. Rāma chandra.
4. Dharma-varmā.
5. Vaṅgara.
6. Bhūta Nandi.
7. Śīśu Nandi.
8. Yaśaḥ Nandi. [We know the relationships of the kings up to No. 8, § 13.]

¹ Vincent Smith, C.I.M., p. 190.

9 to 13 :

Purusha dāta	} Five kings from inscription and coins. (Order of suc- cession uncertain.)
Uttama dāta	
Kāma dāta	
Bhava dāta	
Śiva Nandi or Śiva dāta	

They cover about 200 years, from about c. 110 B.C. to 78 A.D.

III. THE SENIOR NĀGA DYNASTY AND THE VĀKĀTAKAS.

23. The Senior Nāga dynasty merged into the Vākātakas by a marriage, according to the Purāṇas, which is confirmed, as we shall see, by the Vākāṭaka inscriptions. After Yaśaḥ Nandi, say the Purāṇas, 'there will be kings in the line of Yaśaḥ Nandi' or in the Vidiśā line :

tasya = ānvaye bhaviṣhyanti rājānas tatra yas tu vai
dauhitraḥ Śisuko nāma Purikāyām nṛipo 'bhavat¹

'In his line there will be kings, and therein he who was a daughter's son, popularly called the Infant, became king at Purikā.² In place of *rājānas tatra yas tu (dauhitraḥ)*, some manuscripts read *rājānas tam* [or, *te*] *trayas tu vai*, which is a clear misreading, because the article 'te' before 'trayaḥ' would not be needed, and *tam* would give no meaning. If the reading 'trayaḥ' (three) be there, which I doubt, it will have to be interpreted as three lines of kings arising from Yaśaḥ Nandi and not three kings, in view of what the Viṣṇu says later, that the *Nava Nāgas*³ ruled from three capitals, Padmāvati, Mathurā, and Kāntipurī. The

¹ P.T., p. 49, n. 23.

² On Purikā, see Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 262, J.R.A.S., 1910, 445. The location agrees with Hoshangabad.

³ 'Nava-Nāgāḥ Padmāvatyām Kāntipurīyām Mathurāyām; anu-Gaṅgā-Prayāgam Māgadhā Guptās cha bhokṣhyanti.' As the Guptas are qualified by 'Māgadhāḥ', so the Nāgas are qualified by the word 'Nava'. In both cases the Purāṇa does not give any number. It cannot mean here 'nine'. It may mean either the 'New', 'Later', Nāgas or the Nāgas of Nava's Dynasty. See § 26.

dynasty of *Yasaḥ Nandī*, or at least one line of it, lapsed and got merged into 'the daughter's son', popularly known as the 'Infant'. The *Nāgas* had, under the evident pressure of the *Kushans*, left *Padmāvati*. We have the definite statement in the *Purāṇas* that *Vinvasphāṇi* ruled at *Padmāvati* and ruled up to *Magadha* (§§ 33-34). Therefore, we may take it that about 80-100 A.D. the *Nāga* dynasty takes shelter, away from the trunk road between *Mathurā* and *Vidiśā*, into the inaccessible jungles of the Central Provinces (§ 31 A).

24. The *Purāṇas*, when they reach 'the Infant' in the *Nāga* line, again take up the line of *Vindhyaśakti* in the person of *Vindhyasakti's* son, about whom they say that he was popularly known¹ as *Pravīra*, 'the Great Hero'. The *Vishṇu* expressly states that the two, the Infant and the Great Hero, ruled together: '*Śīśuka-Pravīrau*.' The *Vāyu* applies to them a plural verb, '*bhokshyanti*'—a *Prakritism* for the dual.² The *Bhāgavata* omits the Infant altogether and only gives *Pravīra*. It is thus evident that the *Purāṇic* historians are signifying here that the Infant succeeded to the territories of the *Nāga* king, his maternal grandfather, and that in the name of the grandson (the Infant), *Pravīra* son of *Vindhyaśakti* ruled. The joint rule is emphasised by the word '*ch=āpi*' ('*Vindhyaśakti-sutaś chāpi*') of the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa*. The *Vishṇu* expressly places the Infant first while the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* imply it. The *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* give a rule of 60 years to *Pravīra*, at '*Purī Kāñchanakā*' or at '*Purikā and Chanakā*'³, the latter reading being, more likely, correct, owing to the presence of the 'and' [*cha*]. All this is fully confirmed by, and fully tallies with, the known details of the *Bhāra Śiva* and *Vākātaka* history as contained in inscriptions (§ 25).

¹ प्रवीरो नाम वीर्यवान्.

² Pargiter, PT., p. 50, n. 31.

³ '*bhokshyanti cha samā shastīm purīm Kāñchanakāñ cha vai*' where, it is possible to read, following the *Prakrit* forms *Pulakā* and *Chalakā* of Pargiter's *e Vāyu*, '*Purikām Chanakāñ cha vai*'. *Chanakā* may be the same as *Nachnā*. Such transpositions of syllables are a common phonetic

25. According to the Vākātaka inscriptions¹ Gautamī-putra, son of the Emperor Pravarasena and father of Rudrasena I, did not succeed, but Rudrasena I both as the grandson of the Emperor Pravarasena and as the grandson of the Bhāraśiva Mahārāja Bhava Nāga, succeeded; and with this marked distinction that he comes in as the maternal grandson of the Bhāraśiva first and then as a Vākātaka—quite unlike Samudra Gupta who comes in the inscriptions as a Gupta king first and as a Liichhavi grandson next. In one of the Vākātaka copper-plates (Bālāghāt—E.I., vol. IX, 270) Rudrasena I is expressly described as a 'Bhāra Śiva' Mahārāja [Bhāraśivānām Mahārāja-Śrī-Rudrasenasya]. The Vishṇu Purāṇa is here thus fully supported by the Vākātaka dynastic inscriptions. Then, the Vākātaka inscriptions mark off the period at the death of Rudrasena I and separate it from the next Vākātaka period commencing with Prithivīśeṇa I, his son and successor. This is, as we shall see later, because of the extinction of the imperial position of the Vākātakas with the defeat and death of Rudrasena at the hands of Samudra Gupta [§ 52 ff], who calls him 'Rudradeva', just as in the Nepal inscriptions *Vasantasena* is called *Vasantadeva*.² At the accession of Prithivīśeṇa I the dynasty had completed 100 years with which the inscriptions mark off the previous period which is the period of independence: '*varshaśatam=abhivardhamāna-kośa-daṇḍa-sādhana*'.³ There is '96 years'

phenomenon. Nachnā is an ancient capital in the Ajayagarh State where Vākātaka inscriptions and monuments have been found. [A.S.R., XXI, 95.] The name *Chanakapura* is known to the Jaina literature as the older name of Rājagriha [*Abhidhāna-Rājendra*]. *Chanakā* will mean 'celebrated'. Very likely *Kāñchanakā* and *Chanakā* were alternative names. The Kalki-Purāṇa (III, 14, 2-21; Venkatesvara ed., p. 298) gives the name of the capital of the Nāgas as *Kāñchanī purī*, which was a secluded (*guptā*) hill-fortress (*giridurgāvṛtā*). See also § 60 on Nachnā.

¹ Fleet, G.I., pp. 237, 245: भारशिवानां महाराज-बौधसेनस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य-पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानां महाराज-बौधसेनस्य

² Fleet, G.I., *Introduction*, pages 186 to 191.

³ '[Who belonged to an uninterrupted succession of sons and sons' sons], whose treasure and means of government had been accumulating for a hundred years' [Fleet].

given to the dynasty of Vindhyaśakti in the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa.¹ The '100 years' of the inscription stands for what we will say to-day—'well-nigh a century'. The result is that the identity of the Bhāraśivas with the family of Bhūta-Nandi Nāga is established.

IV. THE KINGS AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE BHĀRA ŚIVAS.

26. Classified under a tentative name [*De*]va we have a coin of the Kauśāmbī mint which is reproduced by Vincent Smith in the Catalogue of Indian Museum, page 206, plates XXIII, 15 and 16. The coin is 'common in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh'. The first letter of it has not been read with any confidence uptill now. I have compared this letter with the letters occurring in the scripts from the first century A.D. to the third and I read it as 'Na'. The *n* is of the early Kushan type.² The coin is 'Navasa' and above 'Navasa' there is a figure of a nāga (serpent) with raised hood. It stands for the dynastic name *Nāga* which is expressly given on other coins of the dynastic series (§ 26B). I read it as the coin of N a v a N ā g a. The palm symbol occurring here occurs on the coins of the series and on Bhāraśiva monuments (§ 46A).

This coin has been a great puzzle to numismatists.³ Its large area point to the king having been an important figure in history. But his personality could not be discovered, his name and dynasty remained concealed. These things are certain about him:

¹ समाः षष्ठवर्ति भूला [ज्ञाला], दृष्टिवी तु गमिष्यति. P.T., p. 48, ns. 86, 88—

'On completion of 96 years, the Empire (see Part III, § 125, below) will pass away.'

² See the *N*'s in E. I., vol. i, pl. opposite p. 388, no. 2A. of the year 15, no. 7 B of the year 35; cf. also in vol. ii, p. 205, no. 20 of the year 79.

³ Cf. V. Smith, C.I.M., p. 199: 'The *Devasa* class (separately numbered) is puzzling. The coins are common in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and a good specimen which I formerly possessed came from Kōsam in the Allahabad District. The upper characters look like numerals in the old notation. The reading *devasa* is due to Prof. Rapson. The first character, being peculiar in form, has been read

- (1) He was a king who ruled in the United Provinces.
- (2) His coins were issued from Kauśāmbī where they are often found and the coins have symbols and fabric of the Hindu mint of Kauśāmbī.
- (3) His coins are of the same series which Dr. Smith has published on Plate XXIII of the C.I.M., and called them 'unassigned' (see below, § 26 B).
- (4) His coinage bears affinity with the Vidiśa-Mathurā Nāga coins.
- (5) He had a reign of at least 27 years, as his coins are dated in the years 6, 20 and 27.¹
- (6) By his coinage he is connected with Padmāvati and Vidiśā on the one hand and with Virasena and the kings of the Kauśāmbī coins on the other.

As we shall see in § 26 B below 'the Kauśāmbī coins' are really Bhāraśiva coins. Several of them bear names ending in '*Nāga*'. This *N a v a N ā g a* of our coins seems to me to be no other than the king after whose name the Purāṇas designate the *N a v a N ā g a* or *N a v a N ā k a* Dynasty. He was the founder of the *Nava Nāga* dynasty whose official title was *Bhāraśivas*. The letters on his coins being in form identical with those of the Huvishka-Vāsudeva records, we should take him as a contemporary of Vāsudeva and assign him approximately to 140-170 A.D.

§ 26 A. About 175 or 180 A.D., we find a Nāga king re-establishing Hindu sovereignty at Mathurā. It was *Vira-sena*. The rise of Virasena is a turning point not only in the

Bhāraśiva Power at Mathurā, established c. 175-180 A.D. under Virasena.

Nāga history but also in the history of Āryāvarta. His coins have been largely found in Northern India, almost all over the United Provinces, and also in the Punjab.² They are most common at Mathurā where Cunning-

generally as *Ne*, but *De* appears to be the correct reading. There is nothing to indicate who *Deva* was.'

¹ V. Smith, C.I.M., p. 206.

² In the words of Mr. Vincent Smith, they 'are tolerably common in the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab'. J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 876.

ham obtained about a hundred. Carlyle obtained thirteen at Indor Kheṛā, Bulandshahr district. They have been also collected in the Etah district, as well as at Kanauj and at other places in the Farukhabad district.¹ It is thus evident that he occupied Mathurā and ruled all over the Āryāvarta Doab. 'The commonest variety' of his coinage is the small rectangular piece 'with a palm tree on obverse'² and a figure seated on a throne³ (V. Smith, C.I.M., p. 191). The palm tree, as already pointed out above, is a Nāga symbol. It recurs, as we shall see later, in the architectural monuments of the Bhāraśivas (§ 46A). Another variety of his coinage is the one illustrated by General Cunningham in his *Coins of Ancient India*, pl. VIII, fig. 18, where a human figure⁴ probably seated, holds a standing nāga. A third issue is illustrated by Prof. Rapson in J.R.A.S., 1900, fig. 15, in the plate facing page 97, where a female figure is seated on a canopied throne and a nāga rises from the bottom of the throne up to the chhatra (canopy) as if upholding the canopy and protecting the throne. It is the figure of Gaṅgā as the right-hand holds a jar.⁵ There is a palm tree on the reverse flanked by a symbolic design of the same type on each side of the tree. The coin is artistically connected with those of Nava; the Nāga figure is made to complete the title. It is dated like Nava's. The *nāga* represents the dynasty and the palm tree, the royal emblem. In the issue where the nāga rises up to the chhatra of the throne, probably a double significance is artistically intended to denote *Ahi-chhatra*, i.e. it is the issue of the Ahi-chhatra mint. There is also an issue of the Padmāvatī mint of this king,⁶ with the legend *Mahārāja V(i)*

See also 'Catalogue of Coins in Lahore Museum', Pt. III, 128; Rodgers, C.I.M., Pt. III, pp. 32-33.

¹ V. Smith, C.I.M., 191.

² *Ibid.*, p. 191.

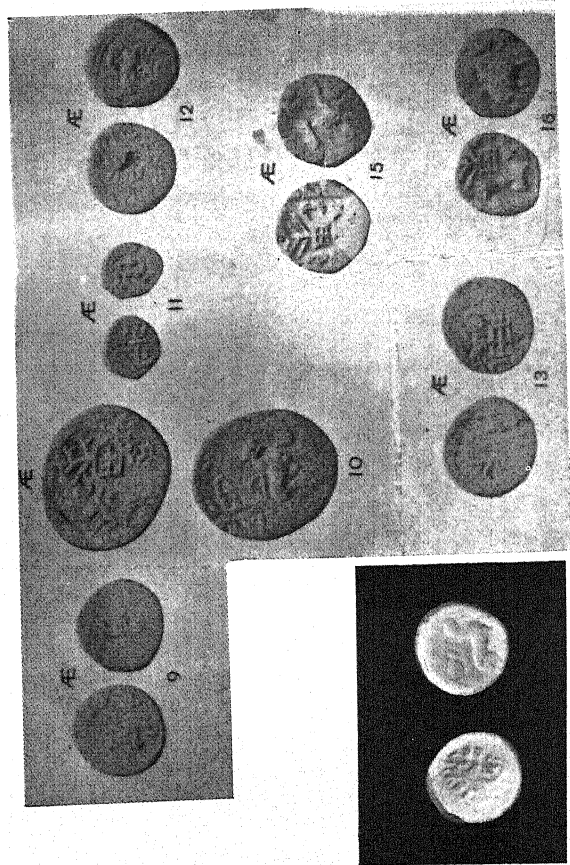
³ The *chhatra* or canopy part of the throne has been often mistaken for a crown. [Cf. C.I.M., p. 197.]

⁴ See Plate I herein. The reproduction of Cunningham is a hand-copy, not a photograph.

⁵ See Plate I herein. [The standing figure in the cast coin of the period in C.I.M., pl. XXIII, fig. 1 seems to be of Gaṅgā.]

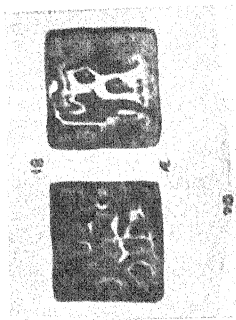
⁶ Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, pl. II, figs. 13 and 14.

Bhārasīva Coins.

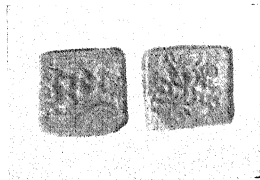


Traya Nāga
(*Indian Museum*)

[C. I. M. Plate XXIII.]

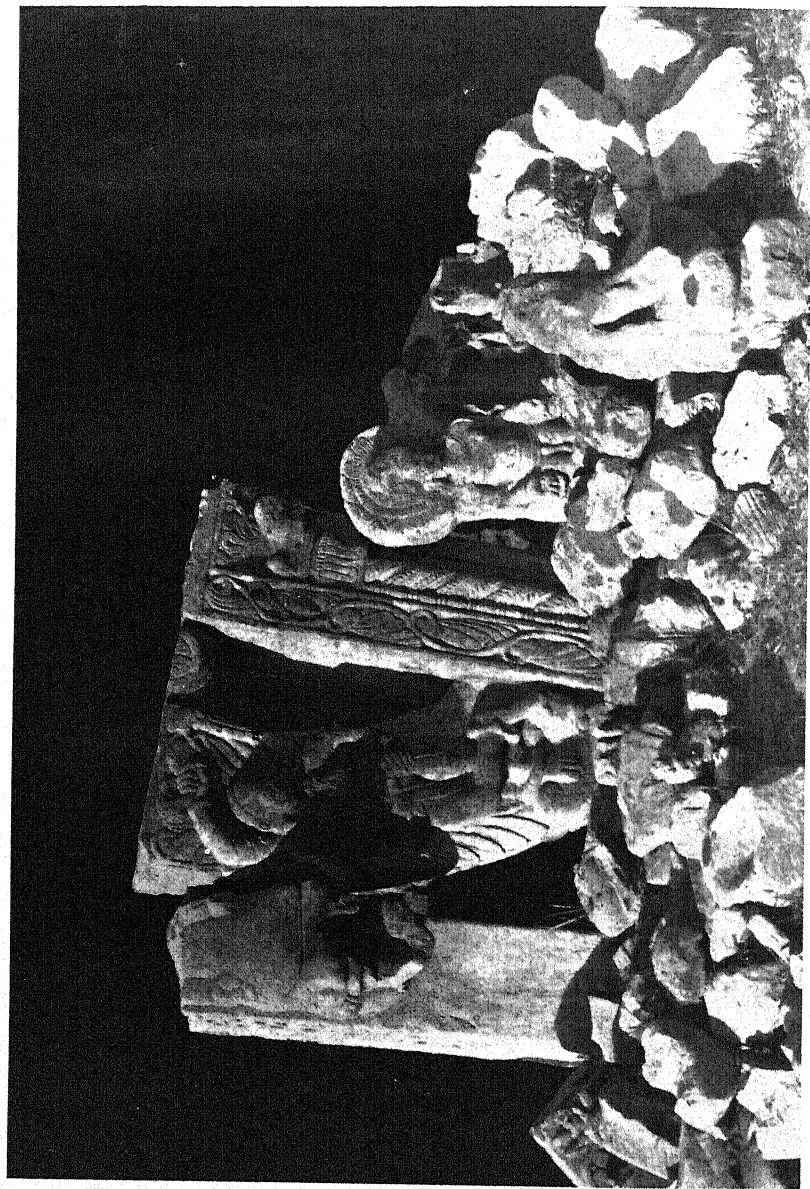


C. A. I. Plate VIII.



J. R. A. S., 1900, P. 97.
Virasena.

Bhāra Siva Sculptures, cir. 200 A.D., at Jānkhat.



Probably a Makara
head, bearing
Virasena's
inscription.

Gaṅgā on Makara
(Royal emblem of the
Bhāra Sivas) forming
door-jamb of a Temple.

Lion-Capital
pilaster,
(Bhumara
Style).

Two-handed
God
(Bhumara
Style).

Indistinct
Figure.

and a figure of the peacock which is the 'vāhana' of the god Virasena or Mahāsena. It is the earliest coin of the series of the Padmāvatī Nāgas [§ 27]. All these coins go back to the Hindu system, both in weight and shape and in the matter of symbolic language. In other words, Virasena's inscription. Virasena discarded the Kushan coinage. We have also an inscription of this king discovered by Sir Richard Burn thirty-six years¹ back, at a village called Jānkhaṭ in the Tirwa tahsil of the district of Farukhabad. It is now published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, p. 85, edited by Mr. Pargiter. There are a number of broken sculptures and carved pieces, and this inscription is on the head and mouth of a sculptured animal.² It bears the same royal symbols as the coin reproduced by Prof. Rapson. There is a rough representation of a tree, which on the analogy of the coins is to be taken as a palm tree. The side decorations are the conventional marks denoting the same thing as on the coin, but the significance of which is yet undisclosed. I regard the record as one of a royal foundation on account of the royal symbols. The inscription is dated in the thirteenth year of the reign of 'Svāmin Virasena' (*Svāmisa Virasenasa saṁvatsare* 10, 3). The other portion of it is too fragmentary to give the object of the record. It is dated in the fourth fortnight of the summer season on the eighth day..... The letters are identical with the letters on the Ahi-chhatra coin. Further, they agree in all their characteristics with the inscriptions of Huvishka and Vāsudeva, found at Mathurā, published in vols. I and II of the *Epigraphia Indica* by Dr. Bühler. For instance, compare the inscription of the 90th year of the Kushan era given in the plate opposite page 205 in vol. II, where the heads of the perpendicular lines in 's' and 'k' and 'n' are thicker. The 'y' in the Jānkhaṭ inscription is older in shape, but very near

¹ J.R.A.S., 1900, 553.

² These pieces are undoubtedly examples of the Bhāraśiva art. Fortunately I could obtain a photograph of these. It was taken in 1909 by the Archæological Survey of India. See Plate II herein. For the photograph I have to thank Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahani, Director-General of Archæology. The pillar is a *Makara-torāṇa* (bracket). The female figure is the royal Gaṅgā.

the shape in the record of the 90th year. Compare also the slanting vowel-marks in this inscription with the same forms in the Mathurā inscription no. 11 of the 4th year of the Kushan era in line 3, words 'saha' and 'dāsena' and in 'dānam', line 3 of the inscription no. 13 dated in the 18th Kushan year, also those in 'gaṇāto' and the other 'to's in line 2, and in the inscription of the 98th year (*kshuṇe gaṇāto*). Most of the characteristics of the Jānkhṣ writing being earlier than the inscriptions of the time of Vāsudeva and a few being contemporary, we have to assign the record to a period not later than the time of Vāsudeva Kushan.¹

¹ Mr. Pargiter (E.I. XI. 85) has misread a passage on the date of Virasena's coins in Dr. Vincent Smith's *Catalogue of Coins*. Mr. Pargiter thought that Dr. Smith accepted the date about 300 A.D. for Virasena. But he missed Vincent Smith's distinction which he made between the Virasena of the coins of Cunningham and Rapson and the so-called Virasena of a later series. [The later 'Virasena' is really Pravarasena (§ 30)]. The result of this unfortunate mistake in regarding the two series of coins as one by Mr. Pargiter has been a sad one. Although he notes that the forms 'Y' and 'V' are found in inscriptions varying in date from the first century B.C. to the second century A.D., and that of 'sh' 'not until the second century A.D.', yet to bring the age of the inscription in agreement 'with Mr. V. Smith's conjecture regarding Virasena's age' [which Dr. Vincent Smith never made about the Virasena we are concerned with] Mr. Pargiter would place the inscription in the third century A.D., and 'very possibly' in 'the latter part of it'. Mr. Pargiter never realised that Dr. Smith postulated two Virasenas. Mr. Pargiter put forward two reasons for assigning a late date, both of which are absolutely untenable. One is that the bar denoting the long 'ā'-value shows a slight curve upwards, which he regards to be a Gupta tendency and not Kushan. His second reason is that the heads of the letters in this inscription are slightly wedge-shaped. Mr. Pargiter is entirely wrong both on principle and on fact. His principle for determining a later age of an inscription is to find out as to when 'later or new forms found in this inscription came into use'. I am not the first to question this principle. Dr. Fleet himself has questioned it by a footnote (E.I. XI. 86: '*any particular record may easily give the first available instances of types found in it, and so may carry them back to earlier times than had been previously established for them*'). The two grounds of Mr. Pargiter, assuming them to be correct on fact, cannot make a record whose letters admittedly range from the first century B.C. to second century A.D. and not later, a record of the end of the third century A.D. But the facts of Mr. Pargiter are also wrong. The slight

Virasena, like Nava, assumed full sovereignty from the first year of his reign. The Jānkhaṭ record is dated in his own regnal years,¹ while the universal practice under the Kushan régime was to date records in the Kushan era. As in Śiva Nandi's inscription, the title of '*Svāmin*' is employed, which in the Hindu law and politics (Manu, IX, 294 ; VII, 167) means the '*sovereign-in-the-state*'. Virasena thus reverts here also to the orthodox system, as in his coinage. He adopts the ancient technical title and ignores the pompous royal style of the Kushans.

The distribution of the coins and the different issues prove that Virasena ousted the Kushans from Mathurā and from the whole of the Doab of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā which constitute the present territory of the United Provinces. From the evidence of the Kushan inscriptions and the age of the coins and the inscriptions of Virasena it is certain that soon after the 98th year of the Kushan era, the new king Virasena occupied Mathurā, which we may date about the year 180 A.D. The date, therefore, of the Jānkhaṭ inscription would be about 180-185 A.D. Virasena had a fairly long reign. His coin reproduced by General Cunningham bears a date, which I read as year 34. Giving him a reign of about 40 years, we place him from 170-210 A.D. as the sovereign replacing the Kushans.

His predecessor Nava Nāga must have been an independent ruler in the eastern part of the United Provinces in the reign of Vāsudeva, and Virasena's 10th or 13th year would have coincided with the last years of Vāsudeva. He would have thus come to the throne about 170 A.D.

thickening of the heads of the letters are as early as the records of the year 4 of the Kushan era. (Inscription no. 11 in the plate facing page 203 of vol. II of the *Epigraphia Indica* and even earlier as in the Śuṅga inscription of Ayodhyā edited by me in J.B.O.R.S., vol. X, p. 202, and in the Pabhosā inscriptions in E.I., vol. II, p. 242, which everybody has accepted to belong to the B.C. centuries). His view about the slightly upward tendency of the 'ā'-vowel-marks, which one would find throughout in line 1 of the Pabhosā inscription given in E.I., vol. II, plate facing page 243, and in numerous other examples, is one which cannot be entertained for a moment.

¹ Dr. Vincent Smith was wrong in supposing it to be dated in the year 113 of the Kushan era [C.I.M., p. 192] and Sir Richard Burn was right when he read it as 13.

The intimate connection between his coins and the coins of the undoubted Bhāraśiva kings (§ 26 B), the Nāga emblem on his coins as if to complete his name, the period of his rise and his establishing himself at Mathurā, mark Virasena out as one of the earliest Bhāraśiva Nāgas of the inscriptions and the Nava Nāgas of the Purāṇas.

§ 26 B. We have discussed Virasena. The other kings may be taken up now. We know from the inscriptions that Bhava Nāga was a Bhāraśiva and the last Bhāraśiva king. Coins reveal a series of kings of his line, preceding him. They also prove that the family ruled in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh—the area of these coins, and that there was a definite mint at Kauśāmbī of these kings. These coins hitherto have not been assigned by numismatists or historians to any dynasty. Nor has their connection *inter se* been realised. I discuss them in full below.

This series of coins belongs to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. They are grouped in section X, as the '*Unassigned Miscellaneous Ancient Coins of Northern India*'. Its subdivision IV (C.I.M., pp. 205, 206) has the following coins¹:

Serial No. 7, A.S.B., Plate No. XXIII, fig. no. 9. Dr. Smith describes it: 'Peculiar object springing from railing. Br. na r. [Reverse]—Aśoka n ja (?)'

Serial No. 8, A.S.B., Plate No. XXIII, fig. no. 10. A tree in railings with five branches or leaves, with Brāhmī legends in characters of the second century A.D., read by Dr. Smith as *Chīja*. On obverse: lion, railing above, Brāhmī writing, unread before.

Serial No. 9, A.S.B., Plate No. XXIII, fig. no. 11. A smaller coin, with Brāhmī writing, read by Dr. Smith as *Charāja* or *Charāju* (large letters).

¹ For the sake of convenience, I reproduce these coins on Plate I. The coins have been slightly reduced in size. I have had the advantage of obtaining their casts from the Indian Museum, thanks to Mr. K. N. Dikshit.

On reverse: one Brāhmī letter in field, read by Dr. Smith as 'la'.

Serial No. 10, A.S.B. It is not reproduced by Dr. V. Smith. 'Tree in railings. Obverse: lion standing, a disc above, marginal legend read by Dr. Smith as 'traya nāgasa; before traya—'yana(?)'. Its symbols and shape are noted to be similar to the next coin, serial no. 11, plate XXIII, fig. no. 12. [I am reproducing the coin here.]

Serial No. 11, A.S.B., Plate No. XXIII, fig. No. 12. (Tree in railing, Brāhmī legend, read by Dr. Smith as 'ratha yana gicha m(i)ta(sa)?' On reverse, 'lion standing'. Over its back Brāhmī letters which Dr. Smith read, with doubt, as 'ba', and a letter below which he read as 'ya'.

Serial No. 12, I.M., Æ., Plate XXIII, 13. Dr. Smith described it: 'Tree in railing', 'thunderbolt, traces of marginal legend'. [This is really reverse, not obverse.] ['Reverse—Tree in railing, and obscure symbols; marginal Br. legend' (?) *ga bhemanapa* (or, -ha).]

[Just below the group of the above coins, under sub-heading (2), Dr. Smith has catalogued 8 coins which he, with doubt, read as coins of 'Deva' (pp. 206, 207, 199). They, as pointed out above, really belong to *Nava* (Nāga). These coins have the same tree in railings which is to be found on the coins above-noticed and which he and other numismatists call the 'Kosam' symbol (Plate XXIII, figs. 15 and 16). The reverse bears sometimes the bull and sometimes the elephant. The obverse has a small hooded *nāga* above the name of the king.]

The following peculiarities of these coins are to be noted:

The 'five-branched' tree in railings is identical on figures 10, 12, 15 and 16, and serial no. 13. The shape and form of 12, 15 and 16 are identical. The size of 10 is larger but the shape is the same. The size of 11 is very small but the shape is the same. A look at these coins will convince one that they belong to the same series. Further, all these coins are dated.

Serial No. 10, not reproduced by Dr. Smith, has been studied by me. I have examined casts of the coin. The reading *traya nāgasa*, about which Dr. Smith was certain, is clear and correct.¹ I reproduce this coin from a cast. In photographing, it has become slightly reduced. Its real size is just the same as of the serial no. 12, plate XXIII, fig. 13 of Dr. Smith. It has the same tree-symbol as the others. *Tra* begins near the bottom of the railing. There are no letters before it. There might have been a figure-symbol there, but I am not certain about it. What Dr. Smith read as *sa* in *Nāgasa* is probably *sya*. Over the lion, on reverse, sun and moon [not 'disc'] are in relief. Its great value lies in the fact that it establishes the Nāga coinage of these issues of the United Provinces. About the findspot of the 'Deva' [cor. *Nava*] series, Dr. Vincent Smith has given his opinion that they evidently belong to the Kosam mint, as a coin of that series he received from Kauśāmbī, and the particular tree-symbol is known to be connected with the Kauśāmbī mintage. I now give my reading of the published coins of the series.

Serial nos. 8 and 9 [Pl.-figs. 10 and 11] bear the same name. They read *Charaja*. The letters on no. 8 read *Charaja*; the 'ra' being between 'cha' and 'ja' was missed by Dr. Smith on account its being finer than the other letters. The second line on the obverse of this coin (Plate XXIII, fig. 10) reads *nāgaśa*; and above the lion (reverse) there are the figure-symbols for 20, 8 (28)². It is thus the coin of Charja Nāga dated in his 28th year. *Chara* is a name of Maṅgala, i.e. Mars.

Serial no. 11 (Plate-figure no. 12) reads '[Śrī] Haya-Nāgaśa, 20, 10'. What Dr. Smith read as 'ra', taking it to be a perpendicular stroke, is probably part of Ś[ri]. What he read as 'tha' is really a 'ha' and his 'nāgi' is 'nāga'. What he read as 'cha' I read as the figure for 20. His 'ma' stands for the figure '10'. There is no 'ta' and 'sa' about which

¹ I have to thank Mr. N. Majumdar of the Indian Museum for the casts of this coin and of Serial no. 12 of C.I.M., p. 206. The letter *Tra* is clear on the cast, though not in my photograph.

² There is a fragmentary letter before 20, probably *sa*=year.

he himself was doubtful; a part of the foundation of the railings was supposed by Dr. Smith to be writing. On the top of the reverse side, what Dr. Smith read doubtfully as 'ba' and *ya* on its top is the taurine symbol. There is no letter below the animal. Dr. Smith's has the reverse upside down. The whole legend is: [Śrī] *Haya-Nāgaśa*; 30.

Here we should take the coin of the smaller denomination, Serial no. 7, plate XXIII, fig. no. 9. Dr. Smith read only one letter—*na* on the obverse, and one letter on the reverse as *Āsokan ja*. The so-called *Āsokan ja* is the figure-symbol for 6, and it is the date. The obverse reads *sa ya ha*. The legend reads in the reverse way—a feature not unknown on coins and seals. It has to be read from the right beginning with *ha*. It is *Hayasa* [= *Haya-Nāga's*]. It should be compared with the smaller coin of *Charaja* for its small size, with which it agrees.

The small coin of '*Charaja*' has on its reverse a date. Dr. Smith read it as '*la*'. I read it as the symbol-figure 30. The coin is of a smaller denomination and was struck after his bigger coin.

Serial no. 12, [plate XXIII, fig. no. 13]: I read on the obverse [misdescribed by Smith as reverse]: [Śrī] *Ba[r]hinasa*; the left-side leaves of the tree are combined with the tail of a peacock, i.e. looked at from the bottom they are branches, turning the coin upside down the branches become the tail of the peacock. The peacock represents the name of the king [*Barhina*]. The reverse bears the same tree and a legend which is partially worn out; I read from a cast: [*Nā*ga[*sa*]. What Dr. Smith took as *vajra* has probably the symbol for 7 at the bottom of a taurine symbol.

We have thus four kings after *Nava Nāga* and *Virasena*, namely, *Haya Nāga* who ruled for 30 years or more, *Charja Nāga* who also ruled for 30 years or more, *Barhina Nāga* (7 years), and *Traya Nāga* whose years we do not yet know. The script of the coin of *Haya Nāga* is the earliest and is referable to the period of *Virasena*. He should be placed immediately after *Virasena*, i.e. c. 210 A.D. It should be noted that the coins of all these kings bear dates and the palm tree, which, according to Prof. Rapson, is also on the coin of *Virasena*.

and which I have identified with the tree-symbol in his inscription. The tree is essentially the same as on these Bhāraśiva coins. Giving the latter four kings 80 years after 210 A.D. (Virasena) we get approximately their date as 210-290 A.D. Some of these kings evidently had long reigns; probably some younger sons succeeded as in the case of the imperial Guptas. The date for Bhava Nāga, c. 300 A.D., I have assigned on the considerations of the Vākāṭaka and Gupta chronology [§ 67, 68]. Bhava Nāga was a contemporary of Pravarasena I, who was an elder contemporary of Samudra Gupta. Thus the dates for these kings as allotted here receive an indirect corroboration from the date of Bhava Nāga.

The Nava Nāgas of the main line or the Bhāraśivas may be listed as follows on the consideration of the lettering on their coins and their artistic connection *inter se* :

[c. 140-170 A.D.]	(1) Nava [Nāga]	.. [coins]	.. ruled for 27 years or more.
[c. 170-210 A.D.]	(2) Virasena [Nāga]	.. [coins and inscription]	.. ruled for 34 years or more.
[c. 210-245 A.D.]	(3) Haya Nāga	.. [coins]	.. ruled for 30 years or more.
[c. 245-250 A.D.]	(4) Traya Nāga	.. [coins]	.. ..
[c. 250-260 A.D.]	(5) Barhina Nāga	.. [coins]	.. ruled for 7 years or more.
[c. 260-290 A.D.]	(6) Charaja Nāga	.. [coins]	.. ruled for 30 years or more.
[c. 290-315 A.D.]	(7) Bhava Nāga	.. [inscriptions]	..

This agrees fully with the Purāṇas which give 7 successions to the Nava Nāgas.¹ We shall now take up the subsidiary dynasties of the Nava Nāgas at Padmāvati and other centres and the question of the seat of the senior, the Bhāraśiva, line.

27. The period of the Kushan imperial rule is of about a century. This is to be gathered from the Kushan inscriptions at Mathurā running up to the 98th year of their era which falls under the reign of Vāsudeva and

The Bhāraśivas, and
Kāntipurī and other
Nāga capitals.

¹ Nāgā bhokshyanti sapta vai—V., Br.; PT., 53.

after which we get no date for Vāsudeva.¹ The Bhāraśivas re-issuing from the jungles of Hoshangabad and Jubalpur, seem to have reached the Ganges through Baghelkhand. The place where the road from Baghelkhand brings one to the Ganges is the old fort of Kantit² between the towns of Mirzapur and the Goddess Vindhyavāsini or modern Vindhyāchal. This *Kantit* seems to represent the *Kānti-purī* of the Vishṇu. I found in the fort on a stone pillar-slab the name *Kānti* in modern Devanāgarī. It is a large mud fort, about a mile long, on the Ganges, marked with several pieces of Gupta sculpture³ and a big stepped well. It is now in the zemindari of the Rajas of Kantit who are the direct descendants of the Gāhaḍwāla kings of Kanauj and Benares. The fort was destroyed in Muhammadan times and the Raja's seat was removed into the neighbouring hills at Bijayapur and Māñḍā where the family, now in two branches, reside. The local tradition at Kantit is that long before the 'Gaharwārs' the fort belonged originally to the Bhar kings. The 'Bhar' kings here are evidently a corruption of the 'Bhāraśiva' kings, and not the Bhar tribe of whose rule in Mirzapur-Vindhyachal there is no evidence. The same tradition is repeated about the '*Bhar Deul*,'⁴ once a magnificent Śiva's temple covered all over with the figures of Nāga [Serpent-] kings, built near Maughāṭ in the Vindhya hills, 25 miles to W.S.-W. of Allahabad. It is in the region of *Bhārahut*⁵ (= *Bhāra-bhukti*), 'Bhāra Province'. We have no historical fact proving the existence of a rule of the aboriginal Bhars in historical times in the district of Mirzapur,

¹ J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 311, Lüders, *List*, nos. 76-77, E.I., X, App., p. 8. The *Rāja-Taraṅgiṇī* (C.I., 169-172) also gives only three generations to the Turushka rule in Kashmir: Hushka (Huvishka) Jushka (Vāsishka) and Kanishka, put in an order from the last, backwards.

² See A.S.I., XXI, 103 ff. on Kantit in Muhammadan times.

³ There is a characteristic Gupta statue of Sūrya, about 7 ft. in height, there. It is worshipped at present as Bhairava guarding the fort gate.

⁴ A.S.R., Vol. XXI, plates 3 and 4, description at pages 4-7.

⁵ I heard the name pronounced as *Bhārahut* and *Bharahut*. Its original will be *Bhāra-bhukti*, 'the Bhāra Province'.

Allahabad and the neighbourhood. The tradition stands explained if it is taken to refer to the Bhāraśiva dynasty. The name *Bhar deul* which is prominently associated with Nāgas in sculpture and in popular tradition recorded by Kittoe in whose time it was called the 'Temple of Karkoṭ Nāg,' evidently supports the view that the 'Bhar' here stands for Bhāra Śiva. The place names *Nāgaudh*¹ and *Nāgadeya* mark the occupation by the Nāga kings of Baghelkhand, and so does *Bhārahut* and also probably *Bhar deul*.²

The situation of Kāntit³ admirably suits the Bhāraśiva history for their descent on the Ganges from Baghelkhand. The Vishṇu Purāṇa has :—

‘*Nava-nāgā Padmāvatyām Kāntipuryām Mathurāyaṁ*’

It is significant that the other Purāṇas omit Kāntipurī. The reason for this may be the absorption of the line of Bhava Nāga into the Vākātaka line. In place of the 'Bhāraśivas' the Purāṇic designation is the 'Nava Nāgas'. The first, the Vidiśā Nāgas, i.e. Śeṣha to Vaṅgara, are the earlier Nāgas; from Bhūta Nandi, when the style of the name changes to Nandi ('Vṛiṣha'), then or certainly at their re-rise about 150-170 A.D., they are the Bhāraśivas. The coins of King Nava and his successors are marked off from the earlier coins of the Nāgas by dropping 'dāta' and adopting 'Nāga'. The Bhāgavata does not mention the Nava Nāgas but concerns itself with the princes from Bhūta Nandi to Praviraka. The Nava Nāgas, to the author of the Bhāgavata, are therefore covered by the line of Bhūta Nandi and the rule of Praviraka. Pravira-Pravarasena was guardian to Rudrasena 'the Infant', and according to the

¹ I have passed this town three times. It is called *Nāgaudh* and *Nāgod*. The form *Nāgaudh* would mean the 'boundary' (*avadhi*) 'of the Nāgas'. Cf. the use of *avadhi* in this sense in the Matsya, 113. 10.

² The roof of this temple was flat, with sloping stones over the verandah. The cusped bracket, which is a restoration on the plate by Cunningham, is found generally in mediæval architecture, but no one can be definite as to how ancient its origin is. The large bricks found there and other features are decidedly early.

³ Yule identified *Kindia* of Ptolemy with Mirzapur. See McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 134.

other Purāṇas they two ruled together. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa which had some materials not used by others, gives the order of the Capitals as Padmāvati-Kāntipurī-Mathurā. It probably implies that the original seat of the Nāgas was Padmāvati and the next seat was Kāntipurī and the third was Mathurā. This is verified by the known facts. Bhūta Nandi's line, up to Śiva Nandi and about half a century later, was at Padmāvati. Padmāvati then passes to the Kushan viceroys [§§33-34]. The Bhāraśivas in the latter days of the imperial Kushans, about 150 A.D., reach Kāntipurī on the Ganges. They performed their *āśvamedhas*¹ and coronations at or near Benares where the place Nagwā, the present site of the Hindu University, seems to be associated with their name. From Kāntipurī they move westwards and under Virasena, who strikes coins extensively and whose coins are found from the east of Ahichhatra up to Mathurā, regains Padmāvati and Mathurā. The early coins with the letters 'Vi'² and 'V(·)' amongst the Padmāvati coins are the

Virasena's Padmāvati coins. first of the Padmāvati series, and belong to Virasena. The peacock on the reverse of these two coins is the well-known

symbol of Virasena who seems to be the same as Mahāsena, meaning the general of the Gods. As Bhīma Nāga and Skanda Nāga both follow the peacock design,³ these two princes seem to have followed Virasena. For though with Skanda the peacock is connected, with Bhīma it is unconnected. Virasena having reached Mathurā and even beyond, Indor Kherā, where his coins have been largely dug out⁴, would have naturally recovered the old Nāga territories in western

¹ 'Haya'-Nāga was probably a name given to a child born after one of the 'Āśva'medhas.

² It is read as 'kh(a)' by Cunningham but I read it as 'Vi', as the hook turns upwards disclosing it to be an *i*-mark, and identify it with the series having *Mahārāja V*(.), as the reverse of both and their letterings are identical (Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, Plate II, Nos. 13 and 14).

³ Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, Plate II, Nos. 15 and 16, p. 23.

⁴ Cunningham, A.S.I., Vol. XII, pp. 41-42.

Bundelkhand which had passed under the Kushan rule a century back.

28. The Purāṇas advisedly use the term *Nava Nāgas*.

For if they used the term *Bhāraśiva* or their own term *Vaidiśaka* or *Vṛisha*

Nāgas, the idea of their revival as practically a new dynasty would have been lost and the practical break by the intervention of the Kushan rule would have been lost and confused. After describing the empire of the Vindhyaikas, i.e. the *Vākātakas*, the Purāṇas total up and close the *Nava Nāgas* immediately before beginning the imperial line of the Guptas and their empire. The reason for doing this was the peculiar situation of Rudrasena the Śiśuka, who, though a grandson of Pravarasena *Vākātaka*, had succeeded as a *Bhāraśiva dauhitra*, so much so that the *Vākātaka* plates of Bālāghāṭ describe him only as a *Bhāraśiva Mahārāja* and not also as a *Vākātaka*.¹ And as we shall see below [Part II, § 64], it was Rudrasena, described as *Rudra Deva* ('His Majesty', or 'King' Rudra) who was killed in battle by Samudra Gupta. The *Nāga* line thus continued up to the time of Samudra Gupta in the *Vākātaka* period. The position of the *Nava Nāgas*, both chronological and territorial, is accurately given by the Purāṇas. They are placed between Vi(n)vasphāni (the Kushan viceroy) who ruled in Magadha and at Padmāvati and the Guptas of Magadha who are said in the Vishṇu to have risen while the *Nava Nāgas* were ruling. And this insertion is made in the general history of Magadha which starts as a new section after the *Vākātaka* imperial history. The *Nava Nāgas* were not only rulers of the United Provinces but also of both eastern and western Bihar, for the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa in all their copies describe their capitals both as Mathurā and Champā² ('Champāvati'—Bhagalpur). That the Guptas established a government of

¹ Legally the *Bhāraśiva* dynasty superseded the *Vākātakas* in the person of Rudrasena I (a *putrikāputra*), and the *Vākātaka* imperial dynasty and rule ended with Pravarasena I from that point of view.

² There were only two *Champās*—one in Aṅga, now *Champā-nagar* at a distance of about 5 miles from Bhagalpur, and an old town with Jaina temples to Vāsūpūjya who was born and died at *Champā*; and the other was in the hills now called *Chambā*.

their own at Champā (as we shall see in Part III, below) is especially noticed by the Purāṇas when dealing with the Gupta imperial system.¹ The Gupta emperor there was substituting himself in the Bhāraśiva-Vākātaka system.

29. The system of the Nāga Government was a federation consisting of (1) three Nāga Government. main monarchical Nāga families, one of which the Bhāraśivas, was the imperial leader, with a number of gubernatorial families under them, and (2) a number of republics. Two branches—at Padmāvati and Mathurā—were set up by the Bhāraśivas, with distinguishing dynastic titles of their own. The Padmāvati dynasty had the official designation—the Ṭāka-vaṁśa, which is given in the *Bhāvaśataka*, a book dedicated to Gaṇapati Nāga (§ 31). The Mathurā family had the official title—the Yādu-vaṁśa, which is given in the drama *Kaumudīmahotsava* written about the same time as the *Bhāvaśataka*. The two titles incidently furnish ethnological data regarding the Nava Nāgas. They were Yādavas and had migrated from the Ṭakka-deśa [in the Punjab].² The Mathurā family never minted any coin. But the

¹ The Purāṇas are specially full on the Vākātaka and Gupta Empires. The chronicles of those periods seem to have been composed in the Vākātaka country where, in the Vākātaka secretariat, the details of both could be easily available. The imperial system of the Āndhras is also attempted in the Purāṇas by recording their feudatories [see Part IV, below], though not in such detail. As in the case of the Vākātakas they go back to the early Nāga history from the imperial land-mark of the merging of the Nāgas into the Vākātakas, so also in the Āndhra history they go back to the origin, from the point of imperial succession to the Magadha throne. The Purāṇas have thus followed a system of going back to the beginning of a dynasty from a critical point and giving the earlier history of the imperial families. This they have done in the case of the Āndhras, the Vindhyakas and the Nāgas, and they would have done so regarding the Guptas if they could give their full history. Yet the earlier history of the Guptas is attempted in the Vishṇu (see Part iii, § 122).

² See Cunningham, A.S.R., Vol. II, p. 6 ff. on the Ṭakkas and Ṭakkadeśa, and p. 14 ff. on the Yādavas in the same area. Hemachandra in his *Abhidhāna-Chintāmaṇi* (IV. 25) equates *Vāhika* with *Ṭakka*.

Padmāvati family did so from the beginning to the end. They were thus a sovereign family, and their subordination to the Bhāraśivas was evidently of an imperial type. The Mathurā family and the family to which Nāgadatta (father of Mahārāja Maheśvara Nāga of the Lahore seal) belonged and who ruled somewhere in the Ambālā district, probably at the old capital Srughna, seem to have been under the direct control of the Bhāraśivas. There was a ruling family at or near Indrapura (Indor Kherā) in the district of Bulandshahr. At Bulandshahr the seal of Mattila with a Nāga symbol (Śaṅkha-pāla)¹ and without the title 'rājan' was found. This Mattila has been identified by Growse and Fleet with the Matila of Samudra Gupta's inscription². This area is described as the governorship of Antarvēdi (western part of the land between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā) in the Indor plates issued by a Nāga ruler of the name of Śarva Nāga, governor of Skanda Gupta.³ Nāga-datta, Nāgasena or Matila or their ancestors did not strike any coin, nor did any governor of Ahichhatra in the time of the Bhāraśivas. At Ahichhatra the ruler called Achyuta on his coins and Achyuta Nandi in Samudra Gupta's inscription, strikes his coins for the first time, but that was under the Vākāṭakas, which indicates that the Vākāṭakas set up a feudatory family next-door to the Province of Kośala [Oudh], probably as a counterpoise against the Lichchhavis and the Guptas. As far as the Bhāraśiva government is concerned, we find only two sovereign centres—Kāntipurī and Padmāvati. The seat at Champāvati (Bhagalpur), given by the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa⁴, was evidently a subordinate seat, as we find no coins of Champāvati. As we shall see in due course [§§ 132, 140], in Samudra Gupta's inscription the Āryāvarta rulers are divided into two groups—one beginning with Gaṇapati Nāga, which is the group of the kings killed in the first

¹ See Part III on Gupta history (§ 140). I.A., XVIII, p. 289, pl., where a conch and a serpent are sculptured. Light radiates from the serpent's body.

² I.A., XVIII, 289.

³ G.I., p. 68.

⁴ Nava-Nākās [Nāgās] tu bhokshyanti purim Champāvatiṁ nripāḥ. P.T., p. 53.

Āryāvarta War of Samudra Gupta, and the other being the group of those rulers who were attacked in or after the second campaign and who are enumerated in territorial order beginning with Rudra Deva, i.e. Rudrasena the Vākātaka. The first group is headed by Gaṇapati Nāga; he was the chief sovereign among the Nāga rulers in the Vākātaka times, which is confirmed by the Bhāvaśataka (§ 31). The republics in Malwā and Rajputana and probably also the Kuṇindas in the Punjab, who strike their respective coins in the Bhāraśiva times, were also sovereign members of the Bhāraśiva Federation (§ 43).

§ 29 A. The Purāṇas give to the Padmāvati and the Mathurā Nāgas—or, in view of the Nāga Lines. Vishṇu, to the Padmāvati-Kāntipurī-Mathurā Nāgas—seven successions (p. 28 above). This is fully borne out by the names gathered from the coins and inscriptions as tabulated below.

BHĀRAŚIVAS: Rise at Kāntipurī, c. 140 A.D.

NAVA NĀGA, (Year 27 on his coin) .. Founder of the Nava Nāga
[C. 140-170 A.D.] .. Dynasty [Bhāraśiva].
VIRASENA (year 34 on coin) Founder of Mathurā and
[170-210 A.D.] .. Padmāvati Branches.

Padmāvati (Tūka Dynasty)	Kāntipurī. (Bhāraśiva Dynasty)	Mathurā. (Yadu Dynasty.)
c. 210-230 A.D. BHĪMA NĀGA.	c. 210-245 HAYA NĀGA (year 30 on coin)	Name unknown.
c. 230-250 A.D. SKANDA NĀGA.	c. 245-250 TRAYA NĀGA	Name unknown.
c. 250-270 A.D. BṚHAS- PATI NĀGA.	c. 250-260 BARHINA NĀGA (year 7 on coin)	Name unknown.

[Vākātaka Suzerainty begins c. 284 A.D.]

c. 270-290 A.D. VYĀGHRA NĀGA. ¹	c. 260-290 CHARAJA NĀGA (year 30 on coin).	....
c. 290-310 A.D. DEVA NĀGA.	c. 290-315 A.D. BHAVA NĀGA.	c. 315-340 A.D. KĪRTI-SHEṆA.
c. 310-344 A.D. GAṆA- PATI NĀGA.	[c. 315-344 Rudrasena at Purikā.]	c. 340-344 A.D. NĀGA-SENA.

¹ Cunningham read only 'Vyāghra...' but the plate [C.M.I., Pl. II, fig. 22] shows 'Vyāghra-Nāga'.

Gubernatorial Nāga families.

<i>Ahichhatra</i> family.	<i>Antarvedī</i> family with capital, prob- ably at <i>Indra-</i> <i>pura</i> (Indor Kherā).	<i>Sruḡhna</i> (?) family.	<i>Champāvati</i> family.
c. 324-344 A.D. ACHYUTA NANDI.	c. 328-348 MATILA.	A.D. c. 328-348 NĀGA- DATTA. [c. 348-368 Mahā- rāja MAHES- VARA NĀGA.]	Names un- known.

My reasons for assigning the above order in the succession of the *Paḍmāvati* kings are these: *Gaṇapati Nāga* is the last king; about his date we are certain from the date of *Samudra Gupta*. As he has left several thousands of coins—in fact, he has left the largest number of coins out of all the kings of Hindu times—we have to assign to him a long reign. The issues of his coins are also many (I have counted about 8). I have, therefore, given him a reign of 35 years. *Bhīma Nāga*'s coins immediately follow *Vīrasena*'s; and *Skanda Nāga*'s coinage follows his. *Devana Nāga* seems to have immediately preceded *Gaṇapati Nāga*, for they both add at times '*Indra*' (A.S.R., 1915-16, p. 105) behind their names—*Devendra*, *Gaṇendra*. Between *Bṛihaspati Nāga* and *Vyāghra Nāga*, the latter preceded immediately *Deva Nāga*, as both have the [Vākātaka] imperial wheel-mark [§§ 61A, 102¹] on their coins.

In the *Mathurā* dynasty, the last name, *Nāgasena*, is taken from the record of the conquest of *Samudra Gupta*. His seat, on the basis of *Samudra Gupta*'s inscription, which is discussed in Part III below, seems to be, almost certainly, at *Mathurā*. *Kīrtishena* is described in the *Kaumudī-mahotsava* as a friend of *Sundara-varman* and as the father-in-law of *Kalyāṇa-varman*, son of *Sundara-varman*, who dispossessed *Chandra Gupta I* from *Pāṭaliputra*. His date is discussed in Part III in the Gupta history [§ 133]. On the basis of that date *Nāgasena* is given only 4 years and *Kīrtishena*, c. 315-340 A.D. To complete seven successions

¹ See also Appendix at the end, on the *Durehā* Pillar.

there should have been three more kings after Virasena at Mathurā. The Nāgasena of the *Harsha-charita* was a prince at Padmāvati and not at Mathurā, and he probably flourished under the Guptas as he has left no coin at Padmāvati.

The Ahichhatra family is located from the coins of Achyuta and the occurrence of his name in Samudra Gupta's inscription, which I discuss in Part III. His coins bear the same imperial wheel-mark (C.I.M., Pl. XXII, 9) as the coin of Devasena of Padmāvati (C.M.I., Pl. II, 24). I restore the territorial unit, the province of Antarvedi, from the Indor plates of Skanda Gupta's reign, issued by Śarva Nāga, governor (*vishayapati*) of the Province (G.I., p. 70). I regard Indrapura [Indor Kherā] as its capital on account of its probable mention in the Brahmandā as *Surapura* and on account of the antiquity of the place, where also the Indor plates were found. Śarva Nāga was very likely a descendant of Matila whom I discuss in Part III (§ 140). The location of Nāga-datta of Samudra Gupta's inscription is discussed in Part III (§ 140). His headquarters must have been at or near Srughna, in the Ambala district. His son's seal was found at Lahore (G.I., p. 282) who, in his time, must have ruled as a Gupta feudatory or servant. The seat of Champāvati is mentioned in the Vāyu and the Brahmandā, but names of the rulers have not yet been found.

30. As we have been dealing here with the Bhāraśiva coins, I may discuss a coin which has been taken as a coin of Virasena but which I take to be a Vākāṭaka coin, of Pravara-sena I. It belongs to the same series as the coins we have been noticing. It is of the old orthodox Hindu type, post-Kushan in script and pre-Guptan in style. The coin is illustrated in the Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum by Dr. Vincent Smith on plate No. XXII, fig. no. 15¹. It is read by him as '*V(i)rasenasa*'. He reads the 'i' doubtfully, and although he takes the coin on the whole as a coin of Virasena, yet he says that this is subsequent to the coins of the earlier Virasena.² His estimate of the difference between the

¹ See Plate III herein.

² C.I.M., p. 192, p. 197, n. 2.

two in point of time and the decision to take it as belonging to another and a later king is correct, but he is incorrect in reading the name as 'Virasena'. I read the legend on the coin as *Pravarasenas[y]a*, reading 'Pra' as the first letter in the left-hand bottom-corner, beginning the legend with it. And I also read as 76 [70, 6], below the name. On the obverse there is seated a female figure with a jar in her right hand, which denotes that it is the figure of the River Goddess Ganges [cf. § 17].¹ In the right-hand bottom corner there is the Vākātaka wheel which we meet at Nachnā and Jāso (see last App.).

§ 31. The family history of Gaṇapati Nāga has been

The Bhāva-śataka
and the original Nāga
home.

yielded by a manuscript in Mithilā of a poetic work written in the reign of Gaṇapati Nāga and dedicated to him.

The author says that both 'Vāk' (Sarasvatī) and 'Padmālayā' (=Padmāvatī) adore the Nāga king (Nāgarāja)² whose name he gives in verse as 'Gajavakra Śrī' (the "Elephant-faced Majesty") Nāga'.³ In one of the verses he says that by looking at 'Gaṇapati,' the other Nāgas feel afraid.⁴ The king is called the overlord of Dhārā (Western Malwa).⁵ His family is described as *Ṭāka vamsa* and his gotra is called Karpāṭi. Neither his father, Jālapa, nor his grandfather, Vidyādhara, was king; he evidently succeeded from a collateral line. The name of the book is 'Bhāva-śataka' which consists of a little over a hundred verses, 95 verses of which are mostly on sentiments. Every verse is complete in itself with one poetic idea, as in Amaru. Many verses, however, are in praise of Śiva who was the *iṣṭa devatā* of the author's patron. The author's patron is described as of a severe and austere character,

¹ There is no 'rayed crown' on the head of the figure (C.I.M., p. 197), but it is the canopy (*chhatra*) part of the throne. See also § 61 below on Vākātaka coins.

²⁻³ Jayaswal, *Cat. of Mithilā MSS.*, Vol. II, 105.

नागराज-समं [शतं] ग्रन्थं नागराजेन सन्वता ।

चकारि गजवक्र-वीर्नागराजो गिरां गुरुः ॥ १ ॥

⁴⁻⁵ पद्मपतयः सर्वे वीक्षन्ते गणपतिं भीताः (80). धाराधीश! (62).

who did not take interest in beautiful women and who is noted to be of a warlike temperament and a veteran warrior. The book is printed in the Kāvya-mālā series, Part IV, 1899, pages 37 to 52.¹ But in the second śloka of the Kāvya-mālā text the name of the king is wrongly given as *Gatavaktra-Śrīr Nāgarājah*,² while in the Mithilā manuscript it is *Gajavaktra-Śrīr Nāgarājah*, i.e. Śrī Gaṇapati Nāgarāja, which led me to identify the king with Gaṇapati Nāga. The Tāk Nāgas living near Jammu and elsewhere in the Punjab are well known.³ Their royal race is mentioned by the chronicles of Rajputana, Chandbardai and Muhammadan historians. Their gotra Karpāṭi is to be traced in the Mahā-Bhārata where we have the Five Karpāṭas placed in the company of the Mālavas in the Punjab-Rajputana region, evidently as republican communities.⁴ The Nāga family seems to have been akin to their next-door neighbours the Mālavas who were worshippers of Karkoṭa Nāga and had migrated from the Punjab to Rajputana (see Pt. III of this book, §§ 145-6).

31 A. The Nandi-Nāgas, when they leave Padmāvati and Vidiśā in the Kushan period about 80 A.D., migrate to the Central Provinces where they live and rule in the security of mountain fastnesses for over half a century. There is a definite piece of evidence of their occupation of the district Nāgpur (C.P.). The Deoli plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇarāja II (E.I., Vol. V, p. 188) which was found within a few miles of Nagpur, the modern capital of the Central Provinces, and is dated in the Śaka year 852 (940-41 A.D.) describes the gifted estate to be in the district of 'Nāgapura-Nandivardhana'. Now, both these names are connected with the Nandi-Nāgas. We find *Nandivardhana* much earlier than this

¹⁻² On character see verses 76, 86, 62, etc. See Kāvya-mālā text, verses 1, 98-100, where the family is described.

³ Cunningham, A.S.R., Vol. II, p. 10. For *Takkārikā* a Bhāṭṭa village in Madhyadeśa in the Middle Ages, see I.A., XVII, 245.

⁴ See my *Hindu Polity*, Part I, page 156; *M.Bh.*, *Sabhā*, C. XXXII, verses 7-9.

inscription, going back right to the time of the Vākātakas who were the immediate successors of the Bhāraśiva Nāgas. In the Poona plates of Prabhāvatī Guptā, edited in E.I., vol. XV, p. 39, the town of *Nandivardhana* figures. This Nandivardhana has been identified by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, as pointed out by Mr. Pathak and Mr. Dikshit in E.I., XV, p. 41, with *Nagardhan*, which is 20 miles from Nagpur.¹ The name *Nandivardhana* could not have come into existence under the Vākātakas or the Bhāraśivas when the title *Nandi* had dropped, and would go back to a period before the Bhāraśiva rise. When the Nāga kings left Padmāvatī and Vidiśā they at the time bore the dynastic style *Nandi*. It seems that the Nandi-Nāgas for about half a century made the country on the other side of the Vindhya in the Central Provinces their place of refuge and haven of freedom where the Kushans could not reach. This migration of an Āryāvarta dynasty into the heart of the Central Provinces had a tremendous effect upon the subsequent history which united Āryāvarta with a part of Dakṣiṇāpatha in the reign of the Bhāraśivas and their successors the Vākātakas. From 100 A.D. up to 550 A.D. the Central Provinces became absolutely interwoven and one with the Vindhyan Āryāvarta, i.e. Bundelkhand—a unity which has obtained and come down to our own days. A part of Bundelkhand and the Nagpur part of the ancient Dakṣiṇāpatha have remained a Hindusthānī province, wholly become Northern in race, language and culture; and Āryāvarta has been *de facto* extended up to the confines of the Nirmal range. This is a legacy of the history of those sixty years of the Nāga exile. From Nagpur up to Purikā (Hoshangabad) on one side and through Seoni and Jabalpur on the other, they maintained touch respectively with Eastern Malwā (from which they had been dispossessed) and with Baghelkhand (Rewah) through which ultimately they reached the Ganges. This new home became the second and subsequent home of the Vākātakas in the Gupta time and led to the enrichment of Ajaṇṭā, which had been throughout its main history under the influence and direct possession of the

¹ Hira Lal, *Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar*, p. 10. *Nāga-varadhana* = *Nagardhana*

Bhārasīvas and the Vākātakas. The art of Ajaṇṭā in the main is the Nāgara (Bhārasīva) and Vākātaka art; Ajaṇṭā passed hands from the Sātavāhanas to the Bhārasīva-Vākātakas about 250-275 A.D.

§ 32. Up to the reign of Skanda Gupta there were some Nāga feudatories, as Skanda Gupta is described to have dealt severely with a Nāga rebellion.¹ Chandra Gupta II married a Nāga princess, Kubera-Nāgā, who was *mahādevī* and the mother of Prabhāvatī Guptā, and, if not identical with Dhruva-Devī, was probably the second wife of Chandra Gupta. A Nāga family of feudatories in Koṭā, Rajputana, is found in the Middle Ages.² The Nāgavaṃśī families of the Bastar inscriptions, published by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, descend very likely from the Nāgas of the Central Provinces who have left a memorial to their name in the place-namee *Nāgpur*³ and *Nagar(var)-dhana*, and are the probable remnants of the Bhārasīva occupation.

V. THE KUSHAN RULE AT PADMĀVATĪ AND IN MAGADHA (c. 80 A.D. to 180 A.D.).

33. The Purāṇas, to complete the history of P a d m ā v a t ī and Magadha before the rise of the Nava Vanashpara. Nāgas and the Guptas, insert the history of Vanashpara, spelt in the Purāṇas as *Viśvasphaṭī(ka)*, *Viśvasphāṇi* and *Viṃvasphāṭī*,⁴ where Kharoshthī *n* has been misread and misreproduced as ś,⁵ as in the case of *Kunāla* misspelt

¹ G.I., p. 59 (Junagarh, l. 3).

² I.A., XIV, 45.

³ *Nāgapura* (present Nāgpur) is found in an inscription of the 10th century. See Hira Lal's *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar* (2nd ed.), p. 10; E.I., Vol. V, 188. For the Nāgavaṃśīs of the 11th and later centuries, see his *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 209-210 and references in that book (p. 196). *Nagar-dhana*, as pointed out above (§ 31A), is the ancient site of *Nandī-varḍhana*, the town mentioned in the Poona plates of Prabhāvatī Guptā, and in the Rashtrakūta inscription (Deoli plates). It is now called *Nagar-dhana*, i.e. "the Nāgas' *Varḍhana*," where *Nagar* stands for *Nāgar*.

⁴ Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text*, p. 52, n. 45 and others on that page.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

as *Kuśāla*. *Viṃvasphāṭi* and *Vi(n)vasphāṇi* stand for the name found in inscriptions at Sarnath, spelt as *Vanashpara* and *Vanaspara*. We know from two Sarnath inscriptions (E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 173) that Vanaspara ruled as governor of the province wherein Benares was situated, under the reign of Kanishka in his year 3. *Vanashpara* (*Vanaspara*) was at that time only a governor (Kshatrapa), while his chief Kharapallāna was a Mahā-kshatrapa (Viceroy). *Vanashpara* would have become a Mahā-kshatrapa later. We may, therefore, place him at about 90 A.D. to 120 A.D., for he seems to have had a long rule. This is the period when the Vidiśā Nāgas must seek security in obscurity.

34. This *Vanaspara* was so important that his descendants, the Banāphars of Bundelkhand, retained military reputation down to the

His policy. Chandel times. They were considered low in origin and found it difficult to marry into Rajput families and their position is low still to-day. A dialect—Banāphari—in Bundelkhand goes by their name. *Viṃvasphāṭi* established himself at Padmāvati (according to the Bhāgavata) and up to Magadha (according to all the Purāṇas). The Purāṇas record that he was very brave, that he conquered capitals, i.e. from Padmāvati to Bihar; that in war he was powerful like Vishṇu; that he looked like a eunuch. The Purāṇas here anticipated the description which Gibbon, the great historian, gave to the Huns:—‘*as they were almost destitute of beards, they never enjoyed the manly graces of youth or the venerable aspect of age*’. *Vanaspara* evidently had a Hun-like, Mongolian appearance. His policy is specially noted. He made the population practically Brahmin-less (*prajāś ch-ā-brahma-bhūyishthāh*). He depressed the high-class Hindus and raised low-caste men and foreigners to high positions. He abolished the Kshatriyas and created a new ruling caste. He made his subjects un-Brahmanical. The same policy was followed by the later Kushans as we shall see hereafter (§ 146 B)—a policy of social tyranny, and religious fanaticism—both actuated by political motives. *Vanaspara* created a new ruling or official class out of the Kaivartas (a low caste of aboriginal agriculturists, now called *Kewat*) and out of the

Pañchakas, i.e. castes lower than the Śūdras—the untouchables. He imported [into Bundelkhand-to-Bihar] the *Madrakas* who had their home in the Punjab, and the *Chakas* and *Pulindas* or *Chaka-Pulindas* or *Pulinda-Yavus*¹. The detail about the first class of men imported for administrative purposes from the north to the east is useful as showing the policy of importing mercenaries from one part of India into another. The *Chaka-Pulindas* are really *Śaka-Pulindas*, *Śaka* often being rendered as *Chaka* in India, e.g. in the *Garga-saṃhitā*.² They are qualified as *yapu-* or *yavu-Pulindas* and are called *Pulinda-yavu* and *Pulinda-abrahmanāṇām*.³ In other words, they were non-Brahmanical Scythic Pulindas, as opposed to the Indian Pulindas. They seem to be the *Pāladas* or *Pālada-Shākas* who appear prominently in the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth century on account of their coinage and their acceptance of the coinage of Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta.⁴

35. This description of the rule of the Kushan viceroy gives us a great insight into the character of the Kushan rule in India. This is further confirmed by what we read in the history of Kashmir [the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*] about the Kushan rule [i, 1, 174–185]. In Kashmir they stopped the prevalent worship of the Nāgas and imposed Buddhism. Buddhism was the only religion whereby the foreigner Śakas could claim equality with an old, orthodox, proud society organised on exclusive, ethnic lines. These Mlechchha rulers felt the ignominy which the Brahmanic system of society automatically imposed upon them, and they

¹ Pargiter, P.T., p. 52, n. 48:

Vishnu: Kaivarta-yad(v)u-Pulinda-abrahmanāṇām (°nyān) rājye sthāpayishyati utsādyākhila-kshatra-jātim.

Bhāgavata: karishyaty aparān varṇān, Pulinda-yavu-Madrakān | prajāś ch-ābrahma-bhūyishṭhāh, sthāpayishyati durmatih |

Vāyu: utsādyā pārthivān sarvān, so 'nyān varṇān karishyati | Kaivartān Pañchakāṃś chaiva Pulindān(a)brāhmāṇāms tathā ||

Other readings: 'Kaivartyāṇāṃ Cakāṃś chaiva Pulindakān', and 'Kaivartān yapumāṃś chaiva' (etc.).

² J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIV, p. 408.

³ Pargiter, P.T., p. 52, note 35 and others.

⁴ J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 209. [There were Northern Pulindas, in Afghanistan, probably, now called *Povindāh*. See Matsya Pu., 113–41.]

tried various means to destroy that social system which excluded them. The consequent agitation in Kashmir was great, and it is recorded that Gonarda III restored the Nāga-worship which the Turushka [i.e. the Kushan] rule of Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka had abolished. In Hindustan we have a similar tale, without understanding which we cannot understand the national movement under the Bhāraśivas.

36. Of Buddhism and Jainism alone we have monumental evidence in the period of the Kushan rule. Of the orthodox worship of the Hindu system we have no trace in monuments. And we have¹ no trace of earlier orthodox monuments, although we know that orthodox motifs and orthodox architecture and orthodox iconography had already been established facts before the earliest Buddhist monuments were erected. That Hindu temples of various styles and Hindu Gods and Goddesses of various forms existed before 300 A.D. is proved by their elaborate and scientific treatment in the Matsya Purāṇa, and orthodox books are full of reference to them.² In the face of that evidence there can be no manner of doubt that before the Gupta period the national art and architecture of the orthodox Hindus had reached a point which was not repeated in all its details in the revivalist period of the Bhāraśivas, the Vākātakas and the Guptas. This is established by the internal evidence of Buddhist and Jaina monuments themselves. To take one example: There was no scope for the rise of the *Apsaras* in sculpture on Buddhist and Jaina sepulchral memorials. But we do find the *Apsarā* with her lover, the Gandharva, in loving attitude at the Bodh-Gaya railing gate, at the Mathurā Jaina stūpas, at the Nāgārjuni Koṇḍā stūpas, etc. The origin of the *Apsarā* motive is not to be found in Buddhism and Jainism but in the Hindu texts (e.g. in the Matsya Purāṇa), which at least go back to the third century. Their treatment with citations of 18 previous authorities

¹ One exception is the five-faced liṅgam at Bhīṭā (A.S.R., 1909-10) which bears an inscription of the second century B.C.

² These have been ably collected by Mr. Brindaban Bhattacharya in his book 'The Hindu Images'.

shows that they must go back centuries earlier.¹ The Hindu texts lay down that the doorways must be decorated with *Gandharva-mithunas*, the Gandharva couples², and that Apsarases, Siddhas, Yakshas and others must be sculptured on the temples. The toilet scenes at Mathurā are of Apsarases in their characteristic, toilet-bathing poses which give them the name '*water-nymphs*'. Now, where did the Buddhists or Jainas get the Apsaras from; from where did the Buddhists and Jainas get their Gaja-Lakshmi; wherefrom did the Buddhists get the Vaishnavī carrying the Garuḍadhvaja? My answer is, they got them from the orthodox Hindu buildings. There they had become too stereotyped for the architect and the mason to ignore; without these motives and decorative icons no building could be regarded as a sacred building when the Buddhists started erecting their sacred monuments which had to be in the style current in the country. On Hindu temples they all have a meaning, mystic (yogic) and traditional, dating back to the Vedic age and Vedic conceptions and are intimately connected with the previous history of Hindu mythology, which faithfully descended down to the last days of Hindu sacred architecture and iconography. But they have no meaning with Buddhist and Jaina structures where they are mere architectural, conventional decorations, i.e. borrowed and repeated from orthodox Hindu buildings. The orthodox buildings themselves of the pre-Kushan period are completely wiped out. And, who destroyed them? My answer is, the Kushan rule destroyed them. It is recorded³ that one of the early Kushans destroyed temples of the Sacred Fire and raised in their places Buddhist temples. We see from the recorded policy of the Kushan viceroy that he suppressed Brahmins and orthodox castes and made the popu-

¹ The subject is treated in the Matsya Purāṇa in chapters 251—269, and the text is avowedly based on 18 named authorities (Ch. 251, 2-4). From chapter 270, chapters dealing with history (Chs. 270-274) begin, which end about 240 A.D. The eighteen authorities will take back the science to about 600 B.C. at least, for its initial stage.

² Matsya, 257, 13-14 (re. Vishnu's Temple):

toraṇān chopariṣṭāt tu Vidyādhara-samanvitam |
devadundubhi-saṁyuktam Gandharva-mithunānvitam |

³ J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 15.

lation practically Brahmin-less. Alberūnī took note of the character of the Śaka rule referring to the period of 78 A.D.:

‘The here-mentioned Śaka tyrannised over the country between the river Sindhu and the Ocean after he had made Āryāvarta in the midst of his realm his dwelling place. He interdicted the Hindus from considering and representing themselves as anything but Śakas.’ [ii. 6].

The Garga Saṁhitā has a similar history to repeat:

‘The king of the Śakas [was] greedy, very powerful, sinful..... The terrible and the numerous Śakas [made] the population lose their character and degraded in their acts.’ (J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIV, pp. 404 and 408.)

Guṇādhyaya in the first century A.D. gives a similar description of their doings, the doings of the Mlechchhas, the foreigners, defeated by Vikramāditya Śālivāhana (J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 296):

‘(These) Mlechchhas slay Brahmins, interfere with sacrifices and other sacred ceremonies. They carry off daughters of hermits. Indeed, what crime do not the villains commit?’ (Kathāsarit., Bk. XVIII.)

36 A. How the Hindu nation looked at the Buddhist India

Mahā-Bhārata on of the Kushans is summed up in the
social conditions, Mahā-Bhārata, Vana-parvan, chapters 188
c. 150 A.D.-200 A.D. and 190¹ :—

‘Then will rule over the land many Mlechchha kings. These sinful kings, addicted to falsehood, will govern on principles that are false, and they will be given to false controversialism. The Āndhras, the Śakas, the Pulindas, the Yavanas (i.e. Yaunas), the Kāmbhojas, the Vālhikas, and the Śūra-Ābhiras will then be rulers (188. 34-36). Then,

¹ Ch. 190 is mostly repetition of Ch. 188. It seems that Ch. 188 was the original text which was revised in the shape of Ch. 190 and the name of Kalki introduced at the end which is not to be found in Ch. 188, and which was expressly borrowed from ‘the Purāṇa by Vāyu’ (Ch. 191.16). It is not to be found in the present Vāyu P., though it is in the *Vāyuprokta-Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa*. The period (c. 150 A.D.-200 A.D.) is fixed by the rulers mentioned in Ch. 188.

the utterings of the Vedas become futile, the Śūdras address (Brāhmaṇas) with 'Bho' (term of equality), while Brāhmaṇas address them with 'Noble Sir' (39). Citizens will lose character on account of the terror of the burden of taxation (46). They become addicted to materialism ('*this-worldism*'—*aihalaukikam*) which ministers to their flesh and blood (49). The whole world will be Mlechchhanized; all rites and sacrifices will cease (190. 29). The Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, and Vaiśyas will disappear; at this time all men will become one caste, the whole world will be Mlechchhanized, men will no more gratify the Celestials with *śrāddha* or manes with libations (46). Prohibiting the worship of the Celestials, they will worship bones. In the settlement of the Brāhmaṇas, in the Āśramas of the Great Ṛishis, in places sacred to gods, in sacred spots and in temples which had been dedicated to the Nāgas—the land will be marked with tombs ('*Eḍūkas*'=Buddhist stūpas) containing bones. They will have no temples dedicated to the Celestials.'¹ (65, 66, 67.)

This in places textually corresponds with the description of India under the Śāka rule given in the Garga Samhitā. The description seems to be a description by an eye-witness. The times to which the description applies is fixed by the mention of the rulers—the Āndhras, Śākas, Pulindas, Bactrians (i.e. the Kushans), Ābhiras—that is, the latter part of the Kushan times. I have said before that the Kushans destroyed the Hindu temples. This is borne out by this Mahā-Bhārata passage. The whole Hindu world was turned into Mlechchhas; all castes were abolished and practically one caste was created. Śrāddha and other rites were suspended; people worshipped bone-relics instead of Hindu gods. The *Varnāśrama* system had been superseded. Oppression resulted in loss of character. Moral decay is set out at length in the same chapters.

¹ Eḍūkān pūjayishyanti, varjayishyanti devatāḥ. Śūdraś cha prabhavishyanti na dvijāḥ yugasamkshaye. Āśrameshu Maharshiṇām Brāhmaṇāvasatheshu cha, Devasthāneshu chaityeshu Nāgānāmālayeshu cha, Eḍūka-chinhā prithivī na devagriha-bhūshitā. (Kumbakonam Text, p. 314.)

The Śakan rule aimed at denationalising the Hindus and at the basic destruction of their national system. The social revolution which the Śakas strove for with a calculated policy, was a scheme to depress the high and the aristocrat, the custodian of national culture and the trustee of national liberty—the Brahmin and the Kshatriya. The Śakas were more afraid of the Hindu social system than the arms of the Hindu rulers whom they had already conquered. They aimed at sapping character from the common people by systematic terrorisation and proselytisation. The Garga Saṁhitā says that they carried away one-fourth of the total population from the Sīprā to their own capital, i.e. Bactria. Their massacres are noted both by the Garga Saṁhitā and in their summing up by the Purāṇas.¹ They must have carried away as well great wealth from the country to Bactria. Their infamous greed was notorious. They systematically imposed a non-Brahmanical religious system on the Hindus. Hindu life, in short, was suspended. No book written between 78 A.D. to 180 A.D. is to be traced in the orthodox literature of Northern India. It became, therefore, imperatively necessary for the Hindus to undertake to deliver their country from such a political and social scourge.

VI. THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE BHĀRĀŚIVAS, AND THEIR EMPIRE.

37. The undertaking to deliver the country from such a national calamity (§ 36) was shouldered by the Bhāraśivas on the Ganges. Now, here we have to take note of the contemporary motive factor which rules national undertakings in every human community and in every age and clime. That factor is the spiritual sentiment and the faith for the time-being. If the historian misses to read that, and merely attempts to record the catalogue of facts, he misses the bird and counts the feathers. It is more than doubtful whether he can read his facts correctly without reading the curves of national thought and sentiment.

¹ See below, Pt. III, §§ 146B—147.

38. Then, what was the National Cult and Faith with which the Bhāraśivas entered on their mission? We find in that period everywhere—Śiva. Śiva rules over the actions of the Bhāraśivas and continues to preside over the Vākātaka India. In their period even books on poetic sentiments, which ought to be devoted to love, were devoted to Lord Śiva. National service of Hindu state-makers was always a solemn dedication to the Supreme Force which presides over human destiny. The dedication was made to a particular aspect of Him, to a particular temperament of His, according to the national temperament of the time. The presiding God to whom political service was this time dedicated, was the God of Destruction. The Bhāraśivas called in Śiva who stood up in Yoga for a partial Tāṇḍava through his people of the Gangetic valley. We find Śiva everywhere in this period. The air is surcharged with the belief that the Destroyer Himself has founded the Bhāraśiva State, that He is the guarantor of the king and the people of the Bhāraśiva kingdom. He has stood up to see His people free—free to follow their *dharma*, free to be their own masters, free to be in Āryāvarta, the land of the Āryas, their God-given home. This politico-geographical idea of 'legitimacy' of the Hindu sovereign in Āryāvarta, which we may call *Āryāvartism*, is laid down in the Mānava Dharmasāstra (II, 22-23), and is traceable from the time of Patañjali (180 B.C.)¹ down to Medhātithi [*ākramyākramya na chiram tatra Mlechchhāḥ śihātāro bhavanti*],² and to Viśala-deva [1164 A.D.] as a living belief [*Āryāvartam yathārtham punarapi kṛitavān Mlechchha-vichchedanābhiḥ*].³ This sacred principle had been violated, and He must set the wrong right. He must do it by His own method, by His own process, the dance of destruction. The Nāga kings became *Bhāraśiva*. They undertook to execute and they successfully executed that national dance of destruction in the valley of the Ganges. The names assumed by the Bhāraśiva Nāgas—'Virasena,' 'Skanda Nāga,' 'Bhīma Nāga,'

¹ J.B.O.R.S., IV, p. 202.

² Tagore Lectures, *Manu and Yājñavalkya*, pp. 31-32.

³ Delhi Pillar, I.A., XIX, p. 212.

'Deva Nāga,' 'Bhava Nāga'—all prove that sense of Śaiva responsibility and necessity which the time required. Their repeated *aśvamedhas*, like the revival of the names of divine heroes, are records in themselves. A series of acts of valour continued, and repeated exertions resulted in progressive destruction of the Kushan power in Āryāvarta. Soon after the

Bhāraśiva Nāgas' success against the Kushans.

rise of Virasena we find the Kushans pushed back as far as the neighbourhood of Sirhind from the Gangetic valley.

About 226-241 A.D., the Kushan king (*Junāh*=Yauvan)¹ had diplomatic dealings with Ardashir, the first Sassanian emperor, from Sirhind.² By that time North-Eastern India up to the confines of the Punjab had been freed. This is amply borne out by the coins of Virasena which are found all over the United Provinces, and parts of the Punjab. The Kushans were so pressed by the Bhāraśivas that they ultimately sought the protection of the Sassanian Emperor Shapur (between 238 and 269 A.D.) whose effigy they had to stamp on their coins. Before Samudra Gupta, the greater portion of the Punjab as well had been liberated. The Mādrakas were striking their own coins once more and negotiated peace with and accepted the suzerainty of Samudra Gupta. The hills up to Kāngrā once more were under Hindu rulers when Samudra Gupta appeared on the scene. Most of this achievement is to be credited to the Bhāraśiva Nāgas, performers of ten *aśvamedhas*; and the maintenance of that free inheritance for 50 years, with further progress, to the Vākātakas, who carried on the Bhāraśiva policy.

39. To appraise the success of the Bhāraśivas we have to imagine and visualize the immense prestige and strength of the Kushans, and the Bhāraśiva boldness. The Bactrian Tukharas whom we call to-day the Kushans. Here was a power whose reserve forces were centred in their homeland in Central Asia and which was constantly fed from that centre—a power which had become firmly established from the banks of the Oxus up to the Bay of

¹ J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 201.

² V. Smith, E.H.I., 4th, p. 289, n.

Bengal,¹ from the Jumna down to the Narbada,² and in the west, from Kashmir and the Punjab to Sindh and Kathiawād and to the sea beating against the coast of Gujarat, Sindh and Beluchistan—a power which for nearly one hundred years had insisted on its divine right as the Son of Heaven (*Daiva-putra*³) to rule over the Hindu humanity—a power which had the established fact of an iron rule in its favour. That power now to be challenged by a leader risen from obscurity, was a bigger fact than the challenge by the subject Greeks against the mammoth Persian Empire. The Greeks had not been under the direct administration of Persia, while the area now called the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and Bihar had been under the direct imperial administration of the Kushans. It was not the question of merely throwing off a suzerainty, it was not the case of merely tearing off the veil of prestige hanging from a distance, but attacking directly a mighty power bodily installed in the country. The Bhāraśivas did it and did it successfully. While the Sātavāhanas in the West were still struggling against the Śaka power—the Sātavāhanas who had been emperors of the South for three centuries—the Bhāraśivas attained the result where the Emperors of Dakṣiṇāpatha failed.

40. The Bhāraśiva rule was marked with Śiva's asceticism. They have no grandeur, except the grandeur of their severe and austere undertaking. They ignore the imperial coinage of Kushans and revert to the old Hindu coinage. They assume no grandeur, unlike the Guptas. Like Śiva, they have a self-imposed non-richness. Like Śiva, they bestow and not partake. They give freedom to the Hindu Republics; they give them freedom to mint their own money and to live their own full life. Like Śiva's domestic polity, they have a *gaṇa*, of

¹ Coins of Vāsudeva were found in Pātaliputra excavations. A.R.A.S., E.C., 1913-14, p. 74. The Kushan and Pūrī Kushan coins would indicate their influence up to the Bay of Bengal, though beyond Bihar they seem to be limited generally by the Rajmahal Hills. The Orissa tradition about a *yavana* invasion probably refers to the Kushan *yaunas*.

² At Bherāghāt a Kushan inscription has been found.

³ Cf. Alberūnī, II, 10, on the pretensions of the *Barha-takin*, ancestor of Kanishka (J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 225).

Hindu States, around them. They are the true Śiva-made Nandi, the lord of the *Gaṇas*. They merely preside over a confederacy of states and foster freedom everywhere. They perform *aśvamedhas*, but do not become *eka-rāṭ* Emperors. They remain political Śaivas and international ascetics amongst their countrymen.

41. A worshipper of Śiva is a worshipper of a symbol, a *bindu*. The Śaiva worshipper would have looked down upon the Buddhist idol-worshippers as followers of a low cult.¹ Whether the Bhāraśiva did so or did not, we can be certain of one fact that Buddhism could not but have declined in the Nāga country, if for nothing else, at least for its political alliance with the enemy of the national civilization. It had become the foster-child of a tyrant and with the uprooting of the tyranny it must fall. This is the explanation of the decay of Buddhism which was so marked by the time of the early Guptas. The decay was in an advanced stage by the end of the Bhāraśiva period. Buddhism had become a denationalized system and assumed a non-Hindu character by its contact with the Kushans, in whose hands it had lost its spiritual independence and become a political instrument. The Buddhist Bhikshus in the Kushan period in Kashmir were felt, on the evidence of the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, as a social nuisance and a load of oppression. They must have been so felt also in Āryāvarta. Śaiva asceticism became a necessary antidote for a readjustment of society. The Śakas had weakened the character of the Hindu population; Śaiva asceticism was a necessary factor of correction. The greedy imperialism of the Kushans was destroyed; the Hindu people were purged of deteriorated morals. And when the task was done, the Bhāraśivas retired. Śiva's mission was complete, and in Lord Śiva the Bhāraśivas re-entered in spiritual triumph. Unconquered till the last, untainted by any material selfishness, the true servants of their Lord and His people exit from the stage of history—a rare, honourable and noble *finis* which the Bhāraśiva fully deserved. The Bhāraśivas

¹ During the Nāga-Vākāṭaka period, the Ceylonese Buddhists transferred the tooth-relic from Andhra to Ceylon (§ 175). It indicates that Buddhist worship at the time stood discredited in India [cf. § 126].

re-established Hindu sovereignty in Āryāvarta. They restored the Hindu imperial throne and the national civilization and gave a new life to their country. They revived *aśvamedha* after a lapse of some four centuries. They restored the sanctity of the Mother Ganges, the river of Lord Śiva, throughout its length by freeing her from sin and crime, and made her worthy to be sculptured at the doors of the temples of the Vākātakas and the Guptas as a symbol of purity.¹ They did all this, and left no memorial to themselves. They left their deeds and obliterated themselves.

42. The Nāga performers of the ten *aśvamedhas*, to put it in modern phraseology, the Nāga emperors, fostered the republics which covered the whole of [Eastern and Western] Malwā, and probably also Gujarat (Ābhiras), the whole of Rajputana (Yaudheyas and Mālavas), and probably also a portion of the Eastern Punjab (Madras)—all connected territory, to the west of the valley of the Ganges. These were certainly free in the next, the Vākātaka period, when Samudra Gupta emerges on the stage. The Malwā republics seem to have been formed by peoples and clans akin to the Nāgas. Those around Vidiśā were worshippers of Nāgas from early times, as the republican coins of Eran prove. Eran, the Airikīṇa town, is itself after the name Airaka, a Nāga, and the Eran coins bear a Nāga (serpent) figure. The Mālavas, near Jaipur, had founded their capital, Karkoṭa Nāgara, naming it after the Nāga Karkoṭa, which now lies within the territory of the Raja of Uniyāra—a feudatory of

¹ The oldest form of Gangā in stone is at Jānkhat (see Plate II herein). The next one, together with that of the sister-river Yamunā we find at Bhūmarā; then those at Deogarh, described by Cunningham in A.S.R., vol. X, p. 104, Temple No. 5, where the figures are '*canopied by a five-hooded Nāga*'. They are on the lower faces of the jambs, just as at Samudra Gupta's Vishnu temple at Eran. The Nāga-canopy at Deogarh is unique, nowhere repeated. Nāga is unconnected with the mythology of Gangā and Yamunā. The river motifs themselves are referable to the Bhāraśiva period (see § 30) and its association with Nāga lends strong support to that view. The *Nāga-Gangā* and the *Nāga-Yamunā* signify the two sacred rivers of the Nāga territory freed by them. Cf. § 86 on the conscious, political significance of the river motifs.

the Mahārāja of Jaipur, about 25 miles E.-S. from Tonk. The word *Nāgara* itself in the capital *Karkoṭa Nāgara* is connected with the word *Nāga*. It is important to recognise this fact that the Nāga monarchs and the republican Mālavas were, by their civilization and also probably ethnically, connected. Rājaśekhara says that the Takka and the people of Maru used *apabhraṃśa* idioms. As we have already seen, the family of Gaṇapati Nāga of Padmāvati was a *Ṭāka-vamśa*, which means that the family came from the Takka-deśa. Thus we see that the Mālavas and the Nāgas spoke the same dialect. It seems that with the original migration of the republican Mālavas from the Punjab, the Takka Nāgas had also migrated, and that the Nāgas themselves originally belonged to a republican community [the Five Karpataṣ] [§31], and that they were a Punjab people settled in Malwā.

43. The Nāga emperors became the leaders of a movement for freedom from the Kushan rule. The Mālavas, the Yaudheyas, and the Kuṇindas (Madrakas) all re-strike their coins in the Nāga period. It may be possible to discern on a minute study their connection with the Nāga coinage disclosing the symbols of hegemony or suzerainty of the Nāgas.¹ The connection of the Mālava republican coins with those of Padmāvati has been already realized and noticed. Dr. Vincent Smith says, 'they (Nāga coins) are closely related to some of the later Mālava coins'.² The Mālava coins re-appear, after a break, about the same time as the Nāga coins of Padmāvati, about the second century A.D.³ The Yaudheya coinage revives about the second century A.D.,⁴ and the Kuṇinda coinage in the third century,⁵ who are, evidently, the last to be liberated. In other words, the re-rise of the Yaudheyas and the Mālavas is contemporaneous with the Nāgas.

¹ The peculiar tree symbol with the side designs of the Bhāraśiva coins (§§ 26A, 26B) is met with on several republican coins of the period.

² C.I.M., p. 164.

³ Rapson, I.C., pp. 12-13; Cf. C.I.M., pp. 176-177.

⁴ C.I.M., p. 165.

⁵ Rapson, I.C., p. 12.

44. The main blow to the Kushan power came from the Nāga Empire: its character and extent. Nāga emperors, but it is almost certain that on account of the confederate sovereignty enjoyed by these large republics the Nāgas must have been helped in their campaign by these republican communities. The Nāga empire was, what we may call, a Democratic Empire. In Magadha, the Kōta dynasty seems to have arisen under them (Part III). The Gupta dynasty takes its root in the Nāga period, which the Purāṇas expressly mention (Part III, § 110). It should be noted here that the Guptas were also northern emigrants domiciled in the east (Part III, § 112). The Kōtas of Magadha and the Guptas of Prayāga were evidently subordinate members of the Nāga Empire. In Bihar, Champāvatī is noted by the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa, as a capital of the Nava Nāgas. The Nāgas extended their sway into the Central Provinces, a fact borne out by the subsequent Vākātaka history and the place-names like *Nāgavardhana*, *Nandīvardhana*, and *Nāgapura*. At Purikā, they had a capital in the heart of the Vindhyan mountains, as a gateway to Malwā. We may take it that, speaking roughly, the empire of the Bhāraśivas included Bihar, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Bundelkhand, the Central Provinces, Malwa, Rajputana and the Madra republics in the E. Punjab. The Kushans accepted the suzerainty of Ardashir just in the middle of the Bhāraśiva period, 226–241 A.D., and they adopted Shapur's effigy on their coins between 238 and 269 A.D. This was the result of the Bhāraśiva pressure. Thus the ten *aśvamedhas* of the Bhāraśivas were not an empty rite.

45. Apart from the *aśvamedhas* which are symbols both of a political revival and a revival of orthodox culture, there is independent evidence of a revival of orthodox culture which marks a new era. The word *Nāgara* as in *Karkoṭa-Nāgara*, is undoubtedly connected with the word *Nāga* and is a vernacular form, denoting a derivative from that word, just as in *Nagar-dhana* [= *Nāgara-Vardhana*] (§ 32). The architectural term 'Nāgara style' could not be explained on the basis of assuming its connection with the word *nagara* (city). This style-name is un-

known to the Matsya Purāṇa which closes its historical data at about 243 A.D., i.e. before the close of the Nāga period. But it is known to the *Māna-sāra*, a Guptan or post-Guptan work. The style designated by the term Nāgara seems to be the style made popular by the Nāga kings. In this connection, we should notice the same term applied to Brahmins called Nāgar Brahmins of the Gangetic valley (Bulandshahar)¹ who became Muhammadan in Muhammadan times, and the term applied to the Jāts called *Nāgrā* Jāts near Ahi-chhatra.² The former were *Nāga* priests and '-r (a)' is added to show their connection with *Nāga*. The '*Vesara*' style, which again is a vernacular term taken, like the *Nāgara*, from the vocabulary of the mason, is distinguished by its being in the 'ornamental' style: Sanskrit *veśa*, 'dress', 'make-up', Pkt. *Vesa*, *besa*, or 'ornamental' [vide *Śilpa-Ratna*, ch. xvi. 50: '*vesaram veśya uchyate*'].³ In both *Nāgara* and *Vesara*, *ra* has been added to the base-word forming a vernacular derivative, as *gaṭṭhar* ('bundle') from '*grantha*' ('tie'). The base in *Nāgara* is thus *Nāga*. *Vesara* was the type of religious buildings which was 'artificial', 'architectonic'. *Nāgara* was that in which we mostly find the Gupta square temples, and the Vākāṭaka temple of Pārvatī at Nachnā, and the Bhāraśiva temple of Bhūmarā (Bhūbharā, see App. A.). It was a *griha* ('dwelling-house') of one room (Matsya, 252. 51; 253. 2).

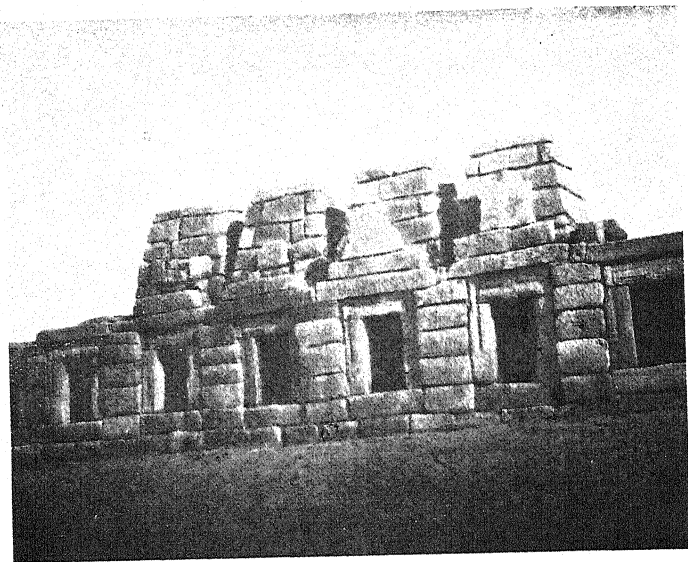
The Nāga antiquities have not been explored, yet we know that at Karkoṭa Nāgara, the capital of the Mālava Republic, the true type of also the *vesara* style existed. Carlleyle, in vol. VI, A.S.R., at page 186, describes the temple which he excavated and calls '*peculiarly-shaped*' :

¹ F. S. Growse, J.B.A.S., 1879, p. 271: 'The principal residents of the town are Nāgar Brahmins by descent, though since the time of Aurangzeb, Muhammadan by religion, who believe that their ancestors were the priests employed by Janamejaya to conduct his sacrifice and that in return for their services they had a grant of the township and the surrounding villages.'

² Rose, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and the N.W.F. Province*, 1919. Vol. I, p. 48.

³ Compare *Vistika* in the Hathigumpha inscription (E.I., XX, p. 80, line 13) for 'architect'. *Vesar* (*Besar*) in Hindī is a nose ornament.





Chaunsath Joginī Temples at Khajurāho.

'This small temple is remarkable for having been composed almost entirely of an exteriorly circular (or circularly many-sided) building, which probably once terminated upwards in a *śikhar* [*śikhara*], and which contained within it a square chamber built of massive, rough-hewn stones; for the temple did not appear to have possessed either a pillared portico, or a vestibule, or antechamber.

There is found in the period a *śikhara* style: on the square body [Nāgara plan] a four-sided *śikhara*.¹ Of this type, I have discovered a very small temple at Suraj Mau, which though dedicated to a lingam, now outside the temple, is called the *Nāg Bābā* Temple. The small temples of Karkoṭa Nāgara with *Śikhara*s, were out of a class. The temple which I discovered at Suraj Mau has in its lower square portion the perfect 'Gupta'-body, while the *śikhara* part is a suggestion of so many storeys rising one on the other, tapering in imitation of a mountain peak. Such shrines at Khajurāho of Chauṇsaṭh Joginīs belong to that class. Cunningham rightly dates the latter before the grandfather of Dhaṅga, i.e. about 800 A.D. (A.S.R., XXI, 57). A glance at the two (the Suraj Mau Nāg Bābā)² and the Jogini shrines³ will at once convince one that the Nāga Bābā is much older. Cunningham found at Tigowa foundations of 34 such small temples,⁴ open on the east and closed on three sides, i.e. like the Suraj Mau Temple and of similar dimensions. He assigned them to the Gupta period, a date which he gave to the sculptures there. Smith after the publication of his *History of Art*, amended the date of the Tigowā remains by placing them in the Vākātaka period, contemporaneous with Samudra Gupta.⁵ I found there numerous four-sided *śikhara* pieces. The small *śikhara* temples at Karkoṭa Nāgara would also go back, at the latest, to 350 A.D., after which date the Mālavas disappeared, and the deserted town yields no coins subsequent to that date. These small temples, remains of which were found at Karkoṭa

¹ Cf. Gopinath Rao, *Iconography*, ii, 1, p. 99, on Nāgara plan: *Nāgarān chaturasraṁ syāt*. See *Silpa-Ratna*, XVI, 58.

² See *Modern Review*, August 1932. Suraj Mau is near Chhatarpur, C.I.

³ I have not found them illustrated anywhere yet. [See plate II A.]

⁴ A.S.R., IX, 41-44. ⁵ J.R.A.S., 1914, p. 334. I agree; the details there are in line with Nachnā. The place-name is *Tigawān*.

Nāgara and Tigowā, were Hindu votive temples after the fashion of the votive stūpas of the Kushan period. Architecturally thus they would follow immediately the Kushan period. A normal, as opposed to a 'votive', śikhara temple must have been large. Śikhara had been an old thing; '*excellent śikharas with carved interior*' are noted in the Hathigumphā inscription (c. 160 B.C.); their artists, one hundred in number, received land-grants from the Emperor Khāravela (E.I., XX, p. 80, Insc. line, 13). The Nāgara śikhara was a particular, probably a new, variety, which arose in the time of the Nāgas, i.e. the Bhāraśiva dynasty, and after their name received a permanent and wide name as 'Nāgara'. The Vākāṭaka period, which follows the Nāga period, affords an example of the Nāgara śikhara in the shape of its Chaturmukha Śiva Temple at Nach-nā. Its Pārvatī Temple is an imitation of a mountain (*parvata*) with caves and wild animals; while the Śiva Temple has the śikhara (*Kailāsa*). Both are contemporary, and both styles existed contemporaneously. The age of both are fixed by what we call 'Gupta' sculptures, that is, the temples cannot be post-Guptan, yet they are not Guptan.¹ The figures and decorations on both were done by the same masons. The Chaturmukha Temple has a tall śikhara with slightly curved sides and having a height of about 40 feet. It stands on a raised platform. Pillars and halls it lacks [App. A].

§ 46A. The Bhūmarā Temple, discovered by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, near Uch-harā (the *Uchchakalpa* of the inscriptions of the Gupta-Vākāṭaka period), Nagod State, Western Baghelkhand, has been assigned by him to the fifth century A.D.² This temple is

¹ Scholars have gone into wild guesses over the Chaturmukha Temple. They hold that the śikhara temple of Chaturmukha is probably a later building. They, however, forget that the two temples make one scheme, and sculptures in both are by the same chisel. The buildings are in their original shape and material. They are parts of the same scheme, to make Pārvatī, the Goddess living in the *Parvata* which is imitated on the walls, while the Chaturmukha lingam is installed under a śikhara, denoting Kailāsa. They escaped the hand of the iconoclast, being in an out-of-the-way place. [See App. at the end.]

² Archæological Memoir, No. 16, pp. 3, 7. The Memoir illustrates

surely a Bhāraśiva building. It is a Śaiva shrine. A large lingam, like the Chaturmukha at Nachnā, was established in the temple which is in the style followed in Samudra Gupta's time at Eran. What connects this temple with the Nāga traditions is the peculiar palm designs. Palm was the Nāga emblem, which has been also found at Padmāvati, one of the Nāga capitals. At Bhūmarā we have whole pillars (pilasters) carved in imitation of palm trees (Pl. IV), a feature nowhere else found. I shall designate it a Nāga (Bhāraśiva) motif. Scrolls of palm-leaf (fan) are used as decoration. Its human figures stand out classically. They express a fullness of life where nothing of the primitive or the decadent is traceable. They are entirely of a different technique, conception and execution, to what we are accustomed at Mathurā. Here we have the real, old Hindu Art, practically come down direct from the art of Bhārahut which is within a few miles of Bhūmarā. To Bhūmarā, Bhārahut is primitive, although in itself Bhārahut marks a decadent close of a preceding line of Hindu Art. Bhūmarā supplies a missing link connecting the Guptan Udaygiri-Deogarh with the past of the national orthodox art. The national orthodox art seems to have survived only in Baghelkhand and Bundelkhand where the Kushan rule could not be sufficiently destructive. As there is very little difference between the Bhāraśiva and the Vākāṭaka culture—the latter being a continuation of the former, we may, with some confidence, assume that the national plastic art did revive under the Bhāraśivas, which is attested by the Jānkhaṭ fragments for its early and independent existence. The śikhara before the Bhāraśivas was a four-cornered spire, as evidenced from the 'Bodh-Gaya' plaque found at Pāṭaliputra with a Kharoṣṭhi inscription of the first or the second century A.D., and the two sculptured replicas of śikhara temples found at Mathurā of about 150 A.D., to which Dr. Coomaraswamy has drawn attention.¹ The Bhāraśiva and Vākāṭaka śikhara, on the other hand, is a four-cornered spire over a four-cornered

the remains, some of which have now been removed to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. [See App. A. at the end here on the date.]

¹ *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Pl. XIX.

sanctum, with a bulge in the spire. This post-Kushan new type of śikhara is definitely datable in the Bhāraśiva period, and we may call this style the *Nāgara* śikhara.

47. The śikhara style goes out of fashion in the Gupta times in stone temples. But the *Nāgara* type asserts itself in the Gupta period itself more in brick.¹ In mediæval architecture, there is a combination of the pillar and the śikhara, of the square and the round plans, i.e. of the *Nāgara* and the *Vesara* types, the *Nāgara* type predominating.

48. There was a *Nāgara* style of painting. That was also evidently connected with the *Nāga* period, *Nāgara* painting. but we are not in a position to distinguish it yet. I should not, however, be surprised if one day it is discovered in some distinctive style amongst our old frescoes of *Ajanṭā*. *Ajanṭā* became part of the *Nāga* Empire about 250 A.D.

49. It is certain that the *Nāgas* did not discourage Prakrit. On their coins they use Prakrit. *Rājaśekhara*, though later, noted the *Ṭakkas* for using *apabhraṃśisms*. The official language, as before the *Kushans*, remained Prakrit. They were democratic in politics, and they remained so in the matter of language.

49A. In the same way the script name *Nāgarī* is to be explained. I think, the origin of this *Nāgara* script. name lies in the *Nāga* dynasty under whom originated the headed type of writing, evidence of the existence of which we get from the time of *Prithivishēṇa* I in the inscriptions of *Nachnā* and *Ganj*.² In the *Vākāṭaka* inscriptions the letters are bound with a box-like heading which was reduced to a line in the *Nāgarī* script beginning from about

¹ Cf. Cunningham, on Gupta brick-temple at Konch, A.S.R. XVI, plate 17, p. 52.

² I emphatically disagree with the new view propounded in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, p. 362, that the *Nachnā* and *Ganj* inscriptions belonged to *Prithivishēṇa* II. I have carefully compared the scripts, and it is impossible to hold that they can be later than the fourth century A.D. The view of Fleet on the age of these inscriptions was perfectly right. *Prithivishēṇa* II's plates clearly show that the *Nachnā* *Prithivishēṇa* flourished long before. [See 61A for the *Vākāṭaka* inscriptions.]

800 A.D. The name *Nāgarī* seems to have been applied to what is called the box-headed script of the fourth and early fifth centuries. It is significant that the box-headed writing is found exactly where the Nāga government was most prominent, viz. in Bundelkhand and the Central Provinces. In the Central Provinces before the Nāga period, we have a Kushan inscription found at Bherāghāt which is in the ordinary Brāhmī script. The peculiar box-headed writing, therefore, came into existence after the Kushans and before the Vākātakas. We can confidently date it in the Nāga period.

50. The Gaṅgā and Yamunā motifs and their connexion with the Nāga period have been noticed Gaṅgā and Yamunā. above. The motifs continue in the Vākā-ṭaka period (§ 86) and are carried down to the Gupta art and further down to the Chandel art.¹

51. In the next big period, i.e. the Guptan, we find a sudden change in a social matter. Bull Sacredness of the Cow. and cow are declared in Gupta inscriptions to be sacred and not to be killed. The beginning of this cult is probably to be dated in the Nāga period. The Kushans used to kill bulls and cows.² The Bhāraśivas had the bull as their sacred symbol, with which they identified themselves. With them the sacredness of the bull probably became universal in their empire, punctuating the difference of their age from the last political period when the bull was freely slaughtered for the kitchen of the Kushans. In the Gupta period, the kings take pride in being protectors of the bull and cow, emphasizing the character of their own rule as contrasted with that of the Kushans. The foundations of modern Hinduism were laid by the Nāga Emperors and that edifice was reared by the Vākātakas and elaborated by the Guptas.

¹ Cunningham, A.S.R. XXI, 59. The gate mentioned by Cunningham is now at the Museum gate, Khajurāho.

² See below on Kushan rule in the Gupta Section (§ 146 B).

PART II

The Vākāṭaka Kingdom (248 A.D.–284 A.D.):

The Vākāṭaka Empire (284 A.D.–348 A.D.)
with an Appendix on the Later Vākāṭaka
Period (348 A.D.–550 A.D.)¹

‘Vākāṭaka-lalāmasya kramaprāpta-Nṛipa-śriyaḥ.’—[Vākāṭaka Seal.]

VII. THE VĀKĀṬAKAS.

52. From the Vākāṭaka inscriptions the following facts are well-established. A dynasty, which took for its name *Vākāṭaka*, came into existence about a century before Samudra Gupta's conquests. The first king of the dynasty was Vindhyaśakti², a Brahmin. Their *gotra* was *Vishṇu-vṛiddha*—a subdivision of the Bhāradvājas. The second king of the dynasty was Pravarasena; the kings coming after him all assume their regnal names ending in *śena*. Pravarasena, son of Vindhyaśakti, to be known hereafter as Pravarasena I, not only performed four *āsvamedha* sacrifices but also assumed the title of *Samrāt*, i.e. the Emperor of India. He had a long reign, so much so that his eldest son Gautamīputra could not succeed him, but his grandson Rudrasena I succeeded him. His son Gautamīputra was from a Brahmin lady, which is clear from his name. But Gautamīputra himself was married to the daughter of the Bhāraśiva king Bhava Nāga—a Kshatriya. The son of this union was Rudrasena, grandson of Pravarasena I and Bhava Nāga. We have to call him Rudrasena I, as names were repeated in consonance with the orthodox Hindu law—a practice also followed by the Guptas. Rudrasena's son was Prithivishena I, by whose time the family had existed for 100 years:

¹ The later history of the Vākāṭakas [348 A.D.—550 A.D.] is included owing to its cultural importance and for its not having been treated before.

² This seems to be an assumed name, an *abhisheka-nāma*, after the name of the country of his rise.

¹ 'Varsha-śatam-abhivardhamāna-kośa-daṇḍa-sādhana-'
meaning:

'—whose treasure and means of government had been
accumulating for a hundred years'—(Fleet, G. I., p. 241).

This Prithivishena, whose political wisdom, heroism and good government are praised, subjugated the king of Kuntala, which was the name for a part of the Kārnāṭaka country and the Kaḍamba kingdom, with which we shall deal later. Rudrasena II, son of Prithivishena I, was married to the daughter of Chandra Gupta II, Vikramāditya, whose name was Prabhāvatī Guptā, born of the Empress Kubera Nāgā, a princess of the Nāga dynasty. Prabhāvatī Guptā ruled as regent after the death of her husband Rudrasena II, as guardian to her minor son Yuvarāja Divākarasena who was in his thirteenth year when the Poona Plates were issued by the Queen-Mother, and subsequently to another son called Damodarasena-Pravarasena who succeeded Divākarasena and who issued a charter in his nineteenth year, which has come down to us.² The double name *Damodarasena-Pravarasena* proves the practice that these kings had two names, one the pre-coronation, and the other the coronation name which in the Champā (Cambodia) inscription is called the *Abhisheka-nāma*.³ Similarly the Gupta Emperor Chandra Gupta II had two names, one *Deva Gupta* and the other *Chandra Gupta*.⁴ Damodarasena-Pravarasena would have assumed kingship when 25 years of age, as that is the age laid down by the Śāstras for obtaining coronation.⁵ Prabhāvatī Guptā had thus a regency of about 20 years during the minority of her two sons. Neither Prabhāvatī Guptā nor her son when he came of age, ever used the Gupta Era. We may, therefore, conclude with certainty that the position of the Vākāṭakas was such as the Gupta Era was not required to be used in the Vākāṭaka dominions during the reigns of Chandra Gupta II and his successors. Although the Vākāṭakas after Samudra Gupta were in the Empire

¹ The Chamak, Dudia, and Bālāghāt plates (See § 61A.).

² Second Poona plates. I.A., 53, p. 48.

³ *Champā*, by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, p. 157.

⁴ J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, p. 38.

⁵ *Hindu Polity*, II, p. 52.

of the Guptas, they were full sovereigns. From the Ajaṇṭā inscriptions and the Bālāghāt plates it is also clear that they had their own feudatories and they made war and peace on their own account. They subdued the kings of Trikūṭa, Kuntala, the Andhras, etc. and kept them as their feudatories. Their kingdom commenced in the western portion of Bundelkhand where Bundelkhand begins, in Ajaygarh and Pannā, and covered the whole of the Central Provinces and Berars, and with the Trikūṭa territory which was situated in northern Konkan, they were also masters of the northern part of the Maratha country, up to the sea. They were next-door to Kuntala, i.e. Kārṇāṭaka, and the Andhra country. Their direct rule covered all the land on the table-land of the Vindhya and the valley between the Vindhya and the Satpura with the Maikal range. They controlled the passage through the Ajaṇṭā ghats to the South. Their feudatory empire included S. Kosala and Andhra, Western Malwā and Northern Hyderabad (§§ 73 ff.), apart from their Bhāraṣīva inheritance. They had thus a very large kingdom under their direct control, which in the reign of Samudra Gupta had been reduced, but which in the next reign was fully restored and revived, and very likely it was so restored in the reign of Samudra Gupta himself, as Prithivishena I waged war against the newly constituted Kadamba kingdom and reduced its king to a subordinate position (§§ 82, 203).

53. Their history remains mostly uninterpreted without the aid of the Purāṇas and without reference to the history of India under the Bhāraṣīva empire. With their aid we shall now relate the Vākāṭaka history. It is really the history of India for over half a century which we have to call the Vākāṭaka Period. Its importance is very great, both for the period and as explaining the rise and course of the next imperial period, i.e. of the Gupta Empire. The Guptas merely took over the empire already established by Pravarasena I, both territorially and culturally. If there had been no Vākāṭaka Empire, there would have been no Gupta Empire.

54. Pravarasena I was the first king who superseded the old orthodox imperial title of *Dviraśvamedha-Yājñi*,

‘Performer of Two Aśvamedhas,’ which had been revived some five centuries before, after a lapse of several centuries, by Pushyamitra Śunga, Emperor of Āryāvarta, and by Śrī Sātakarni I, Emperor of Dakṣiṇāpatha. The Emperor Pravarasena performed **Four Aśvamedhas**, and also *Bṛihaspati-sava*—a ritual open only to Brahmins. Along with them he performed Vājapeyas and several other Vedic sacrifices. Unlike the Bhāraśivas, he assumed the title of *Samrāt*, to which he was fully entitled as he seems to have brought the South also under his control (§§ 82, 176), and achieved a result which had been unachieved after the imperial Mauryas. A great portion of northern Dakṣiṇāpatha, we find, becoming integral part of his dominions.

55. It is possible, though strange, that the empire of the Vākāṭakas should not receive up to this time even a line in modern text-books on Indian history, but it is not possible for the Purāṇas not to include the dynasty of Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasena in their chronicles. It was not a small thing to perform Four Aśvamedhas, and assume the title of *Samrāt* bringing oneself in line with Māndhātā and Vasu. The Purāṇas, which register even the foreign dynasties in India, could not have missed Pravarasena and his family. And, as a matter of fact, they have not missed them. After registering the fall of the Tukhāra, i.e. the Kushan dynasty they immediately give the dynasty of the *Vindhyaśaktis*, of which they give the founder’s name as *Vindhyaśakti*, whose son is called *Pravīra*. That name is described as a ‘popular name’ and it literally means ‘the great hero’. His Vājapeya sacrifices are recorded by them and one edition of the Vāyu Purāṇa which is really the original Brahmanḍa,¹ instead of reading *Vājapeya* reads *Vājimedha*, i.e. ‘Horse-Sacrifice’, and the

¹ e Vāyu of Pargiter agrees fully with the Brahmanḍa of Dr. Hall. The present printed text of the Brahmanḍa is an amended edition. Brahmanḍa MSS. are so rare that neither Mr. Pargiter nor I could find any.

word is put in the plural [*Vājimedhaiś cha*]¹ which means, according to Sanskrit grammar, that he performed three or more Horse-Sacrifices. His reign is given as one of 60 years, which as being long, stands corroborated by the Vākāṭaka inscriptions and by the fact of his four *aśvamedhas* which must cover, on account of the protracted nature of the sacrifice and the intervals necessary, 40 to 50 years. Three facts completely establish the identity, viz. (1) the period of the rise of Vindhyaśakti and Pravīra which comes in the Purāṇas before the Guptas and after the Tukhāras, (2) the name of the founder of the dynasty being identical, (3) the *vājimedhas* (Horse-Sacrifices) and the long reign of Pravīra. Add to this, the inter-connection which the Purāṇas establish between the Nāga dynasty and Pravarasena through the grandson which I have already discussed above. In the light of this identification we gain the whole history of the Vākāṭakas from the Purāṇas which the inscriptions by themselves fail to impart.

56. That the Vākāṭakas were Brahmins admits of no doubt. They did *Brihaspati-sava* sacrifices, which are intended for and open to Brahmins only. About the exclusive character of *Brihaspati-sava* the tradition never changed. Their *gotra*, Viṣṇu Vṛiddha, is a Brahmin *gotra*, still surviving in the Maratha country.² Then, Vindhyaśakti is expressly called *dviṇa* or Brahmin [*dviṇaḥ prakāśo bhuvi Vindhyaśaktiḥ*].³ As to the place of their origin, the Purāṇic description—the ‘Vindhyaśaka’ or ‘the Vindhyan’ dynasty—limits the problem to the Vindhyan country, and their further localization fixes the exact spot. The Vindhyaśakas, i.e. the Vākāṭakas, arose on the river or in the country called *Kilakilā* (*Kilakilāyām*). One might have thought of identifying this river with the *Kiṇā*, the Ken of the maps, but no room for speculation is left, as my friend Rai Bahadur Hiralal has himself seen the *Kilakilā*—a small river near Panna—having a bad reputation for its unhealthy water.⁴ We are thus brought to the very

The Original Home of
the Vākāṭakas.

¹ Pargiter, P.T., p. 50, n. 35.

² I am thankful to Professor D. R. Bhandarkar for this information.

³ A.W.S.R., Vol. IV, pp. 125 and 128 fn.—Plate LVII.

⁴ A full description of the river is now supplied to me by Mr. Śaradā

area, Ajaygarh-Pannā where the earliest Vākāṭaka inscriptions are found, that is the district of Ganj-Nachnā. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, in describing the Vidiśā Nāgas and Pravīraka, calls the whole group 'the Kilakilā kings'—that is, it treats Eastern Malwā [Vidiśā] and Kilakilā as one tract, or Eastern Malwā as included in Kilakilā. The location of the dynasty in Bundelkhand is thus unanimous.

57. Let us now take up the history of the word *Vākāṭaka*. The phrase 'Vākāṭakānām Mahārāja Śrī—so-and-so,' does not mean that the king so-and-so is the king of a people called Vākāṭakas, but only means the Mahārāja so-and-so 'of the Vākāṭaka Dynasty'. The plural form *Vākāṭakānām* simply means 'of the Vākāṭaka dynasty',¹ as in the case of the Kadambas the expression *Kadambānām* and in the case of the contemporary Pallavas, *Pallavāṇa*² (Pkt. 'of the Pallavas')—'*Bhāraddāyo Pallavāṇa Sivakhaṇḍa-vamo*'—where 'of the Pallavas' stands quite independently.³ This is, therefore, not a tribal but a personal dynastic name. The form *Vākāṭaka* means 'of the place "Vākāṭa" or "Vakāṭa",' as in Samudra Gupta's inscription, *Māhā-Kāntāraka*, *Kausalaka*, *Paishṭhāpuraka*, etc. signify ('of Mahakāntāra', 'of Kosala', 'of Pishṭhapura').⁴ The dynastic name *Traikūṭaka* is an exact parallel. I found an ancient village called Bāgāṭ, in the northernmost part of the Orchhā State, 6 miles E. of Chirgaon of the British district of Jhansi. Its neighbouring village—a village called *Bijaur*—is often mentioned with Bāgāṭ, as *Bijaur-Bāgāṭ*. It is situated in the Ṭahrauli tahsil of Orchhā. It is between two rivulets, *Kaynā* and *Dugraī*, which fall into the Betwā. It is a large and ancient Brahmin village, mainly peopled by Bhāgaur Brahmins. The village is believed to be of Droṇāchārya, the famous military Brahmin mentioned in the Mahā-Bhārata.

Prasad of Satna, Rewah, from which I find that I crossed the river twice in its search without knowing its name. It runs through Pannā. One crosses it on the way from Nāgaudh to Pannā. It is a thin stream. [See p. 8, n.]

¹ I.A., Vol. VI, p. 26.

² E.I., Vol. I, p. 5.

³ In editing the Balaghat plates of Prithivishēṇa II, Kielhorn emphasized this point. E.I., Vol. IX, p. 269.

⁴ G.I., p. 234.

There are two large caves there which were described to me to be about 25 yds. x 30 yds., and I was told that there were also sculptures there, which from the description given to me would appear to belong to what we call the Gupta age. The place has never been visited by any archæologist. A thorough exploration may result in the find of inscriptions and other valuable relics.

57A. It seems that the Brahmin who according to the Purāṇas was the first anointed king and the founder of the dynasty and who assumed the appropriate appellation of *Vindhyasakti*, adopted the name of his town as his dynastic title. That the town of Vākāṭa is of ancient origin is proved by a pilgrim's inscription at Amarāvati where a common citizen, about 150 B.C., describes himself as a *Vākāṭaka*, i.e. as an original inhabitant of Vākāṭa.¹ The town might have borne even in those days the proud military tradition claiming association with Droṇāchārya, who, like the Vākāṭakas, was a Bhāradvāja Brahmin.

58. The older Purāṇas do not mention the caste of the

‘Kilakilā Yavanāḥ’
a wrong reading.

Vindhyakas, but the Vishṇu Purāṇa has fallen into a confusion by a misreading of the Matsya text. The Matsya Purāṇa after closing the Āndhra list and giving the dynasties contemporary with the Āndhras, says in Chapter 272, verse 24,—*teshūtsanneshu Kālena tataḥ Kilakilā nripāḥ*. With this line the Matsya closes its chronicles and then enters from verse 25 onwards on a description of the ‘Yavana’ rule, which means here the Kushan rule (*Yauna*, *Yauvan*²). The Vishṇu reads the first line of that description along with the Kilakilā kings, the next line of the Matsya being *bhavishyantiha Yavanā dhar-mato kāmato'rthataḥ*. The author of the Vishṇu paraphrases these two lines in these words—‘*teshūchhanneshu Kailakilā Yavanā bhūpatayo bhavishyanti mūrdhābhishiktas teshām Vindhyasaktiḥ*’. In this the Vishṇu is not followed by the Bhāgavata, and the commentator of the Vishṇu gives another reading and explains it correctly that Vindhyasakti, according to that

¹ E.I., Vol. XV, p. 267 (Inscription No. 27).

² J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 201.

reading, was a Kshatriya (*i.e.*, Hindu) chief. The other reading is thus given by the commentator—‘*Vindhyasaktir-mūrdhābhi-shikta iti pāṭhe Kshatriya-mukhya ityarthah*’. This variant reading did not make Vindhyasakti a member of ‘the Kailakilā Yavanas’. The mistake is obvious, being caused by reading the word *Yavanāḥ* of the next line of the Matsya along with the *Kailakilāḥ*. It should be noted that it is not a consistent, but only an occasional, reading. The commentator did not find the statement that the Kailakilas were Yavanas in all the manuscripts of the Vishṇu Purāṇa. He found it omitted in some, as Mr. Pargiter has found it omitted in his *h. Vṣ.*¹ It seems that making the Kailakilas into Yavanas was a later emendation by some reviser of the text of Vishṇu who consulted the Matsya text. Evidently the original edition did not have *Yavanas* here, and it is a later addition.

59. The Purāṇas in detailing the rise of Vindhyasakti state that Vindhyasakti arose from the Kilakilā kings. Here it is clear that the Purāṇas mean the Nāgas who at that time were prominently connected with Kilakilā, as their name changes from ‘Vidiśā Vṛishas’ to ‘Kilakilā Vṛishas’, e.g. Vāyu :

tach-chhanena cha Kālena tataḥ Kīlakilā-Vṛishāḥ
tataḥ K(a)ilakilebhyaś cha Vindhyasaktir bhavishyati

* * * * *

Vṛishān Vaideśakāmś chāpi bhavishyāms cha nibodhata²

The Bhāgavata similarly describes the later Nāgas, commencing with Bhūta Nandi, as the kings of Kilakilā :

Kilakilāyām nripatayo Bhūta-Nando'tha Vaṅgiriḥ
Śiśunandīś cha tad-bhrātā Yaśo-Nandiḥ Pravirakaḥ³

The Purāṇas treat Pravira as coming in the line of the Kilakilā Vṛishas, *i.e.* the Bhāraśivas of Eastern Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand.

¹ P.T., page 48, f.n. 82.

² Vāyu, verses 358-360; cf. Brahmāṇḍa, verses 178-179.

³ Verses 32-33. The Bhāgavata omits the statement of there having been kings between Yaśaḥ Nandi and Pravira.

The meaning of the statement that Vindhyaśakti arose from the Kilakilā kings is that he arose first as their recognized feudatory or a full-fledged member of their confederacy. That he was constitutionally in a subordinate position is proved by the fact that the official deeds of the Vākātakas omit him and begin the line of their independent kings with Pravarasena. It is only in the family history [*kshītipānu-pūrvī*] given in the Ajaṇṭā cave inscription [Cave no. XVI], that Vindhyaśakti is described as the founder of the *Vākātaka vaṁśa* (Vākātaka-vaṁśa-ketuḥ). From the description it appears that Vindhyaśakti, whose strength grew in great battles and who by the valour of his arms gained (a kingdom) and became the banner of the Vākātaka dynasty and who remained a strict Brahmin throughout his career (*chakāra puṇyeshu param prayatnam*), was primarily a general of the Kilakilā Vṛishas. His adoption of the name of his native town as his dynastic title shows that he had been an ordinary citizen and had no royal pedigree behind him. He takes patriotic pleasure in connecting himself with the Vindhya and with Vākāṭa, his home. 'Vindhyaśakti' itself is obviously an assumed regnal name. He seems to have made large conquests in Andhra and Naishadha-Vidūra countries (§§75, 76A).

60. The capital from which Pravarasena I ruled was Chanakā (§24), and the Purāṇas imply Capital. that it had been in existence already; he is not called its founder. It seems that it was founded by Vindhyaśakti, if not by the Nāgas [§ 24, *n.*]. I am inclined to identify the connected site of the ancient fortified town now known as *Ganj-Nachnā* with the *Chanakā* or *Kāñchanakā* of the Vākātakas. Its strategic position implies that it was built by a newly-founded power, and may justify the assertion conveyed by the name *Vindhyaśakti* that the Vindhya was really his strength. The position of *Ganj-Nachnā* as described by General Cunningham is as follows:

'The small village of Nāchna is situated 2 miles to the west of the town of Ganj, which is 25 miles to the S.-E. of Panna, and 15 miles to the S.-W. of Nāgodh The spot [Nachnā] is covered with bricks, and there are

many remains of brick buildings on the road from Ganj to Nāchna. The people say that Kūthara [the name of the fort at Nachnā] was a great city in former times, and that it was the capital of the king of the country. The site of Nāchna is still called Khās Kūthara There is said to be a tunnel from the fort of Kūthara to the Satna or Gorena-nala which flows past Nāchna, and joins the Kiyān or Ken river, 11 miles to the S.-W. of Ganj.... The position in the entrance of a valley had the great advantage of offering a safe retreat into the recesses of the Vindhya Hills on the east, west, and south, in case of attack.'¹

The site is distinguished by the two temples, described already, of Pārvaṭī and Chaturmukha, which have the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā on their doorways. Gaṅgā and Yamunā come to be peculiarly Vākāṭaka motifs inherited from the Bhāraṣivas. The site is also known for three inscriptions of the reign of Prithivīśeṇa I. The temples are unique in the history of Indian architecture and sculpture, marking the beginning of what we call the Gupta Art. All these inscriptions are in Sanskrit.

VIII. VĀKĀṬAKA RECORDS AND CHRONOLOGY.

61. From coins we get the names of the two Vākāṭaka emperors—Pravarasena I and Rudrasena I, grandson and successor of Pravarasena I (§§ 52 ff.). We do not find any coin of Vindhyaśakti, father of Pravarasena I. Vindhyaśakti was a subordinate king under the Bhāraṣiva Nāga emperors, and probably no coins were struck by him. The coins of the two imperial Vākāṭakas, which have been identified here, had been missed before owing to their not having been read properly or not read at all. I have already discussed the coin of Pravarasena I (§ 30) which probably belongs to the Ahichhatrā mint. The successors of Rudrasena I came under the suzerainty of the Guptas, who, as a rule, did not allow any subordinate coinage.

¹ Cunningham, A.S.R., vol. XXI, p. 95. The correct spelling is *Nāchanā*, not *Nāchnā*.

But evidently there was an exception made in the case of Prithivishēṇa I, the son and successor of Rudrasena I, who got his son Rudrasena II married to the daughter of Chandra Gupta II. It seems that we have his coin—in the small, neat coin with a well-executed bull figure on the reverse, reproduced by Dr. V. Smith on plate No. XX, as fig. no. 4, in 'his *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*'¹. The obverse which bears the well-known tree of the Bhāraśiva coins (Kosam mint) and the representation of a mountain, has a Brāhmī legend. It was read by Dr. Smith (p. 155) as *Pavatasā*, 'of Pavata'. The first letter, however, is *Pri*, not *Pa*; the *ri* is at the bottom of the letter. The second letter is a conjunct with a [v] below a Guptan *th* (which has a clear dot in the middle); there are traces of *i*-mark on the top; it is to be read as *th* [v] *i*. The letter read by Dr. Smith as *ta* is *ś* with an *e*-matrā on the top. The next letter is *ṇa*. The whole name seems to be :

Prith[v]iśēṇa = Prithvīshēṇa.

There is a figure at the right-hand bottom corner of the railing which reads as the figure 9, i.e. the coin is dated in the 9th regnal year. The *ṇ* is the hooked, i.e. the Gupta variety, which as well as the other letters all agree with the early Gupta forms.

In the same classification ('Coins of Kosam') Dr. Smith has illustrated another coin on the same plate (XX) as fig. no. 5. This has not been read by him. It has the same five-branched tree but in an idealized and conventionalized form, and has the same mountain representation as on the coin of Prithivishēṇa I (fig. no. 4).² The mountain is evidently the Vindhya Hill. It has the same Vākātaka wheel which is inscribed on the Durehā pillar and on the Vākātaka inscriptions at Ganj and Nachnā and also on the coin of Pravarasena I of the year 76 (§ 30). The reverse has a lean bull facing a *dhvaja* or standard as on the Pallava seals (S.I.I., II, p. 521).³

¹ See also Plate III herein.

² This coin being larger, the mountain is larger but the shape is exactly the same as on fig. no. 4. [My reproductions of these coins are smaller than their original size.] I have used casts in reading them.

³ The bull is walking to the standard, while the bull on the Pallava seal is recumbent; on the earlier Pallava seal in E.I. VIII, 144, the bull is standing and there is the *makara*-head standard.

Vākāṭaka Coins.

Coin of Pravarasena.



[C. I. M., Pl. XXII.]

Coin of Rudra [Sena I.]

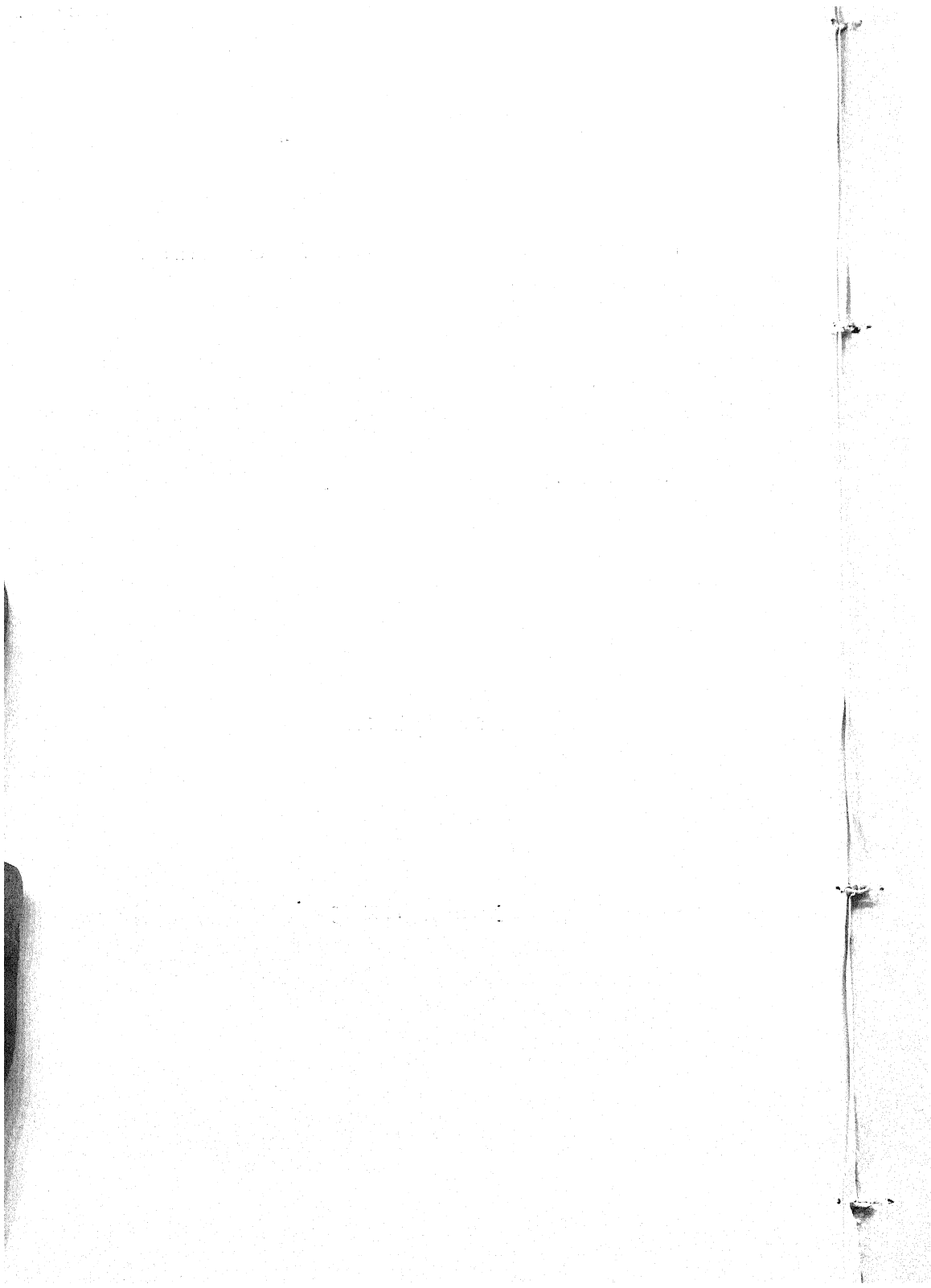


[C. I. M. XX. 5]

Coin of 'Prithv[i]shena'



[C. I. M., Pl. XX. 4]



On the top of it, there is probably the bracket of a *makara*-head—the standard of the Ganges.¹ Above the bull, there is a figure with a halo on a pedestal, probably a representation of Śiva as in the Pallava seal. The obverse has a legend on the margin above the wheel. It reads *Rudra*; the top of the *r* has a box-head and the head of *d* is thickened. To the right of the mountain there is the figure of 100. I take it to be the coin of Rudrasena dated in the year 100. It is allied to the coins of Pravarasena I and Prithivishena I by its date, the Gangetic symbols, the mountain, the tree, the bull, and the wheel (§ 30).

The other Vākātakas have no coins.

§ 61A. For convenience of reference I note below all the

Vākātaka Inscriptions.	Vākātaka inscriptions published up to this time, arranging them in their chronological order:—
------------------------	--

Prithivishena I.—(a, b, c) Three short dedicatory inscriptions [same text] on stone pieces, to mark the erection of pious buildings at NACHNĀ and GANJ, by the donor Vyāghra-deva, under the reign of Prithivishena I. The donor was either a member of the family of Prithivishena or an officer or a feudatory of Prithivishena. The inscriptions bear the royal wheel-mark.—G.I., p. 233, nos. 53 and 54 at Nachnā, E.I., XVII, 12 (Ganj).

Regent Prabhāvatī Guptā.—(d) POONA Plates of the Regent Queen Prabhāvatī Guptā [daughter of Chandra Guptā II and of the Mahādevī Kubera-Nāgā], mother of Yuvarāja Divākara-sena, dated in the year 13th. The gift was made from Nandi-Vardhana, in the Nagpur District, C.P.—E.I., XV, 39.

Pravarasena II.—(e) CHAMAK Plates of Pravarasena II, son of Rudrasena II and Prabhāvatī Guptā, daughter

¹ I think, the bracket-shaped *makara* standard acquired the name *makara-torāṇa*. The 'bracket' is still called *torā* or *torī* (तोड़ी) in the United Provinces. The Patna Museum possesses an ancient miniature standard of *makara-torāṇa* in bronze, upholding a *chakra*. It was found near Buxar.

of Deva Gupta, dated in the 18th year, issued from Pravara-pura. The plates were found at Chamak, in the district of Illichpur, Berar, and relate to Chamak (*Charmāṅka*) in the Bhojakata kingdom.—G.I., p. 235.

(f) SEONI Plates, found at Seoni, C.P., of Pravara-sena II, dated in the 18th year of his reign. It relates to a property in the Illichpur District—G.I., p. 243.

(g) (Second) POONA¹ Plates of the reign of Dāmodara-sena Pravarasena (=Pravarasena II) of the year 19th, by Queen-Mother Prabhāvatī Guptā, *Mahādevī*, wife of Rudrasena II, mother of Mahārāja Śrī Dāmodara-sena - Pravarasena. The gift was made at Rāmā-giri (Rāmtek, near Nagpur, C.P.)—I.A., vol. 53, 48.

(h) DUDIA Plates of Pravarasena II, dated in the 23rd year, issued from Pravara-pura, found in the Chhindwara District, C.P.—E.I., vol. III, 258.

(i) PATNA MUSEUM Plates of Pravarasena II; frag-mentary; no date; the plates came from Jabalpur, C.P., to Patna.—J.B.O.R.S., XIV, 465.

Prithivīsheṇa II.—(j) BĀLĀGHĀṬ Plates of Prithivī-sheṇa II, son of Mahārāja Śrī Narendrasena, who was the son of Pravarasena II. Prithivīsheṇa II's mother was the Mahādevī Ajjhitā Bhāṭṭarikā, daughter of the King of Kuntala (*Kuntalādhipati*). The plates are a draft ready for engraving a gift on the blank portion; no gift is recorded. They were found in the District of Bālāghāṭ, C.P.—E.I., IX, 269.

Devasena.—(k) Inscription in AJANTA CAVE TEMPLE, No. XIII (Ghaṭotkacha Cave) by Hastibhoja, minister of King Devasena, [inscribed] in the reign of Deva-sena Vākātaka² (*Vākātaka rājati Devasene*). The minister was a southern Brahmin whose genealogy is given; he dedicated the cave-temple to Buddhist faith.—A.S.W.I., IV, 138.

¹ It should be called Riddhapur plates—see Hira Lal, *Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar*, 1932, p. 139. Riddhapur is 26 miles from Amaraoti.

² Bühler has wrongly ascribed a later date to this.

Harishena.—(l) AJANTA inscription (No. 3 of Bühler) in CAVE TEMPLE no. XVI, of the reign of King Harishena, son of Devasena who abdicated in favour of his son Harishena. Devasena was the son of the son (name lost) of Pravarasena II. The first part of the inscription (verses 1 to 18) is the family history (*kshiti-pānupūrvī*), the '*ānupūrvī* (order of succession) of the Kings' of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, beginning with Vindhyaśakti. The second part (verses 19 to 32) is devoted to the pious foundation itself, the construction and gift of the Cave-Temple, a Chaitya, to Buddhist worship, by the minister (Varāhadeva), son of Hastibhoja who had been the minister of Devasena.—A.S.W.I., IV, 124.

(m) AJANTA CAVE TEMPLE inscription, no. 4 of Bühler, by a family of feudatory kings subordinate to King Harishena. It gives their genealogy for 10 generations and records the construction of the Cave Temple (no. XVII) and its dedication to Lord Buddha. It is dated in the reign of Harishena '*who did what was good for his subjects*' [*paripālayati kshitīndra-chandre Harishene hitakāriṇi prajānām*'].—A.S.W.I., IV, 130, l. 21.—A.S.W.I., IV, 128.

There are two more records—stone inscriptions—which I regard to be Vākāṭakan and which I shall discuss here later¹.

62. The Vākāṭaka genealogy, as constructed from inscriptions and the Purāṇas, stands thus [the Vākāṭaka Genealogy. members enclosed (in round brackets) did not succeed as Vākāṭaka kings]:—

¹ One of them is the Durehā (Jāso) pillar; see the App. A (end). This expressly mentions the dynastic name, and is the earliest in script.

VINDHYASAKTI, king [mūrdhābhishikta].

PRAVARASENA I, the Pravīra, *Emperor*: ruled for 60 years.

(GAUTAMĪPUTRA)	(2nd son) (ruled as a sub-king)	(3rd son) (ruled as a sub-king)	(4th son) (ruled as a sub-king)
RUDRASENA I, the Infant, succeeding as a Bhāraśiva grandson and a Bhāraśiva king and ruling at Purikā under the guardianship of his paternal grandfather Pravarasena, and later on succeeding Pravarasena, at Chanakā, a contemporary of Samudra Gupta.			
PRITHIVĪSHENA I—contemporary of Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II, conquered the king of Kuntala.			
RUDRASENA II=(m.)	Prabhāvatī Gupta, daughter of Chandra Gupta II and Mahādevī Kubera-Nāgā.		

(DIVĀKARASENA, died as Yuvarāja in or after his thirteenth year)	DĀMODARASENA-PRAVARASENA [PRAVARASENA II], known to have ruled, from inscriptions, for at least 23 years at Pravarapura in the Central Provinces, evidently a new capital founded after his name.
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NARENDRASENA [name lost at Ajantā—succeeded at the age of 8], name given in Bālāghāt plates as NARENDRASENA=*m. Ajjihitā Bhāṭṭarīkā, Mahādevī*, daughter of the king of Kuntala; he was obeyed by the feudatory lords of Kosalā, Mekalā, and Mālava.

PRITHIVĪSHENA II [rescued his 'sun-ken family']	DEVASENA, the ease-loving (<i>bhogeshu yatheshṭa-cheshṭa</i>), handsome king, who abdicated in favour of his son Harishena.
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HARISHENA, conquered Kuntala, Avanti, Kaliṅga, Kosala, Trikūṭa, Lāta, Andhra.....whose minister Hastibhoja excavated the Cave Temple XVI at Ajantā and presented it to Buddhist monks.

The confusion respecting the succession of Devasena and his son Prithivīshena II, caused by two records—the Ajantā inscription of cave XVI of the reign of Harishena and the draft copper-plates of Prithivīshena II, disappears on a proper construction of the words used in the plates which I have discussed under the history of the Later Vākātakas.

63. Devasena's description in the inscription, incised during the reign of his son, marks the veracity of the inscriptions. The inscription with the stamp of truthful recording of fact by contemporary offi-

cers and composers. The handsome king, 'who was accessible to all his subjects like a good friend' was given to a life of ease and pleasure, he resigned kingship in favour of his son Harishena, saw him anointed king, and dedicated his life completely to pleasure.

64. In the Vākāṭaka chronology the one fixed point according to the inscriptions is the contemporaneity of Chandra Gupta II with Prithivishena I and Rudrasena II. Another Fixed Point in Vākāṭaka Chronology. point, which we infer from the Allahabad inscription of Samudra Gupta, is that Pravarasena, the Emperor, had been dead and gone before Samudra Gupta launched on his imperial career, as we do not find his name there. Samudra Gupta made the kings of 'the Forest Country' adjoining the Gaṅgā-Yamunā *Doāb*, his own governors and servants,¹ which undoubtedly means that Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand passed under him. Who was, then, the Vākāṭaka king at the time whose feudatories in the Vindhya country were snatched away by Samudra Gupta? As his conquests are to be taken to have come after Pravarasena, and as the fourth Vākāṭaka king (Prithivishena I) ruled over the whole of the Vākāṭaka territory and his son was married to Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya's daughter, the Vākāṭaka contemporary of Samudra Gupta must have been the king succeeding Pravarasena and preceding Prithivishena, i.e., Rudrasena I, whom we may identify confidently with Rudradeva, the leading king of Āryāvarta in the list of Samudra Gupta (§ 139).

65. But, we get more data and more help from the Purāṇas in the matter of the Vākāṭaka chronology. The Purāṇas give only 96 years to the dynasty of Vindhyaśakti, out of which they assign 60 years to the Infant and Pravarasena [Pravira] together, and consequently 36 years would belong to Vindhyaśakti. In other words, with Rudrasena I they close the dynasty. We can, therefore, say with confidence, that Rudrasena came in conflict with Samudra Gupta and disappeared from the

¹ G.I., p. 13.

scene. The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa give 96 years for the passing away of the empire (bhūmi).¹ The Vāyu uses the verb in the plural when it mentions the 60 years and thereby seems to refer the 60 years to both; its verb ['bhokshyanti'] instead of being in the dual, is in the plural, which is a Prakritism, as pointed out by Mr. Pargiter (P.T., p. 50, n. 31). The Bhāgavata does not mention and count the Infant at all. Samudra Gupta seems to have immediately on the death of Pravarasena started this campaign, and the imperial power of Rudrasena I was broken on the battlefield of Allahabad or Kauśāmbī which resulted in the death of the important members of his confederacy, viz. Achyuta, Nāgasena and also probably Gaṇapati Nāga.²

66. The Purāṇas thus close the Vindhyaka dynasty, while they regard the Guptas as still running by leaving them unnumbered and by not giving the total of their reign-period. Thus, by summing up the imperial Vākāṭaka rule, they place it before the rise of the Gupta Empire. The 96 years of the Purāṇas as the total of the Vindhyaka (Vākāṭaka) imperial period is confirmed by the Vākāṭaka inscriptions which mark off the reign of Prithivīsheṇa I by the statement 'who belonged to an uninterrupted succession of sons and sons' son, and whose treasure and means of government had been accumulating for one hundred years' (Fleet, G.I., p. 24). The coin of 'Rudra' of the Kosam series, with the characteristic Vākāṭaka wheel, bears the year 100 [§ 61]. Rudrasena thus completed the 100th year of his dynasty, and had a reign of 4 years.

67. The Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata give two totals, one of 100 years and another of an uncertain figure: 56, 6 or 60 (?), the reading being corrupt. The manuscripts of the Viṣṇu read '*varsha-satām śaṭ varshāṇi*' and '*varsha-śatām śaś pañcha varshāṇi*', and the Bhāgavata reads '*varsha-śatām bhaviṣyanti adbhikāni śaṭ*'.³ It seems that after writing *varsha-śatām* something else was written which has become unintelligible. There was no reason to repeat the word *varshāṇi*

¹ Cf Allahabad inscription where *prithivī* (l. 24) and *dharaṇi* mean 'India' and 'Empire'.

² See part III below (§ 132 ff.).

³ P.T. 50, n. 30.

in the Vishṇu after *varsha-śatām*. The editors or copyists of the Vishṇu had two figures before them, one of sixty for Śiśuka-and-Pravira, and another for the family of Vindhyaśakti, 100 years or 96 years. Ninety-six plus sixty, they made into 'varsha-śatāni śaś pañcha' or °'śaṣ', evidently, 100 and 56 or 100 and 60 were contracted into 106. It should be noted that they neither give the 60 of the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa, nor the 96 of the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa, and in place of these two they read 106 or 156. We, therefore, take 100 or 96 as the figure for the duration of the independent Vākāṭaka rule and 60 years for Pravarasena and Rudrasena. Rudrasena I by himself, as a king and not an emperor, seems to have had a reign of 4 years (100, 'varsha-śatām', against the 96 years, i.e. the difference between the different data of the two sets of the Purāṇas).¹

68. The Purāṇas give another important chronological datum. They, after closing the rule of the Sātavāhanas about 238 or 243 A.D.² and their contemporaries the Muṇḍa-Tukhāras (closing about 243 or 247 A.D.³) mention the rise of Vindhyaśakti. Taking, therefore, the start of Vindhyaśakti at 248 A.D., we get the following results from our combined data of the Purāṇas and the inscriptions :

1. Vindhyaśakti	..	..	248-284 A.D.
2. Pravarasena I	..	..	284-344 A.D.
3. Rudrasena I	..	..	344-348 A.D.
4. Prithivishena I	..	..	348-375 A.D.
5. Rudrasena II	..	..	375-395 A.D.
6. Prabhāvatī Guptā as regent for—			
(a) Divākarasena	..	..	395-405 A.D.
and (b) Dāmodarasena-Pravarasena II			405-415 A.D.
7. Pravarasena II (on majority)	..	..	415-435 A.D.
8. Narendrasena (succeeded at the age of 8)	..	..	435-470 A.D.
9. Prithivishena II	..	..	470-485 A.D.
10. Devasena (abdicated)	..	..	485-490 A.D.
11. Harishena	..	..	490-520 A.D.

¹ Legally from one point of view the Vākāṭaka dynasty ended with Pravarasena I [§ 28, n.⁵].

² J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XVI, p. 280.

³ Ibid., p. 289.

69. The above chronology which is primarily based upon the Purāṇas, verifies itself with the known historical data we possess, namely, the reign of Chandra Gupta I and the reign of Samudra Gupta. Chandra Gupta captures Pāṭaliputra with the help of the Lichchhavis, both according to his coins and the *Kaumudī-mahotsava*. The reigning dynasty of Magadha which must have been a member of the empire of the Bhāraśivas, coming into existence about 250 A.D., is dispossessed by Chandra Gupta I. Chandra Gupta I strikes his coins in the name of the Lichchhavis from 320 A.D.,¹ that is, he defies the overlordship of the Bhāraśivas and their successor Pravarasena I. His coins have about 9 issues [in his two provinces—Kosala and Magadha] which will cover a rule of about 20 years. This again supports the statement of the *Kaumudī-mahotsava* that the child of Sundaravarman had escaped with his nurse to the Vindhya and was recalled to Pāṭaliputra by the City Council of that Capital and was crowned king, which according to Hindu constitutional law, would take place after completing the twenty-fourth year. The *Kaumudī-mahotsava* and Samudra Gupta's inscription both prove that before the time of Samudra Gupta, the Gupta dynasty had been dispossessed of Pāṭaliputra. That there was a breach between the imperial coinage of Samudra Gupta and that of Chandra Gupta I is indicated by the fact that Chandra Gupta I's coins have never been found in association with the imperial Gupta coins. The period which Samudra Gupta occupied as a small *rājā*, living in Sāketa or between Benares and Sāketa, is determined by his coins of the Tiger type. On these coins he is described merely as '*Rājā Samudra Gupta*'. He had not yet adopted the Garuḍa standard or any of the figures which appear on his imperial coins. The reverse bears the figure of Gaṅgā standing

¹ His previous coins, it seems to me, are found amongst the so-called Pañchāla coins illustrated by Cunningham in his CAI., Pl. VII, figures 1 and 2. These coins really belong to the Kosala series, as *Dhanadeva*, one of the kings of the series I have proved from the Ayodhyā inscription (J.B.O.R.S., X, p. 202 [204]) to be a Kosala king. The legend on the above coins [no. 1] reads *Chandraguptasya*, and not *Rudraguptasa* as Cunningham read it. The style is purely Hindu, unlike his Lichchhavi coins.

on a Gangetic dolphin (śiśumāra). Gaṅgā and Yamunā were the imperial marks under the Vākāṭakas. Gaṅgā is found on the Bhāraśiva coins and also on the coin of Pravarasena. It seems to have been adopted by Samudra Gupta in his feudatory capacity as an imperial Vākāṭaka mark, which is not repeated in his own imperial coinage. There are very few coins of the Tiger type, yet from the examples found, we are sure that there were at least two issues of this coin. In the Tiger type coins, Samudra Gupta has not assumed the imperial armour-robcs like his father, which also shows that Samudra Gupta assumed the humbler rôle of an orthodox Hindu rājā of the United Provinces, quite in line with the other feudatories of the Vākāṭakas. Dating Chandra Gupta I *cir.* 320 to 340 A.D. and assigning 4 years to the two issues of the Tiger type coinage of Rājā Samudra Gupta, we arrive at 344 A.D., which was a critical date for Samudra Gupta. The death of the great Vākāṭaka Emperor, Pravarasena, who had evidently had a hand in curbing the ambition of Chandra Gupta I and in reinstating the Kota family whose prince had taken refuge at Pampā in the Vākāṭaka dominions, was the most appropriate opportunity in Samudra Gupta's calculation to make a bid for the recovery of Magadha and for an independent position, which had been the unrealized dream of the so-called *Mahārājādhirāja* Chandra Gupta I. We should recall here that the Tiger coins of Samudra Gupta are not struck with any affinity claimed with the Lichchhavis. The coins do not bear the Lichchhavi symbol of the goddess on the lion, nor the name of the Lichchhavis. At the same time, Samudra Gupta repeats in his inscriptions the fact of his being a Lichchhavi grandson. The constitutional significance of this is that Samudra Gupta lays claim to the independent position once established by the Lichchhavis and to the Lichchhavi dominions. Under his son Chandra Gupta II, the Lichchhavi capital became a provincial seat of a Gupta governor with the title of Mahārāja. The Lichchhavi Republic, therefore, had been suppressed and had gone before the grandson of the Lichchhavi became Emperor of India. And we do find that the Lichchhavi rulers migrated to Nepal where they founded a

monarchy about 330-350 A.D.¹ The inference is irresistible that the Lichchhavis under whose protection the coins of Chandra Gupta I were struck, were defeated and dispersed by the Vākāṭaka emperor about 340 A.D. Samudra Gupta thus had a big legacy of political vendetta against the Vākāṭaka House and he missed no chance. The date 344 A.D. or thereabouts for the death of Pravarasena and the rise of Samudra Gupta thus fully agrees with the known facts.

IX. VĀKĀṬAKA EMPIRE.

70. The Vākāṭaka chronology as proposed above, answers to the known dates of Chandra Gupta II. Chandra Gupta II initiated a policy of political marriages with the once enemy states, as a result of which he married his daughters to the Vākāṭaka ruler Rudrasena II and took a daughter of the Kadamba monarch to his own family.² He himself married a Nāga princess Kubera-Nāgā who was the mother of Prabhāvatī Guptā. Both Dhruvadevī and Kubera-Nāgā are described as *Mahādevī* respectively in Gupta and Vākāṭaka documents; if Dhruvā Devī whose ancestry is not known, is not identical with Kubera Nāgā, he must have married her soon after coming to the throne, and she on the death of Dhruvā Devī would have succeeded to the position of the *Mahādevī*. An offspring of the Nāga princess going to the Vākāṭaka House, the successors of the Nāgas, put an end to the old Gupta-Vākāṭaka hostility. The Vākāṭakas again begin to rise and are given a measure of independence which no other state enjoyed under the Guptas. Soon after Prabhāvatī and on the fall of the Gupta Empire, under Narendrasena, they once more become a sovereign power in the Berar-Maratha country including Koṅkaṇa and up to Kuntala, in Western Malwā and Gujarat, and in Kosalā and Mekalā including Andhra. And under Harishena the same limits are maintained. Narendrasena and Harishena virtually succeed to the Gupta

¹ Fleet, G.I., Introduction, p. 135.

² *The Kadamba Kula*, pp. 21-22.

overlordship in the West and in the South up to the Kuntala country of the Kadamba kingdom. The significance of this large overlordship will become clear when we deal in detail with the Vākāṭaka government, fully described in the Purāṇas, and the Gupta conquest of the South and the reorganization thereof under Samudra Gupta which is also fully treated in the Purāṇas.

71. There are three main divisions of the Vākāṭaka Period :

Vākāṭaka Imperial Period.	(i) the Imperial, (ii) the Guptan, and (iii) post-Guptan (from Narendrasena to Hari- sheṇa and probably later).
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72. The Vākāṭaka Empire begins from the reign of Pravarasena I and ends with the reign of Rudrasena I who had no time, on account of Samudra Gupta's first war (§ 132), to assume the imperial position of his Vākāṭaka grandfather. Emperor Pravarasena, whose coin bears the date 76, evidently counted the foundation of his state from the time of his father as he himself ruled for only 60 years. Samudra Gupta similarly in reckoning the 'Gupta-rājya' years¹ counted from the coronation of his father, and followed the example of Pravarasena I.

73. The system of the Vākāṭaka imperial organization was to have sons and other relations as rulers over different provinces, a system borrowed from the Nāga Empire. The Purāṇas here are specially full. They say that four sons of Pravarasena became rulers and that there were three dynasties of relations by marriages and one dynasty of their descendants, over four centres—Māhishī, Mekalā, Kosalā and Vidūra.² Māhishī here is the Māhishmatī on the Narbada between the British district of Nimar and the Nimar zilla of the Indore State.³ It was the capital of the province of Western

¹ Cf. G.I., p. 95, . . . *abda-śaite Gupta-nripa-rājya-bhuktan*.

² *Vindhyakānām kulānām te nripā vaivāhikās trayah* (Br.). *Vai-va-hikāh* here has been misread in the text of the other Purāṇas as *vai vāhikāh* and *vai vāhikāh*. The mistake is curious, but easily understandable. *Vaivahikāh* was read as two words, *vai* and *vāhikā*, and *vāhikāh* was sanskritized into *Vāhikāh* and *Bāhikāh* !

³ See J.R.A.S., 1910, p. 444 for its location.

Malwā. This division of the territories adjoining Berar is found to reappear in the Third Vākāṭaka Period as *Kosalā*, *Mekalā*, and *Mālava*.¹ For all these provinces the Purāṇas give the rulers and their totals, implying their end with the end of the Imperial Vākāṭaka period, i.e., by the conquest of Samudra Gupta.

73 A. Out of the four provincial dynasties, the dynasty of Mekalā is expressly called in the Vāyu Vākāṭaka Provinces: 'a dynasty of the descendants' of the Mekalā, etc. Vindhyaikas :

*Mekalāyām nripāḥ sapta bhaviṣhyantiha santatiḥ.*²

These subordinate kings of Mekalā, who were seven in number, are described by the Bhāgavata and several copies of the Vishṇu as the Seven Āndhras, i.e., the seven kings of the Andhra Country.³ The Province of Mekalā evidently extended from the south of the present Maikal Range,⁴ in a straight line, covering the modern State of Bastar wherein begins the Andhra country. To the east of it lay the Province of Kosalā, i.e., the area of the feudatory states of Orissa, and Kalinga. It should be noted here that the region from Raipur to Bastar is marked with the remains of Nāga settlements where inscriptions of later Nāga families from the tenth century onwards have been found in abundance. The tract formed a part of the Nāga Empire with the rest of the Central Provinces. The dynastic identity of this branch of the Vindhyaikas or of Vindhyaśakti, I shall discuss under the Southern History when I deal with the Pallavas (§ 173 ff.). It is sufficient to notice here that the Vindhyaikas were rulers of Andhradeśa, that their province of Mekalā included Andhra, and that a branch line of the family was established there as a feudatory family who ruled for seven successions. The

¹ Bālāghāt plates, E.I., Vol. IX, p. 271. Prof. Kielhorn who thought that the spellings '*Kosalā*', and '*Mekalā*' were wrong, substituted '*Kosala*', '*Mekala*'. But the Purāṇa text shows that the inscriptional forms are correct and represent the Vākāṭaka nomenclature.

² P.T., p. 51, n. 17. This is the reading in the majority of the MSS. [*ibid.*], and in all the copies consulted by Wilson and Hall [V.P., 4, pp. 214-215]. The variant *sattamāḥ* is a corruption and is meaningless.

³ P.T., p. 51, n. 18.

⁴ J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 98.

ruling families of the other three dynasties came under the description 'the dynasties of relations by marriage (*vaivāhikāḥ*)'¹. The Naishadha province was under a dynasty who claimed to have descended from Nala. Their capital was at Vidūra, which seems to be represented by Bidar, an ancient capital in the Nizam's Dominions; Vaidūrya is the Satpura. The Mahishin rulers consisted of two sets, one of Rājās as the lord of the Mahishins, and the Pushyamitras with two more communities who are not called kings. These are included amongst the Mahishins, that is, the people of Western Malwā which is called *Mālava* in the later Vākāṭaka inscriptions. These republican Mahishīs were evidently under this rājā, feudatory of the Vākāṭakas.

74. To take up the centres separately. One ruler of Mahishī and Three Mitra Republics. Mahishī is named, 'Supratīka-nabhāra' son of Śakyamāna.² He was king of the Mahishins and lord of the land.³ We have

¹ The Vishṇu misread the text of the Vāyu and made the groups from the Mahishī rulers to the Mekalā kings, including the 'Vaivāhikāḥ' (misreading it as 'Vāhikāḥ') sons of Vindhyaśakti [cf. the commentator, 'tat-putrāḥ, Vindhyaśaktyādinām putrāḥ']. The text of the Vishṇu is *tat-putrāḥ trayodaśaiva Vāhikāḥ trayaḥ tataḥ Pushyamitra-Padhumitra-Padmamitrās trayo daśa | Mekalās cha |* (Wilson, V.P., 4, 213). It applied the *santatiḥ* originally referring to the Mekalas and the figure *daśa* of the Traya-Pushyamitra group [§ 74] to the kings following Vindhyaśakti and coming before the Mekalās in the text of the Vāyu, i.e., the 'three' Vāhikas (i.e., the Vaivāhikas) and the ten Pushyamitras-Padhumitras-Padmamitras. As the number 13 was thus completed, about the Mekalas [the real descendants] it said 'and also the Mekalas'. The Bhāgavata following the Vishṇu was content with 13 sons. It is evident that the Vishṇu found *santati* after and with the Mekalas.

The number *sapta*, seven, the Vishṇu reads with Kosalā—'sapta, Kosalāyām' (a reading attested by the commentator and supported by Wilson's MSS. See J. Vidyasagara's ed., p. 584; Wilson, IV, 213, 214). In the preface the [e] Vāyu Purāṇa designates it 'pañcha-Kosalāḥ'—'the Five-Kosalas' [*Vaidīśāḥ pañcha-Kosalāḥ*, while it mentions 'Mekalāḥ Kosalāḥ' separately [Pargiter, PT., p. 3]. With these two the seven provinces of the 'Sapta-Kosalā' would be complete. In the *M.-Bh.* also, there are two units in this region with the name *Kosala*; *Sabhā*, XXXI, 13 ['the King of Kosala, the King of Veṇa-taṭa, the Kāntārakas, the King of the Eastern Kosalas'].

^{2,3} Supratīko nabhāras tu samā bhokshyati trīmśatim | Śakya-māna-bhavo rājā Mahishinām mahīpatiḥ || [PT., 50-51 ns. 6-10].

coins of this ruler. The coins read :—*Mahārāja Śrī Prat (i) kara*. Prof. Rapson who published his coins¹ pointed out that they belong to the series of the Nāga coinage.² The Purāṇic name seems to be *Su-Pratīkana Bhāra* (=Bhāraśiva), as spelt in the present manuscripts. The letter *na* here is a misreading for *ra*, like the misreading of *paurā* for *maunā* which is pointed out by the commentator of the Vishṇu Purāṇa.³ The correct reading was *Su-Pratīkara-bhāra*. To him 30 years are given. In the same area, i.e. under the centre Mahishī, there were three communities whose names ended in *Mitra*. The Vishṇu gives them as *Pushpa-mitra-Padhmimitra-Padmamitrās trayāḥ*. The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa name only two, *Pushpamitrāḥ* and *Patu-mitrāḥ*. But the Brahmāṇḍa adds *trimitrāḥ*. The Bhāga-vata calls 'Pushyamitra' [i.e., the President] a 'rājanya', which is the technical term for a type of republican president.⁴ In view of the datum of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, naming the three communities and that of the Brahmāṇḍa mentioning tri-mitras,⁵ we have to take that their state was divided into three sections, and that they had ten successions, and the expression *trayo daśa* of the Vāyu is to be taken as meaning that the three states had ten rulers or ten successions of presidents. The other reading in the manuscripts [in place of *trayo daśa*] *tathaiiva cha*⁶ would indicate that they were also given 30 years as given to the main rulers of Mahishī. They are assigned no separate location, and consequently I take that they were in Western Malwā. They, in the next period, i.e., the Guptan, are described as 'Āvāntyas' who were under or in the confederacy of the *Ābhīras* (§§ 145 ff.). It is well-known that the Pushya-mitras rose to such a height of power in the reign of Kumāra

¹ J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 116, Pl. figs. XVI and XVII.

² He read it as *Mahārāja Śrī Prabhākara*. I read as 't' the letter which he read as 'bh'. In coin legends 'i'-strokes are generally omitted. The difference between 'bh' and 't' of that period is slight and confusing.

³ Vidyāsagara's ed., p. 584.

⁴ See, Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, vol. I, pt. 1, page 40.

⁵ षट्त्रिभिर्जाः *Shats trimitrāḥ* of the Brahmāṇḍa is to be taken as a misreading for षट्-त्रिभिर्जाः, *Paṭu-trimitrāḥ* (Paṭu, 'the Tri-Mitras', the Three Mitras).

⁶ Wilson, V.P., 4. 214; Pargiter, P.T., 51, n. 14.

Gupta that they attacked the Emperor with great severity. As the successions here are of republican presidents, their number ten means that each president's office lasted for three years. This province of Malwā seems to have been an acquisition of the Vākāṭakas about 300–310 A.D.

75. In Mekalā, there flourished seven rulers in seventy years,¹ i.e., from about 275 A.D. to 345 A.D. It seems that this portion was acquired in the time of Vindhyaśakti. The rulers of Mekalā who were a branch of the Vindhya dynasty, were kings of Andhradeśa.² The history of Andhra, which is discussed below under Southern India, fully corroborates the period we get from the Purāṇas for these rulers.

76. The Kosalā rulers under the Vākāṭakas numbered nine successions [according to the Bhāgavata, seven]. They were called Meghas. They might have been the descendants of the Chedis of Orissa and Kalinga, i.e. the Chedis of the family of Khāravela who were called *Mahāmeghas* in their imperial days. Their nine or seven successions would carry them back to the time of Vindhyaśakti, the time of the conquest of Andhra, or earlier, to the Bhāraśiva times. According to the Vishṇu there were seven territorial units of Kosalā [Sapta-Kosalā]. These rulers are described in the Purāṇas as 'very powerful' and 'very wise'. The Meghas reappear under the Guptas as governors of Kauśāmbī where two of their inscriptions have been found.³

76A. The Province of Berar (Naishadha) with its capital at Vidūra (Bidar, Northern Hyderabad) was under the Nala dynasty, who were 'brave' and 'very strong'. Their number is not noted by any authority except probably the Vishṇu, of which the majority of manuscripts would give them also nine successions.⁴ Their beginning or end is described in this way—*bhaviṣhyanti ā-Manuḥkṣhayāt*: 'they will be until

¹ Taking the reading *saptatiḥ* of the *Brahmāṇḍa*.

² P.T., 51, n. 16.

³ E.I., 1925, p. 158.

⁴ The reading *tāvanta eva* ('that much') alternates with *tata eva* ('after').

their destruction by the (dynasty of) Manu', the alternative meaning being 'they will be since the destruction of the Manus'. In the latter case, their rise is dated with the end of the Manus, i.e., the Hārītiputra *Mānavyas*, i.e., the dynasty called in modern text-books the *Chutu* Dynasty (see Part IV, § 157 ff.), in other words, since about 275 A.D. In the former case, the meaning would be that the Berar family was destroyed by the *Mānavya Kādambas*, which would be about 345 A.D. Both interpretations equally suit the known chronology of the Chutus (see Part IV, below) and that of the Vākātakas and the Guptas. Taking the reading of the *e* Vāyu¹ we have to prefer the first interpretation—that the Nalas arose on the destruction of the Chutu *Mānavyas*. This will coincide with the conquest of Andhra in Vindhyaśakti's time. Vindhyaśakti as a general of the Bhāraśivas seems to have put an end to the kingdoms which had arisen on the fall of the Sātavāhanas. The end of the Naishadha family came with the conquest of Samudra Gupta. Whether they had lasted for nine successions or less is not certain.

77. Probably under Purikā was comprised the government of Nagpur, Amaraoti and Khandedh. Pravira was the ruler of both Purikā and Vākātaka Dominions. Purikā and [Kāñ]Chanakā, i.e., both Western C.P. and Bundelkhand were under the direct Home Government. The province of Malwā was under the Nāga family stationed at Māhishmatī; Eastern and Southern Baghelkhand, Sirguja, Balaghat and Chanda were under the Mekalā rulers, and the territory to the West of Orissa and Kalinga was under the rulers of Kosalā. If the above map of provincial governorships is compared with Harishēṇa's list (Kuntala-Avanti-Kalinga-Kosala-Trikūṭa-Lāṭa-Andhra.²....) it would become evident that Kuntala was a later addition, the overlordship of which had been asserted and reasserted from the time of Prithivīshēṇa I onwards. Lāṭa might have been included under Māhishmatī in the early Vākātaka period; at about 500 A.D. it was certainly under them.

¹ Pargiter, P.T., 51, n. 24, *bhaviṣhyanti Manu-(k)shayāt*.

² § 61A (i).

78. In the Eastern Punjab there was the feudatory 'Dy-
 nasty of Siṃhapura' (Siṃhapura)
 The Yādava dynasty who were the 'kings' of Jāla-
 of Siṃhapura. dhara'. This Siṃhapura was an ancient
 fortified city which is known to the Mahā-Bhārata.¹ An
 inscription² of their family recorded at Lakkhāmaṇḍal, on the
 Upper Jumna, in the district of Dehra Dun, proves that their
 jurisdiction in the Gupta times extended up to the Siwaliks.
 The family, as feudatory rulers of the '*Siṃhapura rājya*',
 seems to have been founded about 250 A.D., as 12 generations
 of theirs are given in the inscription.³ Their date shows that
 they must have come into existence in the latter part of
 the Bhāraśiva time or in the beginning of that of the Vākātakas.
 They were *Yādavas*, and the inscription says that they had
 been in that part of the country since the beginning of the
 Yuga (Kali Yuga). This receives corroboration from the
 history of the migration of the *Yādavas* from *Mathurā*
 as recorded in the *Sabhā Parvan*, Chapter XIV, verse 25 ff.
 The *Śālvas* and *Kuṇiṇḍas* had migrated along with and
 at the same time as the *Yādavas* from *Mathurā* [Śūrasena] and
 its neighbourhood, and settled in the Punjab. The *Takkas*,
 who later migrated into Malwa from the Śālva country, the
Siṃhapura Yādavas and the *Mathurā Yādava-Nāgas*
 thus seem to have all belonged to the great *Yādava* stock,
 which explains their special patriotism for *Mathurā*. The
Siṃhapura family was thus a family allied to the Bhāraśivas.
 It was kept on by the Vākātakas. The '*Siṃhapura-rājya*'
 seems to have been a bulwark erected by the Nāga emperors to

¹ It is placed among the Trigartas, Abhisāra, etc. *Sabhā*, Ch. XXVI, 20.

² E.I., i, 10. I endorse the date of the inscription as given by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahani, viz., the Sixth Century A.D. (E.I., Vol. XVIII, p. 125) as against the Seventh Century proposed by Bühler (E.I. Vol., i, 11).

³ Their genealogy stands thus:—(1) Senavarman, (2) Āryavarman, (3) Dattavarman, (4) Pradiptavarman, (5) Isvaravarman, (6) Vridhivarman, (7) Singhavarman, (8) Jala, (9) Yajñavarman, (10) Achalavarman Samaraghaṅgala, (11) Divākaravarman Mahighaṅghala, (12) Bhāskara Ripughāṅghala (E.I., i, 11). Nos. 1 to 11 are related as father to son; No. 12 is brother to No. 11.

throw back the Kushans. The early Simhapura kings are noted in the inscription for their Hindu orthodoxy (*Ārya-vratatā*) and bravery. They were, like the Bhāraśivas, Śaivaites. Their kingdom lasted, at least, down to the time of Yuan Chwang (631 A.D.) who has noticed it. The Guptas evidently allowed them to continue, probably in view of the importance of their family and the part which they must have played in pushing back the Kushans from northern Āryāvarta during the Bhāraśiva time. They are not registered in the Purāṇas as they formed part of the Āryāvarta dominions of the Vākātakas which they inherited from the Bhāraśivas. The kings of Simhapura, i.e., of Jālandhara, never struck coins of their own. The Madras were to the west of the kingdom of Simhapura.

79. The Kushans about 280 A.D. were placed between two fires. Varahrān II, who reigned on the Sassanian throne from 275 to 292 A.D., subjugated Seistan. It may be assumed that Pravarasena I, who undertook four *aśvamedhas* and must have launched at least four campaigns, carried on the Bhāraśiva policy of weakening and destroying the Kushan power. Between 301 and 309 A.D. the Kushans seek the protection of Hormazd II, who marries the daughter of the king of Kabul, that is, the Kushan king. This is just the time of the vigour of Pravarasena I, and at this juncture the Kushan king gives up India, which no more remains his 'imperial' seat. He withdraws himself into Afghanistan, outside India proper, for his safety, and throws himself completely into the arms of the Sassanian king. Whatever territory still lingered in the Western Punjab was due to that protection. And the protection required could be only against Pravarasena I, the Hindu *Samrāt*.

80. When Samudra Gupta comes on the stage and defeats Rudrasena, the whole Empire of the Vākātakas including the Mādarakas in the north, he wins at one stroke. The ready submission of the Mādarakas without a fight is an indication of the fact that the Mādarakas had been within the empire and a part of the empire of the Vākātakas. That the

Vākāṭaka Empire covered the Eastern Punjab explains the rise of the new house of the Yādavas in Jālandhara. It also explains the intercourse between the Mādraka country and Eastern India in the later Bhāraśiva and the Vākāṭaka period. The Guptas who reach Bihar about 250-275 A.D. were, as we shall see (§ 112), from the Madra country. And this connection with the Madra country is responsible for the Kushan type of coinage at the distant Pāṭaliputra under Chandra Gupta I, which has caused so much puzzle to a numismatist (Mr. Allan) that he refuses to believe that Chandra-Gupta I's coins could have been struck by him and comes to the conclusion that they were posthumously struck by his son after the conquest of the Punjab.¹ Considering the revival of the Mādraka coinage in the Bhāraśiva period and the facts noted above bearing on the history of the Kushan and the foundation of the kingdom of Jālandhara, there can be little doubt that the Vākāṭaka Empire included the Mādraka country.

81. The same has to be said about Rajputana and the States in Gujarat. The inscription of Samudra Gupta places the Ābhīras at the head of the group of the republican communities of Western and Eastern Malwā, and the Mālavas at the head of the group of the Mālavas-Ārjunāyanas-Yaudheyas-Mādrakas. The Mālava-to-Mādraka group extends from S. to N., i.e., from southern Rajputana, one above the other, reaching the Punjab; while the Ābhīra group, beginning in Surāshṭra and coming to Gujarat includes the region next to the south of the Mālavas, in a straight line from west to east (§145). This is exactly

¹ Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, p. lxiv ff.

It should be noted, in connexion with the theory of Mr. Allan, that no Hindu would ever think of celebrating the marriage of his father and mother. The coins, whereon Chandra Gupta I is caressing his wife, could only have been struck by Chandra Gupta I himself.

Chandra-Gupta I's pre-Pāṭaliputran coins, as pointed out above, are those illustrated in Cunningham, C.A.I., pl. VII, figs. 1-2. They were struck when he was subordinate to the Bhāraśiva-Vākāṭaka Empire. The coins bear *Trisūla*, which was a Bhāraśiva emblem. Cunningham read the legend as *Rudra-Guptasa* (p. 81). But the first letter is *cha* which is confirmed by the anusvāra dot on *cha*. The last letter is *śya*, not *sa*.

the position which the Purāṇas assign to the Ābhīras of Surāshṭra-Avanti in the beginning of the next period (the Gupta Empire), which we shall see in the next part of this book. There were no Śakā-Satrapas left in Kathiawar or Gujarat in the Vākāṭaka period. They had been ousted from there, and according to the Purāṇas they remained in Cutch and Sindh only [Part III, § 148]. The Republican India, which re-struck coins in the Bhāraṣiva period, accepted, without any war, Samudra Gupta as emperor. It was the case of recognizing a settled fact; when the Gupta Emperor succeeded to the position of the Vākāṭaka Emperor, the Republican India naturally accepted the Gupta, as it had accepted the Vākāṭaka, as their *Samrāt*.

82. The history of Southern India of the time is treated separately in this book (Pt. IV),
 South. but it is necessary to anticipate a few facts at this point to understand the Vākāṭaka and the Gupta history and its relation with the South. The Vākāṭaka Empire under their direct rule bordered on the frontiers of Kuntala. This is evident from the frequent clashes which occur on the subsequent rise of the strong Kadamba kingdom of Kuntala-Karṇāṭa. To be a neighbour of Kuntala, the direct Vākāṭaka government must cover Koṅkaṇa and the area of the Southern Maratha States, i.e., their sway must have penetrated to the other side of the Bālāghāt Range. The territory to the east was occupied by 'the Āndhras' who were within the Vākāṭaka zone; Kalinga and Kosalā also being under the Vākāṭaka overlordship. Before the time of Pravarasena I, almost contemporaneous with Vindhyaśakti, the Pallavas established in Andhra-deśa a seat for themselves. The Pallavas, like Vindhyaśakti, were Brahmins of the Bhāradvāja gotra. They, about the time of Pravarasena I, like him, perform *Āśvamedha*, *Vājapeya* and other Vedic sacrifices and try to succeed to the imperial throne of the Sātavāhanas, the Emperors of Dakṣiṇāpatha. Here history was being repeated as in the time of Pushyamitra Śūṅga and Śātakarni [I] Sātavāhana. The Pallavas are described in the Purāṇas under the designation 'the Āndhra Kings'—'the kings of

Andhradeśa', as ruling over Mekalā with Andhra, and are specified as 'the descendants (*santati*) of the Vindhya-kas, i.e., Vindyaśakti (§176). A dynasty which lasted for about three generations preceded the Pallavas. They were the Ikshvākus who, on the heel of the extinction of the Sātavāhana line, try to succeed the Sātavāhanas, announcing their intention by an *āsvamedha*. Their capital was at Śrī Parvata which is now called Nāgārjuni koṇḍa in the Guntur district. They are known from the inscriptions of their relations at the newly discovered stūpa at Nāgārjuni koṇḍa and from inscriptions at Jaggayya-peta. The Ikshvākus disappear at the rise of Vindhyaśakti and the Pallavas. The Pallavas were Brahmins and the Sātavāhanas had been Brahmins. There was a great Brahmin tradition of imperialism in the South, and it was so strong that the moment the Pallavas were defeated by Samudra Gupta, the Kādamba feudatory of the Pallavas, Mayūraśarman, and his son Kaṅga, who were Brahmins, not accepting the abolition of the Southern Empire, declared the re-establishment of the Southern Empire. This was not, of course, suffered by Samudra Gupta and Prithivishena Vākātaka.

83. The main feature of the history of the time as between the North and the South is that the North is trying to establish an Empire for All-India. This was the result of the experience which the Hindus had gained during the last empire of the Sātavāhanas. They found that a Southern power could not cope with the invaders against India who always came from the north. To have two emperors in one India appeared to them as a source of great weakness. This seems to be the moral motive for Pravaraśena I's becoming the universal Indian Emperor or *Samrāt*¹ and

¹ The Pallava [Śiva] Skandavarman I, though a *Dharmamahārājādhirāja* of the South, never struck any independent coin, and his son and descendants remained '*Mahārājas*', i.e., *Mahārājas* to the Vākātaka *Samrāt*. '*Mahārāja*' denoted a feudatory position at the time. Śivaskandavarman's descendants describe him only as a '*Mahārāja*' in their copperplates. The title of [*Dharma*] *Mahārājādhirāja*, was short-lived and was intended as against the Cholas, etc., i.e., the South.

for his successor Samudra Gupta expressing satisfaction at uniting the whole of India between his two arms. The need for this was apparent, both from the past experience of the Kushan Empire and the new necessity from the rise of the powerful Sassanian Empire next-door to India, born in the time of Vindhyaśakti. That need stood specially punctuated in the time of Pravarasena I, when by about 300 A.D., the Kushan Empire was practically merged into the Sassanian Empire. The Vākātaka king performed four *āśvamedhas*. On the analogy of the Mahā-Bhārata digvijaya in four sections, we may infer that Pravarasena I had his digvijaya divided into four sections, one of which would have been in the South. Although we have not yet discovered any contemporary account of the digvijaya of the *Samrāt* Pravarasena, and that the chronology of the Tamil literature mentioning the Āryas and the Vāḍukas, i.e., their invaders from the North, is extremely uncertain, yet it seems certain that the early Vākātakas having reached and occupied the territory on the other side of the Bālāghāt and the Andhra country, had become the next-door neighbours of the states of the Tamil-land, and a digvijaya over them was made easy by the success of the Pallavas who could and did occupy Kāñchi, the capital of the Cholas, the leading state of Tamiḷagam. The issue having been already settled with the Ikshvāku successors of the Sātavāhanas who had transmitted only a lost prestige and a discredited name as the imperial defenders of India, Pravarasena I could rightfully declare himself to be the *Samrāt* of the whole of India.

84. The Bhāraśivas had made the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā free, but it was left to the vigorous Pravarasena I, son of a soldier and himself a great soldier, to push the Kushans out of India. In his time, the Kushan king became the king of Kabul, while up to 240 or 245 A.D., according to Chinese authorities, the king who sent Yüeh chī horses to a Hindu king in Indo-China was the Muruṇḍa 'King of India',¹ that is, he was still regarded as the Emperor of India

¹ Jayaswal, 'The Muruṇḍa Dynasty', the Mālavīya Commemoration Volume, p. 185. Muruṇḍa was the royal title of the Kushans [J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 203].

and was reigning in India, although he had left the Antarveda of the Yamunā-and-Gaṅgā.

85. There were three great contributions of the Vākāṭaka Emperor. His father Vindhyaśakti for about forty years of the last portion of the Bhāraśiva imperial rule was the real fighter and empire-builder of the Bhāraśivas. Inheriting his energy and ideal, Pravarasena I evolved a clear political

thesis. (1) His thesis was a Hindu Empire for the whole of India and enthronement of the s̄āstras. (2) A great literary movement in favour of Sanskrit begins about 250 A.D. and in fifty years reaches a pitch at which the Guptas take it up. We have the drama *Kaumudīmahoṭsava*, written about 340 A.D., where the whole literary movement is cinematographed. It was written at the Court of a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Emperor by a woman, at practically one sitting, to whom Sanskrit Kāvya was as facile a subject as to Bhāsa and Kālidāsa. Classical Sanskrit had become her vernacular. It had become the Court language. Expressions and forms had become set, and everyone in the official circle talked and wrote in Sanskrit. The earliest Vākāṭaka inscriptions found near or at their capital are in Sanskrit. In the South at that time,—a generation after Śivaskandavarman—Sanskrit begins ruling in royal documents. The set genealogical form in the Vākāṭaka documents, repeated generation after generation, shows that in the time of Pravarasena I, Sanskrit drafting must have come into vogue. Samudra Gupta and his successors follow exactly the system of Vākāṭaka drafting. At the Court of another feudatory, Gaṇapati Nāga, vernacular literary tradition is converted into Sanskrit classical poetry where the verses written for the Nāga-rāja in the *Bhāva-śataka* remind one of the [Prakrit] *Gāthā-śaptaśatī*. (3) The *Kaumudīmahoṭsava* gives us an insight into the Social Revival. Revival of *Varṇāśrama dharma* and Hindu orthodoxy is emphasized very pointedly; it was the cry of the time. The society under the Vākāṭaka imperialism was seeking to purge

the abuses crept in under the Kushan rule. It was a Hindu Puritan Movement which was greatly fostered, and which received a wide imperial implication under Pravarasena I.¹

86. We find the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā become royal and national symbols in Revival of Art. architecture. The Matsya Purāṇa which embodies the text on architecture up to the Sātavāhana period, as observed above, knows nothing of the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā as essential or otherwise, to be associated with the temple of Śiva or Viṣṇu or of any other god. Their adoption is essentially a political motif. The association of the Bhāraśivas with the Ganges was a vital moral force in the Bhāraśiva period. The Bhāraśivas liberated the Gaṅgā and brought her in the sphere of art as on their coins. They also brought the Yamunā within the compass of their art, as Bhūmarā and the Nāga-canopied figures of the two river-goddesses at Deogarh would indicate. But the Vākāṭakas made them their 'imperial symbols', from whom they were transmitted to the Chālukyas and became their '*Imperial Symbols*'² (§ 101 A). The Pallavas—the branch line of the Vākāṭakas—used them.³ And the people were always conscious of the political meaning of this symbolism—'the Empire' ('the Empire of Āryāvarta').⁴ In the Nāga-

¹ Long and repeated Vedic sacrifices [agnishtoma, aptoryāma, ukthya, shodaśin, ātirātra, vājapeya, Brihaspatisava, sādyaskra and Aśvamedhas] [G.I., 236] must have been occasions for big gatherings and missionary propaganda.

² See S.I.I., Vol. I, p. 54, where Gaṅgā and Yamunā, *Makara-Toraṇa*, *Kanaka-Daṇḍa*, etc. are called the dynastic imperial insignia (*Sāmrajya-chihñānā*) of the Chālukyas. See also I.A., VIII, 26.

³ See the seal of the Velurapalaiyam plates, S.I.I., Vol. II, p. 521, where in the second row the figure of Yamunā is in relief with a tortoise below, and the figure of Gaṅgā with two pitchers at her feet is in the middle. There is a serpent-hood canopy on the head.

⁴ I.A., XII, 156, 163. The Rāshtrakūṭa copperplate of Wani (Baroda) described the triumph of Govind-Rāja II in capturing the banners bearing the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā in these words: '*Govinda-Rāja, the personification of fame, taking from his enemies the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, charming with their waves, acquired at the same time that supreme position of lordship (which was indicated) by (those rivers in) the form of a visible sign*'—cf. Fleet, I.A., XX, 275, who attributed them to have been

Vākāṭaka idolisation of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, there is the idolisation and idealisation of the land of the Gaṅgā-and-Yamunā where they re-established orthodoxy. The elegant moulding of the river-goddesses at Bhūmarā and Nachnā are a mirror of the Nāga-Vākāṭaka culture. The Vākāṭakas themselves were a line of handsome men. The (e) Vāyu manuscript notes that the four sons of Pravīra were *sumūrtayah*, handsome, statue-like.¹ The Ajaṇṭā inscription especially notes the handsomeness of Devasena and Harishena. Under the Vākāṭakas the art of sculpture and the graphic art of Ajaṇṭā which lay under their direct government, were vivified. The tradition was kept up in the later Vākāṭaka period. The credit of this revival of Hindu art which had been universally attributed by the present-day writers wholly to the Guptas, like the credit of Sanskrit revival, really belongs to the Vākāṭakas. The seed of all architectural modes which reach their full development at Eran, Udaygiri, Deogarh and Ajaṇṭā and even later, are all to be found in the Vākāṭaka temples at Nachnā—the perforated window, the *gavāksha* balcony, the sikhara, the entwined serpent, the sculptured and ornamented door-frame, the bulging shape of the sikhara, the square temple in the residential style, etc. [On the age of the Nachnā temples, see App. A at the end.]

87. Their non-adoption of a spectacular coinage like that of Chandra Gupta I is not due to any want of artistic capacity², but is due to their conservatism and partiality for the past. They would not imitate the coinage of the Kushans whom they regarded as the enemy of the nation and as low Mlechchhas. Its adoption by Chandra Gupta I would have been looked down upon by them as an act of denationalization. Under the Vākāṭaka influence Samudra Gupta himself had to revert, in his feudatory stage, to a type of coinage which was national³.

derived by 'some means or another from the Early Guptas.' [The Nāga-Vākāṭaka symbolism had not been discovered in his time.]

¹ P.T., p. 50, n. 38.

² See the bull on the coin of Prithivishena I, § 61 above; C.I.M., Pl. XX, fig. 4.

³ His tiger-type (which is in gold), bearing the Imperial Vākāṭaka symbol of Gaṅgā.

88. The system of the Vākātaka administration was borrowed from the Bhāraśivas and in its turn it was borrowed by Samudra Gupta. But both had introduced certain modifications of their own. The Vākātaka system consisted of a large central state under their direct rule with two capitals and a number of hereditary sub-rulers, and an imperial confederacy of free states. In the Bhāraśiva system the imperial keystone existed almost as an equal brick of the state-arch, while in the Vākātaka one it became a prominent piece.

89. The Vākātakas established subsidiary dynasties of their relations. According to the Purāṇas, Subordinates and Empire. Pravarasena I's four sons were rulers. Mahārāja Śrī Bhīmasena who has left a painted inscription in a cave-temple on the Ginjā hill, about 40 miles to the south-west of Allahabad, dated in the 52nd year, was evidently the governor of Kauśāmbī and probably a son of Pravarasena.¹ Important subordinate families (e.g. of Gaṇapati Nāga, Su-Pratikara), as well as the members of the Empire (the Republics), were allowed to mint their own money. In the Gupta system, in Āryāvarta, the only ruling relation was the Vākātaka who was practically independent. The Guptas preferred to have servants as governors and practically stopped the coinage of all subordinates. Both allowed their subordinate rulers to employ the title of *Mahārāja*, after the fashion of *Mahākshatrapa*, avoiding of course, that term. The Vākātaka emperor, however, did not translate the *Shāhānu-shāhi* as *Mahārājādhirāja*, as the Guptas did, but went back to the time-honoured Vedic imperial title *Samrāj*.

90. The faith of the Vākātakas was strict Śaivism.² It changed only for one generation in the time of Rudrasena II, under the influence of his wife Prabhāvatī and father-in-law,

¹ A.S.R., Vol. XXI, p. 119, Plate XXX; E.I., Vol. III, page 306. See here below § 103.

² The Vākātaka inscriptions record it; their coins have Nandi. Up to the time of Rudrasena I, *Mahā-Bhairava* was the royal deity; Prithivīshena adopted *Maheśvara* [which form is a compromise between Vishṇu and Śiva]. G. I. 236. Nachnā has *Mahā-Bhairava* [See App. A].

Chandra Gupta II, who were both ardent Vaishṇavas. But when Chandra Gupta's influence was gone, the family atonce reverted to their Śaivaism. Temples and remains of the Vākāṭaka period are prominently of the martial Śiva—the temples at Nachnā, and the Bhairava liṅgams at Jāso¹, which differ from the [Bhāraśiva] Ekamukha liṅgams at Bhūmarā and Nakṭi [illustrated by Mr. Banerji; Arch. Memoirs, No. 16, Pl. XV; ASWC., 1919-20, Pl. XXIX].² All these liṅgams artistically belong to one school, though the deity-aspects differ. Although there is no great fundamental difference between these and the Guptan art, yet in aim and spirit they belong to a distinctive school. The great guide to distinguish the Vākāṭaka from the Gupta remains—which all have been described as Guptan, though Cunningham has put in the caution—'*Although it is probable that the earliest specimen of this kind of temple belongs to a period shortly preceding the Gupta rule*' (A.S.R., Vol. IX, p. 42),—is the distinguishing faith. Śaivaism is peculiar to the Nāga-Vākāṭakas and Vaishṇavism to the Guptas. Eran and the existing Vaishṇava remains at Deogarh should therefore be taken as Guptan, while those at Nachnā, Jāso and mostly (if not wholly) the remains at Tigowa are undoubtedly Vākāṭakan.

X. APPENDIX ON THE LATER VĀKĀṬAKA PERIOD [348 A.D.-550 A.D.]

AND THE VĀKĀṬAKA ERA [248-249 A.D.].

91. The period of Prithivīśeṇa I [348 A.D.-c. 375 A.D.], with his conquest of Kuntala [c. 360 A.D.³], is more allied to the former period. Pravarasena II and Narendrasena. The later Vākāṭaka period begins with Rudrasena II [c. 375-395 A.D.] which is uneventful, except for his change of faith to Vaishṇavism, under the influence of his father-

¹ See Appendix A at the end.

² The Ekamukha lingam at Nakṭi near Khoh. It is a youthful face as prescribed in Matsya, 258. 4.

³ Prithivīśeṇa I defeated Kaṅgavarman Kadamba about 360 A.D. See Part III, below.

in-law, Chandra Gupta II. After him the rule of his widow Prabhāvatī Guptā as Regent to her minor sons extends for about 20 years, probably a year or two beyond that of Chandra Gupta II. Her son Pravarasena II was a contemporary of Kumāra Gupta and seems to have died not at a very ripe age, as the son of Pravarasena II succeeded at the age of eight. According to the Ajaṇṭā inscription, the son of Pravarasena II 'ruled well' which is rendered in the Bālāghāt plates¹ as 'he who took upon himself (the responsibility of) the dynastic majesty, on account of the special qualities he had acquired by his previous training [pūrvvādhigata-guṇa viśeshād²-apahrīta-vamśa-śriyaḥ]. Having succeeded at the age of 8, in his Yauvarājya he 'acquired' (*adhigata*) the necessary qualification and he shouldered the burden of government himself (taking it over from the regency). In this sense *apahrīta* is well-known in the Gupta literature, e.g. *paśchātputrai-rapahrītabhārah* (Vikramorvaśī, Act 3) where *apahrīta* does not denote taking by force.³ The Ajaṇṭā inscription which makes the son and heir of Pravarasena II come on the throne at the age of 8, leaves no room for a rebellion by a younger prince. His name is lost in the Ajaṇṭā inscription but is preserved in the Bālāghāt plates as Narendrasena. That the prince ruled well is corroborated by the Bālāghāt inscription where

¹ The Bālāghāt plates are merely a draft kept ready to engrave on the blank plates an order of a land-grant when made. It therefore has no gift, no donee, no date, no endorsement of registration (like '*dṛṣṭam*') and no seal cut. Kielhorn under a mistaken notion of the date of the Deva Gupta of the Vākātaka plates, who was taken to be a later Gupta as proposed by Fleet, dated this as well as the Dudia plates of Pravarasena II wrongly in the 8th century (E.I., IX, 270, 269; E.I., III, 260). Bühler's dating proved to be correct.

² Kielhorn read with doubts *viśvāsāt*. I think, what was intended was *viśeshāt*. An expression like *guṇa-viśvāsāt* will be meaningless in Sanskrit, *guṇa* must be present, and here it had already come from culture. No question of 'confidence' arises. This *adhigata-guṇa-viś* (*esha*) corresponds to *guṇaviśesa-kusalo* in the Hathigumpha Insc., line 17 (E.I., XX, 80).

³ *apahrīta* having been wrongly interpreted by Kielhorn as 'took away the family's fortune', it was supposed that there was a disputed succession.

Narendrasena is described to have kept his feudatories of Kosalā, Mekalā and Mālava obedient to him. The overlordship on Kuntala or a strong political alliance therewith is inferable from the fact of the marriage of Narendrasena with Lady Ajjhitā, daughter of the King of Kuntala. Narendrasena, according to the chronology proposed above, flourished about 435-470 A.D. The king of Kuntala with whom he had his political alliance through his marriage with the Princess Ajjhitā at that time was Kākustha, the Kadamba, who according to the Kadamba inscription on the Talagunda pillar (E.I., VIII, p. 33; cf. Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, pp. 26-27) contracted political marriages with several great families including the Guptas. This monarch reached the zenith of the Kadamba power (c. 430 A.D.). Kākustha, as the Yuvarāja, in the reign of his brother used the Gupta era (§ 128 n.). On account of the marriage alliance his position improved. The Gupta marriages put the Kadambas and the Vākāṭakas on more or less an independent status. By or in the reign of Kumāra Gupta I Narendrasena's position must have been greatly strengthened as against his own feudatories and neighbours by his putting an end to the family feud with the Kadambas.

92. Narendrasena, about 455 A.D., passed through most troublesome days, which were troublesome for Narendrasena. some both for the Gupta Emperor Kumāra Gupta, his maternal uncle, and for himself. The powerful Pushyamitra Republic, to whom were allied the Republics of the Paṭumitras and Padmamitras, rose and attacked the Imperial power. They had been subordinate to the Vākāṭakas and were somewhere in Western Malwā, near Māndhātā. Just about that time, evidently connected with that movement of rebellion or attempt at freedom, was the attempt of the Traikūṭakas, a dynasty which had been newly founded under that designation about that time by Dahrasena.¹ Dahrasena Traikūṭaka was in Aparānta² between the Tapti-

¹ E.I., X, 51.

² Raghuvamśa, iv, 58, 59; Rapson, C.A.D., p. elix. See also the inscription of Vyāghrasena, son of Dahrasena, of 490 A.D., E.I., XI, 219, where they are described as the rulers of Aparānta.

western Khandesh-Kanheri and the sea (above Bombay). Like his sovereigns or overlords the Vākātakas, Dahrasena adopts a dynastic designation ('*Traikūṭaka*') after a place-name and a name-ending *-sena*, although his father who was a commoner was Indra-*datta*. Without any conquests he performed an *aśvamedha* in advance and struck his coins. But he was soon brought back under Narendrasena's control, as he is found using the Vākāṭaka Era in 456 A.D. (see §§ 102-106). The Pushyamitras before 456 A.D. were defeated by the Imperial power. Narendrasena had the support of his father-in-law's kingdom situated next to Koṅkaṇa [Aparānta] and at that time either under Kākustha or Kākustha's son Śāntivarman who too was a very strong monarch.¹

93. Narendrasena seems to have had two sons. The elder Prithivīśheṇa II and Devasena. Prithivīśheṇa II succeeded him and was followed by Devasena, who on his abdication was followed by his own son Harīśheṇa. Devasena preferred a life of ease and pleasure to the duties of kingship. Prithivīśheṇa II found it necessary on the break-up of the Gupta Empire to make a heroic effort to raise his family from a 'sunken' condition, and he succeeded, for we find the next king in possession of all the Vākāṭaka Empire including Kuntala, Trikūṭa and Lāṭa. The trying period in the reign of Prithivīśheṇa II (470-485), on the chronology proposed above, coincides with the second Hun invasion, c. 470 A.D. His family must have 'sunk' along with the Guptas. Great credit is due therefore to Prithivīśheṇa II for its rehabilitation. Within twenty years or so, while the Huns were still powerful, we find the Vākātakas next-door to them and stronger than before, having under their sway Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosalā, Trikūṭa,² Lāṭa and Andhra, that is, the whole of the Vākāṭaka dominions in the south, the Central Provinces and Western India up to Koṅkaṇa and Gujarat. A new dynasty just then founded by a Maitraka general at Valabhī covered the next territory of Surāśhṭra.

¹ See *Kadamba Kula*, p. 28.

² Vyāghrasena was the king of Aparānta [Trikūṭa] at the time [E.I., XI, 219], whom we find using the Vākāṭaka era (§ 102 ff.).

The Maitrakas who had been evidently generals to the Guptas, as they used the Gupta era, probably arose from one of the Mitra Republics (Pushyamitras, etc.). They must have been feudatories to the Vākāṭakas, the next-door power. The Vākāṭakas thus acted as the bulwark in the Central Provinces and Western India against the Huns in 470-530 A.D.

94. Thus with the end of the Gupta overlordship the fortunes of the Vākāṭaka family took a different turn. Prithivishena II rescued the family fortunes in the days of the disruption of the Gupta Empire. Harishena, son of Devasena, succeeded to the whole of the Vākāṭaka territory, both their home provinces and feudatory dominions. He showed great vigour and re-established the Vākāṭaka Empire. From the time of the death of Skanda Gupta, the Vākāṭakas become a wholly independent power. At this period they seem to exhibit great recuperating capacity and hold their own in a period of revolution and political changes in the Empire of India. All the three princes Narendrasena, Prithivishena II and Harishena were capable and successful rulers. Harishena's rule ended about 520 A.D. The later history of the Vākāṭakas is lost.

95. Harishena, about 500 A.D., had to subjugate some of the old feudatories of his house, including the Traikūṭas. This seems to be evident from the Ajantā inscription and the inscriptions of the Traikūṭakas. Dahrasena, the Traikūṭaka, had once declared his independence about 455 A.D., i.e. the year of the Pushyāmītra War of Skanda Gupta, and was brought back by Narendrasena under his control (§ 92). But we find again his son Vyāghrasena [c. 490 A.D.] issuing coins, and then the family disappearing, which is to be dated in the reign of Harishena. After 494 A.D. no trace of their family is found.¹ It should be noticed that the Traikūṭakas use the era which, as we shall presently see, was the

¹ The Pardi plates of Vyāghrasena are dated in the year 241 [489-490 A.D.] and the Kanheri plates are dated in 245 (E.I., XI, 219; *Cave Temples of W.I.*, p. 58).

era of the Vākātakas. It seems that this feudatory dynasty was finally abolished in or after the reign of Harishēṇa.

96. A great proof of an effective sway of the Vākātakas over Koṅkaṇa, wherein Trikūṭa was situated, is an inscription published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. IV, p. 282, where a fortress named after the political home of the Vākātakas, the *Kilakilā*, is mentioned as 'Kila gilā' which was the capital of Koṅkaṇa at the date of the inscription (1058 A.D.). Trikūṭa was at the western end of the Vākāṭaka Province of Berar and Khandesh. Harishēṇa made obedient to himself Kuntala and Lāṭa with Avanti, which were at each end of Aparānta. Kālīṅga, Kosala and Andhra brought the Vākāṭaka Empire from Trikūṭa and the western sea to the eastern sea-board. All these had been parts of the Vākāṭaka Empire before. Lāṭa was next-door to the Vākāṭaka kingdom and was the old seat of the Ābhīras. Avanti had been under the Pushyamitra group. In the time of Narendrasena it is included in the term Mālava. In the time of Pravara-sena II or Prabhāvatī Guptā, this was probably transferred back to the Vākātakas by the Guptas. The subjugation of Lāṭa by Harishēṇa means the final extinction of the Ābhīras and the Pushyamitras, if they had not already disappeared under Skanda Gupta who had established a governorship of Surāshṭra immediately after the Pushyamitra War. The addition of Lāṭa to the Vākāṭaka Empire was a result of the fall of the Gupta Empire.

97. The Second Vākāṭaka Empire was so rich that even a minister of Harishēṇa could excavate and decorate with paintings a beautiful chaitya-building at Ajāṇṭā, Cave No. XVI, adorned, as the donor himself with

Prosperity and Art
under the Later Vākā-
takas.

a rightful pride says,

'with windows, spires, beautiful terraces, ledges, statues of the nymphs of Indra and the like, supported by lovely pillars and stairs'—'a lovely chaitya-building'.

A member of the same ministerial family cut the Cave No. XIII, which is called the Ghaṭotkacha Cave, wherein the

donor gives his family history. The family was of Malabar Brahmins who married both Brahmin and Kshatriya wives. Hastibhoja was the minister when the Vākāṭaka Devāsena ruled ('*Vākāṭake rājati Devasene*'). The wealth of the empire of the later Vākāṭakas is further illustrated by the inscription in Cave-temple No. XVII, which was cut as a Vihāra by a Vākāṭaka feudatory in the reign of King Harishena. His family had existed for nine generations, which evidently arose under the reign of Pravarasena I. They were probably a Gujarat family, which is suggested by their names. They proudly describe this piece of architecture '*the Chaitya of the King of Ascetics*' 'as a piece of gem in monolith' (*ekāśmakam maṇḍapa-ratnam-etat*) where the donor placed a reservoir '*charming to the eyes*'. These donors were fully alive to a keen sense of æsthetics and their art was highly conscious. The architectural motifs of the pillars are not repetitions; every piece is an individual conception. The 'Aśokan' polish is used on the walls of Cave No. XIII¹, but the artistic sense seems to have forbidden its employment on any art moulding of the Ajaṇṭā caves.

98. Some of the most famous Ajaṇṭā paintings, e.g., Buddha's return to his father's palace, the scene between Yaśodharā-Rāhula and the King of Ascetics, and the Ceylon Battle, are to be found in the two Vākāṭaka caves, Nos. XVI and XVII. The caves are pre-eminently of the Āryāvarta Nāgara variety.

¹ Dr. Vincent Smith took Cave No. XIII, to be a B.C. Century Cave (*History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 275) on account of its polish. But the art of 'Maurya' polish was not forgotten. It was discredited in the Śunga and Sātavāhana period and was revived in the Vākāṭaka-Gupta period. In the sculptures of the Chandragupta Cave at Udaygiri and also on several sculptures at Khajurāho I have personally seen the polish. The method was not lost up to the eleventh century when some of the broken parts of sculptures at Khajurāho bear it as an act of repair. Some artistic reason was at the bottom of the discontinuance of the polish. At Khajurāho, the outer sculptures are never polished. It seems to me that the polish interfered with light and shade and tended to obliterate their natural lines. The chisel protested against the veneer. The history of the so-called Maurya polish before the Mauryas is carried back by polished prehistoric vajras, made in imitation of bones, found in Chota Nagpur, which are in the Patna Museum [the polish on these is artificial and not the result of constant handling].

99. The Vākāṭaka territory was the meeting ground of the North and the South. The Vākāṭaka minister Hastibhoja and his family were from the Southern country. And also, the Pallavas themselves were a branch of the Vākāṭakas ; constant intercourse between the two kingdoms would have been a natural sequence. This explains the occasional introduction of the Pallava motifs in the Vākāṭaka cave-temples. The Dravidian features in some of the sculptures are also similarly explained.

100. It should be noticed that we possess the written history of three caves only. But we can safely say that the caves which are called Guptan, should be all attributed to the Vākāṭakas, as the direct Gupta rule never reached Ajaṇṭā, and Ajaṇṭā continued to remain throughout in Vākāṭaka possession.

100 A. The later Vākāṭakas, though not Buddhists themselves, allowed their subjects full liberty of conscience to follow Buddhism.

101. The Vākāṭakas seem to have been strong in horse which is noted in the Ajaṇṭā inscription
 Vākāṭaka Horse. dealing with the military greatness of Vindhyaśakti. Here seems to lie the key to the military strength of the Vākāṭakas. Only a power strong in cavalry can successfully operate in the Vindhyas. The horse of the Bundelās became famous in later history. The cavalry tradition of Bundelkhand is probably ancient.

101 A. The Chālukyas must have extinguished the Vākāṭakas. Pulakeśin I performed his *Aśva-medha* about 550 A.D. at Vātāpi (Bijapur district).¹ This should be taken as marking the close of the Vākāṭaka kingdom. The imperial symbols of *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā* would thus be taken over by the Chālukyas from the Vākāṭakas (§ 86) at this period, which in later times would naturally be regarded by the Chālukyas as their own hereditary symbols coming down from the very foundation of the family.² Harishena had under him either

¹ E.I., VI, 1.

² E.I., VI, 352-353 ; S.I.I., i. 54 [Chellur grant].

Jayasimha or Raṇarāga [the grandfather and father of Pulakeśin I]. Harishena is recorded to have subjugated or made obedient to himself (.....*svanirdeśa*.....) the rulers which had been feudatories of the Vākāṭakas with the new addition of Andhra.

Hari-Rāma-Hara-Smar-Endra-kāntir
 Harisheno hari-vikrama-prāptaḥ (17)
 sa-Kuntal-Āvanti-Kaliṅga-Kosala-
 Trikūṭa-Lāṭ=Āndhra.....
pi svanirdeśa.....(18)

—A.S.W.I., IV., 125.

Evidently the new family of the Chālukyas arose in the Andhra country, in the immediate vicinity of Berar. Pulakeśin's son Kirtivarman conquered the Kadambas and the small rulers of Aparānta, and Maṅgaleśa conquered the Kātachchuris, before which the Vākāṭakas had evidently already disappeared. The Vākāṭakas, therefore, must have ended with the *Aśvamedha* of Pulakeśin I. The '*Rājā Jayasimha Vallabha*' who in the Aihole inscription is said to have founded the Chālukya family (E.I., Vol. VI, p. 14) is not credited with any conquest, nor is his son Raṇarāga. After Pulakeśin I his sons and grandson established their empire over the same territories which had been under the Vākāṭakas (Lāṭa, Mālava, Gurjara, Mahārāshṭra, Kaliṅga, etc.), which means that they were the political successors of the Vākāṭakas and were laying their claim as such. This also explains their clash with the Pallavas, and their permanent enmity with them, the Pallavas being blood-relations [a junior branch] of the Vākāṭakas. The description of the '*Rājā Jayasimha Vallabha*' (E.I., VI, 4, verse 5) shows that Jayasimha had been a *Vallabha* or revenue officer of the king of the former government, i.e. the Vākāṭaka. It seems that after Harishena, in the reign of one of his descendants, probably a grandson, or on the failure of the Vākāṭaka line, Pulakeśin I stepped into the shoes of the Vākāṭakas and claimed their imperial dignity and position. Their inscriptions silently pass over the Vākāṭakas.

THE ERA OF 248 A.D.

102. We have three dated records of which two certainly, and one presumably, are Vākātaka. The
 Dates on Vākātaka coin of Pravarasena I is dated 76 (§ 30).
 coins. The coin of Rudrasena is dated 100 (§ 61).
 There cannot be any doubt as to these two being Vākātakan. Then, there is the inscription of the Mahārāja Bhīmasena dated in the 52nd year (§ 89). Pravarasena I himself ruled for 60 years. The dates on his coins and on that of his successor, therefore, are to be referred to a reckoning started from the previous rule, that is, the time of the coronation of his father, which on the known chronology of the Guptas and its correspondence with the Vākātakan, must have taken place in the middle of the third century. The chronology adopted by us above, places the latter's rise in 248-249 A.D. If we can find this era which was certainly used by Pravarasena I, used in any part of the Vākātaka Empire in later centuries, we can identify it with the *Chedi Era*, which is called, wrongly, by some writers as *Traikūṭa Era*.

103. About the Ginjā inscription of the Mahārāja Śrī
 Bhīmasena, General Cunningham who dis-
 Ginjā inscription. covered it remarked that the 'characters of the inscription are of the earliest Gupta forms; but the opening is worded in the well-known style of all the shorter Indo-Scythian inscriptions'.¹ He assigned the inscription to the pre-Gupta time. The style is certainly the same as that of the Kushan inscriptions found at Mathurā. It reads:—

*Mahārājasya Śrī Bhīmasenasya samvatsare
 50.2 grīshmapakshe 4 divase 10.2 (etc.).*²

The name Bhīma-sena, the style of dating and the early character of the letters warrant our assigning Bhīmasena's inscription

¹ A.S.R., Vol. XXI, p. 119, Plate XXX; and E.I., Vol. III, p. 302, Plate facing page 306.

² I have given the reading from the tracing of this painted inscription reproduced in the *Epigraphia Indica* which is better than the one lithographed by Cunningham. I am giving the reading of the necessary portion only.

to the same era in which are dated the Vākāṭaka coins. Their value would be: year 52=300 A.D.

„ 76=324 „

„ 100=348 „

The years, except the last one, fall within the reign of Pravarasena I.

104. For the period after Pravarasena I, we have one solid fact bearing on the question in that the Vākāṭakas, as already noticed, never used the Gupta era, even when Prabhāvatī Guptā was the regent.

105. The existence of an era beginning in 248 A.D. next-door to Bundelkhand was contended for by Dr. Fleet¹: two contemporary kings of the Gupta time date their records, one in the named era of the Guptas and the other in an unnamed era: the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin has the dates 156, 163 and 191 of the Gupta Era in his documents, while his contemporary the Mahārāja Śarvanātha of Uchchakalpa, along with whom the former fixed up a boundary pillar at Bhūmarā in the Nagaudh State, has the years 193, 197, 214 of an unspecified era in his documents. The two rulers, on the boundary pillars, used neither of these eras but a neutral reckoning the *Mahā-Māgha samvatsara*. Dr. Fleet contended that by referring the years of Śarvanātha to the era beginning with 248-49 A.D. we get 462-63 A.D. for Śarvanātha and 475 A.D. for Hastin. Dr. Fleet, however, in 1905 (J.R.A.S., page 566) gave up this contention and referred both sets of dates to the Gupta Era, on the ground that the era of 248 A.D. was not known in or near Bundelkhand or Baghelkhand, and that it was known in 456 or 457 A.D. in Western India as employed by Dahrasena, the Traikūṭaka king. It was, however, recognised by him that the era could not have originated with the Traikūṭakas:

‘But there is nothing to stamp the era as the Traikūṭa era and still less to prove that it was so founded’ (p. 657).

¹ I.A., Vol. XIX, p. 227.

Similar is the view of Prof. Rapson.¹ To the association of the era with the Kalachuris in the twelfth century nobody has attached any importance, and this, for the simple reason, that there is no room in history for the Kalachuris to have started an era in 248 A.D. in the Chedi country or elsewhere. Fleet hesitatingly suggested that the founder of the era might have been the Ābhira king Īśvarasena who dealt a blow at the Sāta-vāhana power. Fleet also pointed out that the era is somehow connected with the fall of the Sātavāhanas about 248 A.D. Prof. Rapson remarked on this:¹

‘But the foundation of an era must be held to denote the successful establishment of the new power rather than its first beginnings or the downfall of the Andhras.’

And Prof. Rapson stressed that it was impossible to connect the Ābhīras and the Traikūṭas as belonging to the same dynasty or even to the same race for total lack of evidence. Moreover, the Ābhīras who rose against the Western Śakas arose much earlier than 248 A.D.—i.e. *cir.* 188-190 A.D.²

106. The Traikūṭakas who were feudatories of the Vākāṭakas, by using the era used by Pravarasena I, prove their subordinate position and submission to the Vākāṭakas. The Traikūṭakas employ the feudatory title of *Mahārāja*. The appearance of the era in the western portion of the Vākāṭaka Empire shows that the era was in vogue amongst the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas. The use of the regnal years of individual kings from the time of Prabhavāti Guptā to Pravarasena II is in a period when the Gupta influence is at its zenith at the Vākāṭaka Court.

107. The only objection of Dr. Fleet that there was no connection visible between Triakūṭa where the era is found in use in the fifth century A.D. and Chedi (Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand) with which the Era of 248 A.D. is associated, now disappears in the light of the data on the Vākāṭaka history. We find the era in vogue in the Chedi country in the time of Pravarasena I. Fleet's former view that Śarvanātha's

¹ *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, page clxii.

² V. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 226, n., citing Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.

years are in the Era of 248 A.D. seems to have been sound. There is not the slightest doubt that the Mahārāja Hastin was a Gupta feudatory and that there was a necessity to fix a boundary pillar between the Vākāṭaka dominions under Mahārāja Śarvanātha and the Gupta dominions under Hastin. Both Śarvanātha and Hastin were feudatories and Hastin avowedly a Gupta feudatory. Śarvanātha, therefore, could only be a feudatory to the Vākāṭaka king, whose capital or town at Nachnā lay within a few miles of Uchchakalpa or Uchahara (Nagaudh State).

§ 108. There are two facts which establish the Era of 248 A.D. to be the Vākāṭaka Era. The Purāṇas, after the fall of the Sātavāhanas register the rise of Vindhyaśakti as the next great power or as the imperial power succeeding the Sātavāhanas. An era will be naturally counted from the rise of a new power whether at once or subsequently—e.g. the Gupta Era does not come into force until the last years of Samudra Gupta or the reign of Chandra Gupta II [the forged copperplates of Samudra Gupta (Gaya and Nālandā plates), which were imitated from some genuine copperplates, are dated in regnal years]. Then the second fact to take note of in this connection is that Pravarasena I became Emperor and the previous Emperors, i.e. the Kushans, had in fact an imperial era. To start an era had become a chief symbol of imperial position. Samudra Gupta did the same, and he also, like Pravarasena, counted the era from the coronation of his father. It is apparent that he followed the Vākāṭaka precedence and his example helps us here like a reflex action.

We would therefore call the era of 248-49 which began on the 5th of September, 248 A.D.¹, the Vākāṭaka Era of Chedi.²

¹ Kielhorn, E.I., Vol. IX, p. 129.

² The dates of Jayanātha, Mahārāja of Uchchakalpa, being taken to be in the Era of 248 A.D. his Kārīṭalāi plates dated '174' fall in 422 A.D., and his father Vyāghra could very well have been a younger contemporary of Prithivīsheṇa I, if we take the interval to be that of 45 years or so, and he could have endowed pious foundations in the capital of his king and might be identical with the Vyāghradeva of the three inscriptions at Ganj and Nachnā. But the identity by no means could be established on the present materials. If they are identical, Jayanātha's dates must be in the Era of 248 A.D.

PART III.

Magadha (31 B.C. to 340 A.D.) and the Gupta India at 350 A.D.

‘Rājādhirājāḥ prithivīmavitvā
Divam jayaty-aprativārya-viryah’.

‘The King of Kings of irresistible prowess, having protected the
Country (thereby) wins Heaven’. [Āśvamedha Coin of Samudra
Gupta.]

ā-Samudra-kṣhītīśānām = ā-Nāka-ratha-vartmanām [Kalidāsa].

XI. HISTORY OF MAGADHA FROM 31 B.C. TO 250 A.D. AND THE RISE OF THE GUPTAS [275 A.D. TO 375 A.D.].

109. Magadha, after the fall of the Kāṇvas, according to the Purāṇas, passed on to the Āndhras and Lichchhavis at Pāṭaliputra. Āndhras [Sātavāhanas]. This statement is corroborated by the find of Sātavāhana coins in the excavation of Bhītā [Allahabad District]. I read one Sātavāhana coin excavated in my presence by Dr. Spooner at Kumhrār [Patna]. The Sātavāhanas, however, could not have been for more than fifty years at Pāṭaliputra and in Magadha after the fall of the Kāṇvas (31 B.C.). The Nepal inscription of Jayadeva II of the Lichchhavi dynasty, dated in Śrī-Harsha Saṁvat 153 (=758 A.D.),¹ states that 23 successions before Jayadeva I, his ancestor Supushpa Lichchhavi was born at the city of Pushpapura. The date of Jayadeva I is about 330 A.D. to 355 A.D. as worked out by Dr. Fleet.² Now, giving an average of about 15 years to this long list of 23 kings we may place Supushpa in the beginning of the Christian Era. The Lichchhavis in occupying Pāṭaliputra might have taken a mandate for doing so from the Sātavāhana Emperor, or they might have independently captured the capital, which they had aspired to do for centuries. The

¹ I.A., Vol. IX, p. 178. Fleet, G.I., Introduction, pp. 184-185.

² Fleet, G.I., Introduction, 135, 191; I.A., XIV, 350.

disturbance caused to the Śātavāhana Emperor by the appearance of Kadphises and Wema Kadphises in Northern India afforded an ample opportunity to the Lichchhavis to fill up the vacuum at Pāṭaliputra. We may also take it that their occupation of Pāṭaliputra would have ended with the advance of Vanaspara, viceroy of Kanishka, to Magadha about the close of the century.¹

110. The Lichchhavis, having once occupied Pāṭaliputra for about a century, must have felt a Kshatriya dynasty of sort of claim to re-possess Magadha Kota. on the liberation of the Gangetic valley by the Bhāraśivas. But when the Bhāraśiva reorganisation comes into play, we find Magadha not in the possession of the non-Brahmanical Lichchhavis but of an orthodox Kshatriya family. This family is called 'the Magadha family' in the Kaumudī-mahotsava, and by Samudra Gupta it is called 'the Dynasty of Kota' (*Kota-kula*). The founder's name seems to have been Kota; the descendant of Kota who was a contemporary of Samudra Gupta and whose name is lost in the earlier part of the Allahabad inscription, is called *Kota-kulaja*. The names of these Magadha kings ended in *varman*.² This family must have come into existence about 200-250 A.D.

111. The Guptas appear about 275 A.D. somewhere in Magadha. Gupta, the first Rājā,³ rises Gupta and Chandra. as a feudatory prince. As later, we find the early Guptas connected with Allahabad [Prayāga] and Oudh [Śāketa], *Mahārāja* Gupta's fief seems to have been near about Allahabad. His son was Ghaṭotkacha, and Ghaṭotkacha's son was the first prince who turned the name of his ancestor *Gupta* into a dynastic title. His name was Chandra. At the time of the rise of Chandra, called by the Prakrit name *Chanda-sena*⁴ in the Kaumudī-mahotsava, the king

¹ See Part I (§ 33) above.

² See in Bhandarkar Annals, 1930, XII, pp. 50 ff., 'Historical data in the drama Kaumudī-Mahotsava' by the present author.

³ Prabhāvatī Guptā [Poona Plates, E.I., xv] appropriately calls him *ādirāja*.

⁴ For *Chandra* becoming *Chanda* in Prakrit see the inscription of *Chandāsati*, the Śātavāhana king, published in E.I., Vol. XVIII, p. 317.

of Magadha at Pāṭaliputra was Sundara-varman, ruling from his palace called *Su-Gāṅga*. This palace is named in the inscription of Khāravela as the *Su-Gaṅgiya* and in the Mudrā-Rākshasa as the *Su-Gāṅga*. The capital city of Pāṭaliputra thus came down with its ancient palace intact to the period of king Sundara-varmā and Chandra. King Sundara-varman was an old man, having a child of a few years of age yet in charge of a nurse. Chandra or Chandra-sena had been adopted as his son by the king of Magadha, evidently before the birth of the young prince. Chandra regarded himself as the heir, being the elder, though a *Kritaka* son. He entered into a marriage alliance with the Lichchhavis who are described as the enemy of the Magadha dynasty in the same drama *Kaumudī-mahotsava*.¹ The Lichchhavis with a large army and Chandra laid a siege to Pāṭaliputra. A battle was fought in which the old king Sundara-varman died. The young prince Kalyāṇa-varman was carried away to the Kishkindhā hills by the faithful ministers. Chandra founded a royal dynasty (*rāja-kula*). The angry authoress of the drama calls the Lichchhavis 'Mlechchhas' and Chandra-sena a *Kāraskara*, implying a casteless or a low-caste man, not fit for royalty.²

112. Before we enter on the subsequent history of the fortunes of Chandra Gupta I, let us see if we can find out the caste of the Guptas which has remained a mystery up to this time. The data which we obtain from the contemporary inscriptions are :

- (a) that nowhere they disclose their origin or caste status, as if they have purposely concealed it; and,
- (b) that their caste sub-division was *Dhārāṇa*.

and coins of Śrī Chandra Sāti where 'Chandra' becomes '*Chaiṇḍa*'—Rapson, *Coins of Andhras*, p. 32. For the dropping of *sena*, cf. the case of *Vasanta-sena* and *Vasantadeva* of the same king (G.I., Introduction, p. 186 ff.); *Dahrasena* on his coins adopts the style *Dahra-gaṇa* (C.A.D., p. clxiv).

¹ The drama is published in the Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Research Society, Vols. II and III.

² कश्चिं हरिस-वणस्स से राक्षसिरी?—K.M., Act. IV, p. 30.

From the inscription of the Gupta Princess, Prabhāvatī Guptā¹ we know that she belonged to *Dhāraṇa* gotra. She is evidently giving here her father's gotra, as her husband's gotra was different (*Vishṇu Vṛiddha*). Our knowledge, however, is expanded by the Kaumudī-mahotsava which gives the caste of Chandra as *Kāraskara*. The *Kāraskaras* are mentioned by Baudhāyana as a low community, to whom the *Brāhmaṇas* should not go and on return from whom they should perform a ceremony of purification.² The *Kāraskaras* in Baudhāyana are joined with the Punjābī community *Āratīas* [which literally means—'the republicans']. Their exact location is given by Hema-chandra, who in explaining the *Sālvas* calls them the people of the *Kāra* valley.³ The place *Kārapatha* or *Kārāpatha* was at the foot of the Himalayas.⁴ The *Sālvas* were a division of the *Madras* and were at Sialkot where their name as *Siāl*, derived from *Sālva* which is also spelt as *Sālya*⁵, survives. The *Kāraskaras* were therefore a Punjab people, a subdivision of the *Madras*. We know that the *Madras* were called *Vāhikas* and *Jārtikas*⁶. The *Madraka*⁷ community was thus made up of several subdivisions, comprising *Sālvas*, *Yartris* or *Jārtikas* [whom we call to-day *Jāṭs*] and others. Now, we may recall here the grammatical illustration of Chandra-gomin: '*the Jārta (king) defeated the Hūṇas*.' This is pre-eminently referable to Skanda Gupta⁸. We have thus evidence from different sources converging at one point, that is, that the Guptas were

¹ E.I., XV, 41; cf. *ibid.*, p. 42, n.

² Baudhāyana, Dh. S., I, i. 32.

³ Hemachandra, A-Ch. IV, p. 23 (*Sālvās tu Kāra-kukshīyāḥ*).

⁴ Raghuvamśa, XV, 90. Wilson's *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, Vol. III, p. 390.

⁵ Wilson and Hall, V.P., Vol. V, p. 70.

⁶ Rose, *Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes*, i. 59; Grierson, L.S.I., IX., Pt. 4, p. 4, n. 8. *M. Bh.*, *Karṇa P.*, (verse 2034).

⁷ Cf. on '*Madraka*', my *Hindu Polity*, i, pp. 120-121. It means 'one owing allegiance to the Madra State'.

⁸ G.I., 54 (l. 15), 59 (l. 4). The two inscriptions (Bhitari and Junāgarh) describe a decisive and famous battle; while Yaśodharman's was a mere raid into Kashmir (G.I., 147, l. 6) and the *Hūṇas*' submission to Yaśodharman was practically without a war.

Kāraskara Jāts—originally from the Punjab. *Kakkar* Jāts¹ in my opinion are the modern representatives of the original community of the Guptas. Amongst the Kāraskaras the particular subdivision to which Guptas belonged was evidently *Dhārāṇa*. The word *gotra* in Prabhāvatī Guptā's inscription (Poona Plates) would mean a caste-subdivision. *Dhanri*, the Jāt clan found in Amritsar,² may be compared with the Sanskrit *Dhārāṇa* of Prabhāvatī Guptā. The Kaumudī-mahotsava is in full agreement with and is in fact supported by Chandra-gomin, who is undoubtedly a Gupta author.

113. The position of the Madraka Jāts was probably not very low at the time, for had it been very low, King Sundara-varman would not have thought of making Chandra-sena his adopted son. His original intention seems to have been to bequeath the kingdom to Chandra. And it was only due to the birth of Kalyāṇa-varman from some younger queen (Kalyāṇa-varmā is said to have several step-mothers—'*mātaraḥ*') that the breach between the adoptive father and the adopted son occurred. The real cause of the opposition from the public, which was very pronounced, seems to be a dislike for the social system of the Kāraskaras who were not subject to the fourfold-varṇāśramism of the orthodox system. It is the same dislike which is expressed in the Mahā-Bhārata against the Madrakas. They had one caste amongst them with social equality and freedom, which did not agree with the settled rules of the Gangetic society. The compliment was mutually exchanged: the Kaumudī-mahotsava taunted at the Kāraskara caste as rulers; the Guptas replied—'we shall abolish the Kshatriyas'.

114. Now we know from the Purāṇic history that in the reign of Kanishka (and probably also of his successor), Vanaspara imported some Madrakas for administrative purposes. But the Punjab military dress of Chandra Gupta I on his coins would suggest that the family had migrated recently in the Bhāraśiva

¹ Cf. Rose, *Glossary*, ii. 363, n. The name is pronounced as *Kakkar* also.

² *Glossary of Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.-W. Frontier*, Vol. II, p. 235.

period after the liberation of the Madraka country by the latter. Very likely a Bhāraśiva king gave Gupta a fief, having border-land between Bihar and Kauśāmbi, for it was to suppress a rebellion of the Śavaras that Chandra Gupta I had gone to his frontier when the City Council of Pāṭaliputra pronounced a decree of deposition against him.

115. Chandra Gupta I having his caste against him and being somewhat of a usurper, was disliked by the Magadhans of his day, particularly as he failed to adapt himself to the traditional Hindu way of government. He showed a hostile, repressive attitude to the people of Magadha. The Kaumudimahotsava records that Chaṇḍa-sena¹ had put leading citizens into prison. The people of Magadha looked down upon him as something like a parricide. Chandra Gupta I had thus several elements arrayed against him. A cry was raised that he was not a Kshatriya, he had practically killed his aged adoptive father on the battlefield, he had called in the aid of the hereditary enemies of Magadha—the Lichchhavis, he had married a lady who was neither a Magadhan nor a Brahmanical Hindu. To this we should add that he had defied the imperial authority of the Brahmin Emperor Pravarasena I.

116. With the aid of the Lichchhavi power and protection he trampled upon the liberties of the people of Magadha and put the leading citizens into prison. Alberūni therefore recorded a true and historical tradition when he said that the king or kings associated with the Gupta-kāla [-era] were cruel and wicked. The Hindus had the constitutional law laid down in their codes to destroy the king who acted as a tyrant or whose hands had the marks of the blood of his parents.² They planned and rose, called in Prince Kalyāṇa-varman from the Vākāṭaka territory (Pampāsara) and crowned him

¹ There are other known examples, as cited above, of new kings changing the second member of their name on coming to the throne. *Chandra-sena* similarly changed his name into *Chandra Gupta*. But the hostile contemporaries persisted in calling him by his original, humbler name, and insisted on the vernacular pronunciation for its obvious pun [*Chaṇḍa* = 'ferce'].

² *Hindu Polity*, ii, 50, 189.

king at the Su-Gāṅga Palace at Pāṭaliputra. The authoress of the Kaumudī-mahotsava exultantly said—‘*the law of Varna is restored; the royal family of Chanḍa-sena is abolished.*’¹ This happened while Chandra Gupta was on his campaign somewhere between Rohtas and Amarkantak fighting the rebellious Śavaras. The outlandish monarch was ousted in or about 340 A.D., for Kalyāṇa-varmā was of full age to receive Hindu royal coronation at the time.² In the year of his coronation Kalyāṇa-varmā was married to the daughter of the king of Mathurā.

117. The years 340 A.D. to 344 A.D., the period of
 Guptas in Exile and their Moral Transformation. exile of the Guptas from Bihar was not very long but it was full of consequence and future, which produced entirely a new history—a new history not only for Bihar but for the whole of India. It turned the Guptas from outlandish usurpers into a dynasty of the Hindu of Hindus, Magadhan, and protectors and upholders of the Dharma, Brahmin and cow, literature and sculpture, language and law, national culture and national civilisation of Hindu India. Beginning as a feudatory ruler under the Vākātakas with their imperial insignia of the goddess *Gaṅgā* on his coin and the title of *Rājā* only and with no marks of royalty on his person (as portrayed on his Tiger-type coin), Samudra Gupta ended with a proud satisfaction as recorded on his imperial gold coins marked with his *Garuḍadhvaṇja*, a satisfaction which is a rare luck of a king in history: on his coins which he published after he had built up his empire, he registered the realisation of the ideal of Hindu hero and Hindu king that he after winning the whole country governed it so well that he won the heaven thereby (p. 112). He made Sanskrit, after the fashion of the Vākāṭaka Emperor, his court language; he undertook and performed *aśvamedhas*, having made good his restoration to the imperial throne of Pāṭaliputra.

1 प्रकटित-वर्णान्नमपचसुन्मूलित-चण्डसेनराजकुलम् ।—K.M., Act V.

2 Taking the capture of Pāṭaliputra at 320 A.D., and the coronation age being 25, the prince having lived in exile for about 20 years, the date of restoration would be c. 340 A.D.

117 A. Chandra Gupta I who was dying either of wounds or of a broken heart on his expulsion from Ayodhyā and its influence. Pāṭaliputra, addressed Samudra Gupta, one of his younger sons, with tears in his eyes, and with the tacit consent and approval of his Council of Ministers,—‘you now, my noble sir, be the king (“protect the kingdom”),’ and expired.¹ The death must have taken place on the other side of the Ganges, in the territory of his relations, the Lichchhavis. As a Lichchhavi subordinate and relation, his son at this moment would have obtained the province of Sāketa, i.e. the adjoining territory of Oudh, where at Ayodhyā we find in the next reigns the Gupta Emperors residing as at their second and favourite capital. It was a centre of culture. Ayodhyā had been the home of the poet Aśvaghoṣa, the Kālidāsa of the preceding epoch. To Ayodhyā belonged the great scholar Śikhara Svāmin who became the Prime Minister of Rāma Gupta and Chandra Gupta II.² Ayodhyā had the orthodox imperial tradition of Rāma’s name, a name which was given to the eldest son of Samudra Gupta,³ a name which embodied the whole of the past Hindu civilisation. Samudra Gupta fully imbibed that tradition. Hindu learning became a part of the political cult of Samudra Gupta and his descendants. The *rājasa* (kingly) *bhakti* in Viṣṇu moulded their national actions and their political character. Like Viṣṇu they stood solidly to support the kingdom of India. Their *bhakti* (faith) is intense. They think of Viṣṇu and they think in Viṣṇu. Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II become practically one with their God. Any one who has seen the Viṣṇu image enshrined by Samudra Gupta at Eran, would be reminded of Samudra Gupta himself and see the King’s figure and dress in that statue. One who would see the Viṣṇu-Varāha at the Chandra Gupta Cave at

¹ G.I., p. 6.² J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 37.³ The popular name *Rama-pāla* = ‘*Rawwāl*’, retained by the Arab author Abu Saleh (J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, p. 21) may be compared with the *Rājāvali* names of the Guptas which Cunningham found at Ayodhyā. They end in *pāla* instead of ‘*gupta*’, e.g. *Samudra pāla*, *Chandra pāla*, etc. A.S.R., Vol. XI, p. 99.

Udayagiri will be reminded of Chandra Gupta II himself rescuing Dhruva-devi.¹ Without understanding the spiritual and religious currents of the time which bring about royal and national rebirth, one cannot truly appreciate any political reformation. It is for that reason that a proper appraisalment of the Gupta cult becomes here necessary.

118. You would never be able to decipher the dedication of their victories to Vishṇu, e.g. at Bhītārī and at Mehraulī, and at the same time the magnificence and munificence conveyed by the aśvamedhas and the *Garuḍmadāṅka* coins, without that key. You would not be able to unlock the mystery of these Hindu Moghuls minus Moghul cruelty and debauchery. You will not get the secret how could Chandra Gupta II abolish capital punishment,² how he could raise the majesty of Hinduism to the very pinnacle of glory, and how he drew the limits of good government which no sceptre could extend further.

119. From the Bhāraśivas up to the Vākāṭakas there was the rule of that God of social asceticism, Old Faith and New. that aspect of the Almighty which undertakes destruction, the God who though a giver, keeps no wealth, possesses no material splendour, the God who is austere and sombre. But, on the other hand, the second Gupta king and the first Gupta Emperor—Samudra Gupta—invokes that aspect of God whose function is royal and *rājasa*, who wears gold, not ashes, who builds and reigns, protects and rejoices in plenty, who is the traditional God of Hindu sovereignty. Vishṇu is the king amongst gods, is magnificently dressed, stands erect and solid and upholds the kingdom of His men, is a hero and conquering lord in battle—whose emblem is *Chakra*—the symbol of Empire—which irresistibly destroys the forces of evil against that Empire of Lord Vishṇu. There is the conch in one of His hands for announcing battle and for announcing triumph. There is, in the third, the sceptre of rule, and finally there is the lotus in the fourth, the symbol of prosperity, growth and rejoicing for His subjects. The belief in the God-in-royalty, Samudra Gupta made the belief of his dynasty and the belief

¹ Cf. J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 35.

² *Fa-Hien*, ch. XVI.

of his country. His devotion to Vishṇu is so great that his personality almost merges in Him:

साध्वसाधूदय-प्रसूय-हेतु-पुरुषस्याचिन्त्यस्य भक्त्यवनतिमात्राद्यामदुहृदयस्य¹

is a description in the language of the Bhagavad-Gītā, and a description which, according to the literary practice of the age, has to give a double meaning. The devotee and his God are both described by the same language. This might appear to a non-Hindu reader or to a reader who has not entered into the Hindu mystery of *bhakti* as a blasphemous assumption of God's attributes. But it is not so; there is in the cult of *bhakti* its highest doctrine that there should be unity (*ananyatā*) between the deity and the devotee. The devotee begins to partake of the nature of his deity until he is spiritually fully transformed and finally become one with the deity. He becomes the missionary and the agent of the Lord. He works as the medium, and all his works are dedicated to his Lord. The Guptas felt and believed that they were Vishṇu's servants and agents, that they had a mission from Vishṇu, that like Vishṇu they should conquer the unrighteous and rightless sovereigns, and that like Vishṇu they should rule in full sovereignty and bring happiness promised by the lotus in Vishṇu's hand, to the people of India. They fully executed this mission and Samudra Gupta felt the consciousness that he had executed that mission well and won the Heaven thereby. Like Vishṇu, Samudra Gupta and his successors filled their kingdom of India with gold and plenty, with prosperity, elegance and culture.

XII. POLITICAL INDIA AT 350 A.D. AND SAMUDRA GUPTA'S EMPIRE.

120. We have no doubt that the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta which is his imperial biography written and published in his life-time,² gives details of the kingdoms and rulers which existed at the time

Rich details in Purāṇas about the 350 A.D. States.

¹ G.I., p. 8, l. 25.

² It is not posthumous as Fleet wrongly supposed. See Bühler, J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 386. It was published before his *śvamedha* or *śva-medhas*. [Fleet's mistake misled many including myself.]

of the foundation of the Gupta Empire. Yet we have probably a richer description of political India at the period in the Purāṇas. They, in fact, give us a complete picture of Samudra Gupta's India with which they close their chronicles. As their details have not been studied and the significance of this part of the Purāṇic history has been entirely missed, it is necessary to have an analysis of the Purāṇic materials which, as we shall see, are very valuable.

121. The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa continue the threads of Indian history where the Matsya stops, i.e. at the fall of the Āndhras, which, according to their calculation, happened in or about 238 A.D. (J.B.O.R.S., XVI, p. 280).¹ The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa take up the imperial history again and begin it with Vindhyaśakti of the Vindhyaśaka dynasty. They, parenthetically under Vindhyaśakti—to explain the rise of the dynasty of Vindhyaśakti and particularly his son Pravira—give the history of the Vidiśā Nāgas and their successors, the Nava Nāgas,² i.e. the Bhāraśivas. Then they give a full account of the Vākāṭaka ('Vindhyaka') empire, with its component parts, giving the number of the rulers and their totals. In other words, they treat the history up to the reign of Vindhyaśakti's son Pravira along with the Nava Nāgas, whose period they give as past history. And then they begin contemporary history: from the Guptas onwards they neither give the number of rulers nor their rule-periods. From the Guptas onwards, the families were still ruling and those families were therefore contemporaries with the Guptas. As we shall presently see, the Purāṇas undoubtedly imply that they were subordinates and component parts of the Gupta Empire. To this they make a few exceptions, i.e. they note also those contemporaries who were not integral parts of the Gupta Empire. Their details are accurate and territorially specific. They are, therefore, invaluable to the history of the period. And as they stop at that, they are to be treated as a

¹ Their contemporaries the Tukhāra-Muruṇḍas, etc. close about 243 or 247 A.D.—J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 289.

² Alternative spelling: *Nava Nāka*. Does Kālidāsa intend a double meaning by his *ā-Nāka*° in the verse cited at p. 112? If *ā-Samudra*° refers to the Guptas, *ā-Nāka*° will refer to the Nākas, i.e. Nāgas.

contemporary record, contemporary with the empire of Samudra Gupta. The Purāṇas have taken up the Gupta line as an imperial dynasty as coming after Pravīra the son of Vindhyaśakti. Up to and including the Vākāṭakas, they have dealt with only imperial lines. The Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata here give some data which are exclusive to them. Here they seem to have preferred some independent materials.

122. The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa place the beginning of the Guptas after closing the Nāgas who were rulers in Bihar up to Champāvati or Bhagalpur, but the Viṣṇu places their beginning in the period of the Nāgas whereby it implies the rise of Gupta and Ghaṭotkacha:

Viṣṇu on the rise
of the pre-imperial
Guptas.

नवनागाः पद्मावत्यां कान्तिपुर्यां सयरायासनुगङ्गाप्रयागं मागधा गुप्ताश्च भोक्ष्यन्ति ।

which means, that while the Nava Nāgas ruled at Padmāvati, Kāntipurī and Mathurā, the Māgadha Guptas ruled at Prayāga-on-the-Ganges. This shows that their first fief was in the district of Allahabad and that at that time they were considered to have been natives of Magadha. The plain meaning of this datum is that the Early Guptas were rulers at Allahabad, not on the Jumna side but on the Ganges side, i.e. on the side of Oudh and Benares. The Viṣṇu reads *anu-Gaṅgā-Prayāga* as one word, which it gives as the name of a capital like *Padmāvati*, *Kāntipurī* and *Mathurā*. It is not *anu-Gaṅgā* by itself, an indefinite regional term. Neither the Bhāgavata nor the Viṣṇu mentions here Sāketa. The Viṣṇu by putting the plural form 'the Guptas' and qualifying them with the adjective the 'Magadhan', refers to a period when the Guptas had been dispossessed from Magadha, the pre-imperial years of Samudra Gupta.

123. The other Purāṇas, on the other hand, give another set of facts about the Gupta dynasty. The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa say that the descendants of the Gupta dynast (*Gupta-varṇasājāḥ*), i.e. the Guptas later than the founder of the family, will rule (*bhokshyante*):

Purāṇas on Gupta
Empire.

- (a) the provinces of Anu-Gaṅgā-Prayāga,¹ Sāketa and the Magadhas;²
- (b) [will rule, *bhokhyante*, or 'will rule over', *bhokhyanti*] the Maṇidhānya provinces of the Naishadhas, Yadukas, Śaiśitas and Kālatoyakas;³
- (c) [will rule *bhokhyante*, or 'will rule over', *°nti*] the Kosalas, Āndhras, ('Oḍras', *per* Viṣṇu) Pauṇḍras, the Tāmraliptas with the sea-coast people and the beautiful capital of Champā protected by Deva (*Deva-rakshitām*);⁴
- (d) [will rule] the Guha provinces (*Guhān*, Viṣṇu), the provinces of Kalinga, Māhishika and Mahendra,⁵ [or, 'Guha will be governor (*pālayishyati*, as against *bhokshyati*) of Kalinga, Mahisha and Mahendra.⁶]

That the last three Imperial Provinces were under the governorships respectively of a Maṇidhānyaka (Viṣṇu) or a Maṇidhānyāja [a descendant of Maṇidhānya (Brahmaṇḍa)], Deva, and Guha is proved by the Viṣṇu's treatment which makes them rulers respectively of these Provincial Governments. In the Vāyu and Brahmaṇḍa text which was here one and the same, they are all put in the accusative, the nominative being the *Gupta-vamśajāh*; the name of the sub-rulers are taken to be qualifying the provinces, viz. *Maṇidhānyajān* (Br.), *Devarakshitām* [qualifying Champā], and *Guhān* [which survives in the Viṣṇu].

¹ Or, 'Anu-Gaṅgā and Prayāga' [अनुगङ्गं प्रयागं च, P.T., 53, n. 5.]

² अनुगङ्गं प्रयागं च साकेतं मगधास्तथा ।

एतान् जनपदान् सर्वान् भोक्ष्यन्ते गुप्तवंशजाः ॥

³ नैषधान् यदुकांश्चैव मैशितान् कालतोयकान् ।

एतान् जनपदान् सर्वान् भोक्ष्यन्ते ['न्ति, Vāyu] मण्डिधान्यजान् ॥

[Brahmaṇḍa.]

⁴ कोसलांश्चान्द्र-पोण्ड्रांश्च ताक्षलिपान् स-सागरान् ।

चम्पां चैव पुरीं रम्यां भोक्ष्यन्ते ['न्ति] देवरक्षिताम् ॥ [Vāyu.]

⁵ कलिङ्गमाहिषिक-साहेन्द्रभौसान् गुहान् भोक्ष्यन्ति । [Viṣṇu.]

⁶ कलिङ्गा महिषाश्चैव सहेन्द्रनिलयाश्च ये ।

एतान् जनपदान् सर्वान् पालयिष्यति वै गुहः ॥ [Br., Vā.]

Independent States. 124. Then the following contemporaries are given who are not under the Gupta dynasty:

(A) The dynast called Kanaka ruling Strirāshṭra, Bhojaka (Br.), Trairājya (Vishṇu) and Mūshika (Vishṇu).

(B) The Ābhīras of Surāshṭra and Avanti.

(C) The Śuras.

(D) The Mālavas of the Arbuda.

B, C, and D, according to the Bhāgavata, were non-sacramental, though twice-born, Hindus (*vrātyā dvijāḥ*), and their national rulers (*janādhipāḥ*) were 'almost Śūdras' (*śūdra-prāyāḥ*).

(E) Sindhu [the Indus valley] and the Chandrabhāgā, Kauntī (Cutch), and Kashmīr were under the Mlechchhas who were non-Brahmanical Śūdras [or according to some manuscripts, *antyāḥ* or the lowest, untouchables]. They were *Mlechchha Śūdras*, i.e. those Mlechchhas [e.g. Śakas] who according to Hindu Law had acquired the status of Śūdras but were Mlechchhas all the same, i.e. foreigners (§ 146 B). The Purāṇas are here distinguishing these Mlechchha Śūdras from the Hindu Śūdras. The Vishṇu Purāṇa actually calls them '*the Mlechchha-Śūdras*'.¹ The Vishṇu Purāṇa adds after Sindhu-ṭaṭa 'the *Dārvika* country', i.e. Eastern Afghanistan which is now inhabited by the Darveshkhel and the Dauras, from the Khyber Pass westwards. Instead of *Dārvika*, we have the form *Dārvīcha* in the Mahā-Bhārata.²

125. There were, thus, apart from the provinces in Āryāvarta, three imperial provinces, according to the Purāṇas, constituted by the Guptas which they caused to be ruled by their governors. The last two (c, d, p. 124) were in 'Southern' India. And the second (b) was also below the Vindhya, just at its gate in the West. From the Hindu point of view this was also situated in Dakṣiṇā-patha, to the south of the Vindhya, but following the modern

¹ P.T., 55, n. 30.

² Hall, Wilson's *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, II, 175, n.

terminology we shall call it here (1) the Deccan Province. The Vishṇu Purāṇa mentions it as the third province amongst the provinces ruled through governors, while the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa place it as the first amongst the three provinces. The Vishṇu Purāṇa begins with (2) the Province of Kosala-Orissa-Bengal-and-Champā, while the other two Purāṇas place the Province of Kosala, etc. as the second. And the next, according to all the authorities, is (3) the Province of Kalinga-Māhishika-Mahendra. The Bhāgavata stands by itself. It does not give the three provinces, and originally it seems to have included the whole empire in the words *medinī*: 'Goptā bhokshyanti medinim,' 'the descendants of Gupta (*Goptāḥ*, Pkt. for *Gauptāḥ*) will rule the Earth.' The Purāṇas in general employ the word *medinī*, *mahī*, *prithivī*, *vasundharā* or any other synonymous word for the Earth, when they mean an empire.¹ If we follow the order given in the Vishṇu we almost follow the Allahabad inscription. *Kosala-Oḍra-Pauṇḍra*, *Tāmralipti*, and *Samudraṭaṭa* would correspond to the inscriptional *Kosala* and *Mahā-Kāntāra* on the one hand² (line 19) and *Samataṭa* on the other [in line 22]. It seems that a province was constituted by Samudra Gupta, the capital of which was at Champā and which extended from the south-east of Magadha, through Chota-Nagpur, the tributary states of Orissa and Chhattisgarh, right down to Bastar and the Chanda District. Both the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa place Andhra next to Kosala. To the old Vākāṭaka province of Kosalā and Mekalā was added by Samudra Gupta Orissa and Bengal and the government thereof was

¹ This use is confirmed and made clear by Samudra Gupta's use of *prithivī* and *dharanī* for 'All-India' in his Allahabad inscription (line 24). It means 'the Country', 'the whole Country'. In the present text of the Bhāgavata, however, [अनुगङ्गाप्रयागं गोप्ता भोक्ष्यन्ति मेदिनीम्] *anu-Gaṅgā* stands as if qualified by *medinī*. Probably the intention was to signify that the Guptas who were rulers originally of *anu-Gaṅgā Prayāga*, enjoyed the whole empire or enjoyed *anu-Gaṅgā-Prayāga* and the Empire.

² The Mahā-Bhārata locates the State of the Kāntārakas in the direction from *Bhojakata-pura* [Berar]-to-E. *Kosala*, beyond the kingdom of the *Veṇā valley* [Waingāṅgā] and before 'Eastern *Kosala*' [Southern text: *Prākotaka*]-*Sabhā*, 31, 13. *Kāntāraka* corresponds with Kanker and Bastar. The other *Kosala* [*Southern Kosala*] covered Chanda District.

controlled from Champā, from which the routes to Bengal and Kosala emanated and also the river-highway was available to go right down to Tāmralipti. *Champā* is qualified as 'Devarakshitā' which probably signifies that it was under Prince Deva (*Deva* was the pre-coronation name of Chandra Gupta II, J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, p. 37). Chandra Gupta II on the Mehraulī pillar is credited to have conquered the Vaṅgas, which may mean that as the Viceroy of the East-South he had to wage a war. Samatata seems to have been annexed by Samudra Gupta soon after his expedition.

126. The Province of Kalinga-Māhishika¹. Mahendra (or, -*Mahendrabhūmi*) was made into one unit, according to the Purāṇas. This corresponds with the inscrip-tional divisions in line 19. After Mahā Kāntāra, Kaurāḷa, which is 'the Kaunāḷa water' of Pulakeśin II, is the Kolleru lake to the south of Piṭhāpuram between the rivers Godāvarī and Krishnā.² Pishtapura, Mahendragiri and Koṭṭūra are the hill-fortresses in Ganjam.³ This corresponds roughly with what we now call the Eastern Ghats or the Northern Circars of the E. I. Company, i.e. the territory between the river Krishnā and the Mahānadi. Pishtapura was the capital of Kalinga, as noted in almost a contemporary inscription of 'the Magadha dynasty' ruling at Pishtapura and Simhapura.⁴ One of the earliest rulers of this Magadha dynasty was Śaktivarman and probably the next ones were Chandra-varman and his son Vijayanandi-

The 'Magadha
Dynasty' of Kalinga.

varman. Vijayanandi-varman changed the dynastic name from 'the Magadha family' into 'the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty'. This must have happened in or after Skanda Gupta's time. We find a successor of Vijayanandi-varman

¹ One copy of the Vishṇu, in place of *Māhishika*, gives 'the banks of (the river) Mahā' (*Māheya-kachchha*). This was probably 'the valley of the Mahānadi.'

² E.I., Vol. VI, p. 3. 'Kolanu' in Telugu means a 'lake'.

³ V. Smith, E.H.I., p. 300 [4th ed.].

⁴ E.I., Vol. IV, 142; Vol. XII, p. 4; Vol. IX, p. 56 and I.A., Vol. V, p. 176.

(Vijayadeva-varman) even performing a horse-sacrifice, i.e. declaring his full independence. It is almost certain that the later Vākātakas, when they conquered Kalinga, were asserting their rights as relations or successors of the Guptas, as well as their old right of overlordship over this part of the country, and their assertion must have been against the Śālaṅkāyanas. This '*Magadha kula*' was evidently the ruling feudatory family set up by Samudra Gupta or his successor. They were Brahmins taken from Magadha. Their early kings issue their charters in Sanskrit. The name of the first ruler must have been *Guha* which the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa give. Its form as *Guhān* or *Guham*, [given in the Vishṇu Purāṇa] is a remnant of the original accusative which is here lost in the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa. That a ruler over Kalinga with the name *Guha* ('*Guha Śiva*') was a feudatory under the Emperor of All-India and beyond (Jambudvīpa) ruling from Pāṭaliputra, who was Brahmanical in faith, is described in the legendary *History of the Tooth Relic* of Ceylon¹, which is believed to belong to the fourth century A.D. It seems to have its foundation in the fact of Guha's governorship under Samudra Gupta.

§ 126 A. The third unit of the Gupta Empire was the tract to the south of the Vindhya, consisting of the Naishadha, Yaduka, Śaiśika and Kālatoyaka provinces. The Deccan Province of the Gupta Empire. *Śaiśika* was next-door to Māhishmati.² Taking *Naishadha* to be Berar, and *Yaduka* to be Devagiri (Daulatabad), we may fix this imperial province as being between the Bālāghāt range and the Sātpura, the valley of the Tāpti river. *Kālatoyā* is placed in the Mahā-Bhārata between the Ābhīras (Gujarat) and Aparānta.³ The ruler of this province, which was created at the cost of the Vākāṭaka Empire, was a Maṇidhānyaka, a son or a

¹ *Dāṭhā-vamśo*, J.P.T.S., 1884, p. 109, verses 72-94 ff. "*Guha-Sivāhvayo rājā*" (72); "taththa rājā mahātejo Jambu-dīpasya issaro" (91); "tuyhaṃ sāmanta-bhūpālo Guha-Sīvo paṇādhunā, nindato tādise deve chhavaṭṭhiṃ vandate iti". The complaint was made to the Emperor at Pāṭaliputra that his feudatory of Kalinga was worshipping a piece of 'dead bone', and reviling Brahmanical gods!

² Wilson, *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, Vol. II, pp. 166, 167.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 167, 168.

descendant of Maṇidhānya.¹ The province thus created was probably handed over to Prithivishēṇa on conclusion of better relations, for Prithivishēṇa must be ruling over this portion to be in direct contact with the king of Kuntala, whom he conquered.² We find in the reign of Chandra Gupta II the Vākāṭakas ruling in and from Berar.

127. Then follows a unit in the South, the ruler of which is a man named K a n a k a, which like G u h a is a personal name and not that of a Southern Independent State. dynasty :

“Strirāshṭram Bhojakāś chaiva bhokshyate K a n a k ā h-
vayaḥ” (V. and Br.).

‘The ruler of the name of K a n a k a will rule’ Stri-
rāshṭra and the Bhojakas.’ The pro-
King ‘Kanakā.’ vinces here are more fully set out by the Vishṇu :

“Strirājya-Trairājya-Mūshika-janapadān Kanakāhvayaḥ
bhokshyati.”

Mūshika is the country of the Mūsi river which flows by Hyderabad to the south. *Bhojaka* seems to be a part of the Southern Maratha country. *Trairājya* is the well-known group of the three traditional countries of the South.⁴ Strirājya which is always placed in the Purāṇas next to the Mūshika country and in association with Vanavāsa, I take to be identical with Kārṇāṭa or Kuntala.⁵

128. Now, who could this great ruler be, who is the over-
lord of the three Tamil kingdoms at the
Identification of K a n a k a or K ā n a. time and who is causing his rule from the Mūshika country up to the Southern Konkan? Who is this man called Kanaka? The Pallavas are

¹ Vāṭadhānya and Maṇidhānya were neighbours according to the Mahā-Bhārata—Wilson, V.P., Vol. II, p. 167. [Vāṭadhāna=Pāṭadhāna=Pāṭhān.]

² E.I., Vol. IX, p. 269; A.S.W.R., Vol. IV, p. 125.

³ According to the Vishṇu, *bhokshyati* ‘will make others rule’ or ‘rule over’.

⁴ See Fleet, J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 293—‘Chola-Pāṇḍya-Kerala-dharaṇi-dhara-traya’.

⁵ *Strirājya* and *Kuntala* are probably translations of Tamil words.

evidently superseded at this moment by this new dynast. This Kanaka, according to the Purāṇic description, is nearly the emperor of the South. The only ruling family to whom the description can refer was the newly founded Kadamba dynasty. Mayūraśarman, the Brahmin general of the Pallavas, had got a feudatory state from the Pallava Emperor [Pallavendra]. On the defeat of the Pallavas of Kāñchi, who were the leading power of the South, at the hand of Samudra Gupta, Mayūraśarman probably declared his independence. His son Kaṅga-varman seems to have defied Samudra Gupta to be the Emperor of both the North and the South. The date of Kaṅga-varman is about 350 A.D.¹ According

¹ In the *Kadamba Kula* [pp. 13-18] dates are given on the assumption that Mayūraśarman began his rule as a result of Samudra Gupta's southern conquests. But this is not correct. Mayūra, according to the Talagunda record, started his career as a political bandit and was given a fief by the 'Pallava Emperor' whose service he entered as a general and who anointed him as his *Senāpati* [*paṭṭa-bandha-sampūjām*, E.I., VIII. 32. *Senāpatis* received *paṭṭabandha* ('pagree'-binding ceremony), according to the *Rāja-Nīti-mayūkha*]. No *aśvamedha* by him is recorded in the Talagunda inscription of his great-grandson. It was probably in his last years that he assumed kingship. Cf. A.R.S.M., 1929, p. 50. His son Kaṅga was the first to assume the royal designation^o *varman*. Mayūraśarman's time should be regarded as 325-345 A.D. and that of his son Kaṅga, 345-360 A.D. This is confirmed by the date of Kākusthavarman on his plate which he issued as *yuvārāja*. It is dated in the 80th year. The Kadambas never founded any era of their own. We do not find there the era in which the 80th year is given, before or after any more. Prithivīsheṇa conquered the king of Kuntala, i.e. the Kadamba king who could be no other than Kaṅga. Prithivīsheṇa himself at the time was under Samudra Gupta, and Kākustha gave a daughter in marriage to the Guptas. The era used by the *Yuvārāja* Kākustha must be the Gupta era. In 400 A.D. [80 G.E.] Kākustha was the *Yuvārāja* to his elder brother Raghu. The time of his great-grandfather would thus be about 320-340 A.D. or 325-345 A.D.; that of Kaṅga who abdicated, about 340-355 or 345 to 360 A.D.; and of Kākustha, about 410-430 A.D. The dates proposed by Mr. Moraes in his *Kadamba-Kula* for the Early Kadambas should go higher up by some 20 years.

See on Mayūraśarman's newly discovered Chandravalli (Chitaldrug) lake inscription where he is registered merely as '*Kadambāṇam*' (without any title) [A.S.R. Mysore, 1929, 50], and a corrected reading of the inscription, App. B (below). There is no '*Mokari*', '*Pāriyātrika*' or '*Saka*' in the insc.

to the Talagunda inscription [E.I., 8, 35] Kaṅga performed 'lofty great exploits in terrible wars and his diadem was shaken by the Chauris of his provincial feudatories'. Kaṅga was defeated by the Vākāṭaka king Prithivishena I and he abdicated.¹ *Kanaka* here seems to be a Sanskritisation of the Tamil *Kaṅga*. Another reading of the Purāṇic name, in the Vishṇu, is *Kāna*.² It seems that on assumption of imperial power he was by Prithivishena, who was at that time a feudatory of Samudra Gupta, brought to book, and his abdication was evidently a consequence of his imperial ambition and failure.

§ 129. The Purāṇas help us to fix the period of the rise of

The Date of the Purāṇic data and the rise of Kāna or Kanaka.

Kāna or Kanaka, i.e. Kaṅga. Let us see what is the exact point of time at which the Purāṇas are describing here the Guptas and their contemporaries. This is the last section of their chronicles. The Mālavas, the Ābhīras, the Āvantyas and the Śūras [=Yaudheyas]³ had not yet come under the imperial sway. They are mentioned as independent states by the Bhāgavata; the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa do not give them in their list of Samudra Gupta's provinces. Nor do they include the Punjab. They assign, in Āryāvarta, only the valley of the Ganges, Oudh, and Bihar to the Guptas. With their definite date—100 years from Vindhyaśakti—the Purāṇas take 348-349 A. D. as the landmark for the close of their chronicles, that is, the date of the death of Rudradeva or Rudrasena Vākāṭaka as their exact point of time. The way the Purāṇas show fullness about the Nāga history, the Vākāṭaka Empire, and its successor, the Empire of Samudra Gupta [covering the same area of Kosalā, Mekalā, Andhra, Naishadha, etc.], indicates that this part of the chronicles closing with the death of King Rudrasena was composed in the Vākāṭaka kingdom and with the help of the Vākāṭaka royal records. The death of Rudrasena—348-349 A.D., being the date of the Purāṇic history of Gupta India, it naturally does not give a full

¹ *Kadamba Kula*, p. 17.

² Wilson's *Vishṇu*, Vol. IV, p. 221, note by Hall. ³ See § 146 below.

picture of Samudra Gupta's empire, and it records the Śakas or Yaunas still ruling in Sindh the Western Punjab and Afghanistan. The date of the rise of Kaṅga therefore will also be c. 348-349 A.D.

130. Samudra Gupta after his first war in Āryāvarta was really going over the empire of the Vākātakas, commencing his campaign from Bihar via Chota Nagpur to Kosala, etc., the South-Eastern parts of the Vākāṭaka Empire and then back into Āryāvarta. At this moment it would be convenient to trace and follow the course of Samudra Gupta's conquests. We would, therefore, put off the discussion on the Republics and the Mlechchha State of Sindh, Kashmir and Afghanistan, and take up in the next chapter the wars of Samudra Gupta.

XIII. SAMUDRA GUPTA'S WARS IN ĀRYĀVARTA AND IN THE SOUTH.

§ 131. According to the Allahabad inscription, Samudra Gupta's wars in Āryāvarta were in two parts—one before the Southern expedition and the other after the Southern expedition. The result of these wars was the Gupta Empire as portrayed in the Purāṇas, almost with exactitude, in the shape of its three imperial provinces (§ 125) along with the home province of Anu-Gaṅgā-Prayāga-Sāketa-and-Magadha.

132. The first act of Samudra Gupta, which turned the scales of his political fortunes in his favour, was a pitched battle at some place where he defeated two, or rather three, kings—Achyuta, Nāgasena and Gaṇapati Nāga. The immediate result of this was that the Prince of the family of Kota (whose name is not given in the verse) was captured by his armies, and Samudra Gupta had the pleasure of re-entering Pushpapura. The verse 7, lines 13 and 14, of the Allahabad pillar inscription describes this as follows:

The Battle of
Kausāmbi.

udvelodita-bāhu-vīryya-rabhasād-ekena yena kṣhaṇād
unmūly-Āchyuta-Nāgasena-Ga
daṇḍair grāhayat-aiva Kota-kulajam Pushp-āhvaye kṛīḍatā,
sūryyene ṭata

The letters after *Ga* are lost but probably the name of *Gaṇapat*... was there which is suggested by the remaining letter π and the requirement of the metre. This we can gather from the grouping in line 21 which is in prose and which begins the *Nāgasena-Achyuta* group with *Gaṇapati-Nāga* :

Gaṇapati-Nāga-Nāgasena-Achyuta-Nandi-Balavarma—The most important personality of the group is *Gaṇapati Nāga*. The great result of the battle being avowedly an easy capture of *Pāṭaliputra* and of the Prince of the family of *Kota*, the battle must have been intimately connected with the question of the recovery of *Magadha*. *Samudra Gupta* himself did not capture 'Kota's descendant' who was the ruler of *Pāṭaliputra* at the time. We may take it, therefore, that one army had attacked or laid siege to *Pushpapura*, and that *Samudra Gupta* gave battle to *Nāgasena* and *Achyuta* and also probably to *Gaṇapati* at a place other than *Pāṭaliputra*, and at some distance from *Pāṭaliputra*. Now, we know from coins and from the *Bhāvaśataka*, a work written under the reign of *Gaṇapati Nāga* (§ 31) that *Gaṇapati Nāga* was the ruler of *Malwā* (*Dhārādhiśa*) with his capital at *Padmāvati* and probably a second capital at *Dhārā*. The name of *Achyuta Nandi* as set out in full in line 21, and the coin of 'Achyuta' found at *Ahichhatra* which has the same symbols as on the *Nāga* coins of *Padmāvati* and also has the same fabric, suggest that he was a scion of the *Nāgas*. *Nāgasena* was probably the son of *Kirtishena* of *Mathurā*,¹ father-in-law of *Kalyāṇavarman* king of *Magadha* and *Pāṭaliputra*.² As *Kalyāṇavarman* who had dispossessed *Chandrasena* of *Pāṭaliputra* was related to the king of *Mathurā* and thus belonged to the confederacy of the *Nāga-Vākātakas*, we find *Nāgasena* and *Achyuta Nandi*, in all probability led by *Gaṇapati* who was a noted soldier and the leader of the *Nāgas* according to the

¹ This *Nāgasena* is to be distinguished from the *Nāgasena* of *Padmāvati*, a member of the *Nāga* family, mentioned by *Bāṇa* in the *Harsha-Charita*, for the latter had met with his end not on a battle-field, but on account of some political intrigue at *Padmāvati*. No coin of his is found. He seems to have been a *Gupta* subordinate.

² *Kaumudi-mahotsava*, Act IV.

Bhāvaśataka, meeting Samudra Gupta in a pitched battle. They might have been on their way to the relief of Pāṭaliputra. The convenient place upon which the kings or rulers from Ahichchhatra, Mathurā and Padmāvati could have converged was Kauśāmbī or Allahabad, more likely the former, as the old royal route to Pāṭaliputra lay through Kauśāmbī. The proclamation of this victory on the Kauśāmbī Pillar seems to convey that meaning. The *praśasti* was meant to be engraved on this very pillar, as line 30 expressly mentions :

bāhurayam-uchchhritaḥ stambhaḥ.

All the three rulers or sub-kings were killed in one day (*kṣhaṇāt*) on the battlefield.

133. This war may be dated in or about 344-45 A.D.

Next step. immediately after the death of Pravarsena I, the Vākātaka Emperor. This

war gave the large tract of the Gangetic valley to Samudra Gupta. From Oudh which already belonged to him and had been his base, his territory extended up to Hardwar and the Siwalik, and to the east, from Allahabad up to Bhagalpur at least, if not up to Bengal which seems to be included by the Purāṇic reference to Paundra. Leaving probably the valley of the Yamunā for the time being, Samudra Gupta consolidated his power in Magadha and decided upon attacking the south-eastern end of the Vākātaka empire. It was far from the centre of the Vākātaka seat of power which, up to that time, was in the Kilakilā region. To Samudra Gupta it was nearer from Chota Nagpur. The Vākātakas evidently governed their provinces of Kosalā-Mekalā through and from the Central Provinces. Samudra Gupta, therefore, could cause successfully, apart from other military considerations, not only confusion but almost helplessness to the Vākātaka Emperor by attacking the Vākātakas in Kosalā, Mekalā and Andhra. The Pallavas who occupied an important position in the South at the time were in subordinate alliance with the Vākātaka Emperor, being their branch. The four Aśvamedhas of the late Vākātaka *samrāj* had given him dominion over all the four quarters of India. In the South Samudra Gupta had a policy more of conciliation than of aggression. He captured rulers and released them, and except

for the territories which were integral parts of the Vākāṭaka Empire—Kosalā and Mekalā—he did not annex any southern territory. In Kalinga he set up a new feudatory. His progress, consequently, in the South must have been swift. At the same time it was very profitable. The whole of Northern India was soon flooded with gold presumably imported from the South. Samudra Gupta coined only gold money, and at his *asvamedha* at a later stage, he struck gold coins to such a volume that he could distribute them to an unprecedented extent.

§ 134. It cannot be entertained that the enumeration of the names of the Southern kings and chiefs in the Allahabad record is made at random. The writer Harishena, who was one of Samudra Gupta's marshals and a man intimately associated with the emperor and who held the portfolio of the Minister of Peace and War, must be expected to follow an accurate record of his master's conquests. He was composing history which was intended to be published on an Aśokan pillar for all ages to come. He divided the conquests and submission of All India into Southern, Northern, Western and North-West groups, where he was following a geographical plan with accuracy. The string of names could not have been put in by haphazard. Further, we may assume that the composition must have found approval of the Emperor who was alive when the record was published.¹ Kāñchī, Āva-mukta, Veṅgi and Palakka are one division. Palakka as Palakkada appears several times in Pallava inscriptions² which refer to grants in the Guntur District, and also to *Veṅgorāshṭra* which here corresponds with Samudra Gupta's *Veṅgi* between the Godāvāri and the Kṛṣṇā.

135. This Southern or the 'Dakṣhiṇāpatha' campaign was not undertaken, as generally supposed, as a *dig-vijaya*. It was a military move against the Vākāṭaka power,

¹ *Ante*, p. 121, n. 2. See Bühler's opinion, J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 386, with which I fully agree.

² I.A., Vol. V, pp. 51, 52, 155, consult also E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 159 [*kada*='place', p. 161.]

necessitated by the result of Samudra Gupta's first battle in Āryāvarta in which Gaṇapati Nāga, Achyuta Nandi and Nāgasena fell. The second centre of the Vākāṭaka power was rooted in the Andhra country, where, from the capital Daśanapura¹ the junior branch of the Vākāṭakas had been ruling as 'the Pallava emperors' ('*Pallavendra*'²) of the South, and had penetrated as far south as Kāñchī, the capital of the Cholas—the most important Tamil State. Samudra Gupta's sole objective in the South was the Pallava army. If, to avenge the destruction of the Vākāṭaka military leaders (Gaṇapati Nāga and others) in the North, the Pallavas with their generals and feudatories from the South and Rudrasena from Bundelkhand invaded Bihar, Samudra Gupta would have been placed between two fires. To avoid this junction, Samudra Gupta would have thought of taking them and dealing with them in detail. He descended swiftly via Chota Nagpur, Sambhalpur and Bastar straight into Veṅgī, the original seat of the Pallavas, and reached the battlefield on the Colair Lake. It is the old route which takes one direct into Andhradeśa. Samudra Gupta did not follow the East-Coast route, as none of the lower Bengal and Orissa towns is mentioned by his secretary Harishena. The Colair Lake in the seventh century again became the arena of a sanguinary fight in the time of Pulakeśin II.³ If we consider the list of the rulers enumerated by Samudra Gupta's secretary and prince-marshal, we see at once that all these rulers belonged to the regions of Andhra and Kalinga lying within the range of the Kurāṇḍa or Colair Lake. They were all, evidently, assembled together (§ 135 A) and a decisive battle was fought,⁴ and owing

¹ E.I., I, 397, where it is described as *adhishṭhāna*, 'capital'; see Fleet, I.A., V, 154. In the latter inscription it is again called 'capital'—'Vijaya-Daśanapura'.

² This is the title by which they are designated both by the Gaṅgas and the Kadambas, their feudatories. E.I., XIV, 331; VIII, 32.

³ E.I., VI, pp. 3, 6.

⁴ The list is (line 19): (1) *Kausalaka Mahendra*; (2) *Mahākāntāraka Vyāghrarāja*; (3) *Kaurālaka Maṇṭarāja*; (4) *Pisṭapuraka-Mahendra*.

to some clever movement and strategy on the part of Samudra Gupta all the leaders were enveloped, a débâcle followed and they surrendered. Samudra Gupta restored them to liberty on terms. Samudra Gupta returned from this place—the region between Bezvada and Rajahmundry. He had no necessity to go to Kāñchī. Nor was he interested at the time in any other Southern state either on the East Coast or the West Coast. He hurried back to Bihar, having defeated and generously and diplomatically won over the Pallava group and having detached them from the Vākātaka allegiance. When back, he marched against Rudra Deva who fought bravely as every one of his northern subordinates did, and was killed with them on the battlefield, probably at Eran (§ 137).

135 A. Samudra Gupta passed through Kosala on his Sambhalpur route, and then Mahā-Battle of Colair Lake. kāntāra which on the evidence of the Mahā-Bhārata we have identified with Kanher and Bastar. Next he came to Kurāḷa. He must have passed Veṅgi¹ but the ruler of Veṅgi is placed next to the ruler of Piṣṭapura, the capital of Kāliṅga, which was in the Godavari District. This ruler (Svāmidatta) had also two districts in Ganjam round the hill-fortresses of Mahendragiri and Koṭṭūra. Eraṇḍapalli was a town in Kāliṅga, in the district of Ganjam, in the neighbourhood of Kāliṅganagara (Mukhalingam) which is mentioned in the copperplate of Devendra-varman, found at Siddhantam near Chicacole (E.I., XIII, 212). This district must have been under Svāmidatta of Piṣṭapura, and Damana of Eraṇḍapalli must have been a 'rājā' or ruler of the status of a district officer. Next to him is Viṣṇugopa, the ruler of Kāñchī, who at the time was the Yuvarāja to his brother Siṃhavarman I, or probably the guardian of *girika-Kauṭṭūraka* Svāmidatta; (5) *Eraṇḍapallaka* Damana; (6) *Kāñcheyaka* Viṣṇugopa; (7) *Āvamuktaka* Nīla-rāja; (8) *Vaiṅgeyaka* Hestivarman; (9) *Pālakkaka* Ugrasena; (10) *Daivarāshṭraka* Kubera; (11) *Kauṣthalapuraka* Dhanañjaya (prabhṛiti-sarvva-Dakṣiṇāpatha-rāja, etc.).

¹ For its location near Ellore in the Godavari District, see E.I., IX, 56.

his son Simhavarman II of Kāñchī. From Eraṇḍapalli to Kāñchī is a big jump. This can be consistent only on the hypothesis that they were together at one and the same spot. Then comes the ruler of Āva mukta or Avamukta. The Āva country or people had their capital Pīthunḍa near the Godavari. Āva and Pīthunḍa are noted in the Hathigumpha inscription.¹ After him comes the ruler of Veṅgī, a tract which Samudra Gupta had already passed on his way from Mahākāntāra to Kurāla. It was not possible for Samudra Gupta to go to Kāñchī, if he went there, without meeting the ruler of Veṅgī on the way: this is another proof that all these fighters were at one place. Palakka, as already pointed out, is the same place wherefrom several grants in the district of Guntur and near about Bezwada were made by the early Pallavas. In the grants the name appears as *Palakkada*. It was situated in the Andhradeśa nearabout the Krishnā. Devarāshṭra, which figures next in the person of its ruler, fixes again the location of all these 'rājans' at one and the same place. It was a district (*vishaya*) in *Elmañchi-Kalīṅgadeśa* (modern *Yellamanchilli*) according to a plate of Chālukya Bhīma I² whose another plate was discovered at Bezwada. Kusthalapura must have been similarly some district-place in the same region, though we have not yet recovered its name in any other record. Probably except the rulers of Kosala and Mahākāntāra, all these military chiefs—from the rank of kings, e.g. Svāmidatta and Viṣṇugopa, to that of district magistrates [against whom no conqueror would take the trouble of marching]—must have been together and must have fought at one and the same battlefield. The order in which they are mentioned probably represents the order of the battle-array or the order of their surrender. Their importance is as fighters and military leaders, not as rulers. They seem to have been grouped under two chief leaders: [the numbers before the names denote their order in the Allahabad inscription. See footnote ⁴ to § 135, pp. 136-137.]

¹ E.I., XX, 79; line 11; J.B.O.R.S., XIV, 151.

² Madras Report on Epigraphy, 1909, pp. 108-109.

I

(3) MAṆṬA-RĀJA of KURĀḌA
leading

(4) Svāmidatta
and

(5) Damana of Eraṇḍapalli.

II

and (6) VIṢṆUGOPA of KĪNCHI
leading

7. Nīlarāja of Āvamukta,

8. Hastivarman of Veṅgī,

9. Ugrasena of Palakka,

10. Kubera of Devarāshṭra,
and

11. Dhanañjaya of
Kusthalapura.

The main army was under Viṣṇugopa, who was supported on flanks by the Kalinga forces. The battle might be called the 'Battle of Kurāḍa'. By this battle there was achieved the conquest of the Vākāṭaka provinces of Kosalā, Mekalā and Andhra. Samudra Gupta returned by the same route of Kosala, as no other countries are noted by Harishena. We may date it about 345-346 A.D. It must have followed soon after the battle of Kauśāmbī (344 A.D.). Like Khāravela, Samudra Gupta's campaigns might average one in two years [344 A.D. to 348 A.D.]. Starting after the rains he could have returned to Patna the same year.¹

136. Samudra Gupta on his return now invaded the real Vākāṭaka centre, the home-province of the Vākāṭakas in Āryāvarta between the Yamunā and Vidiśā, or to adopt the modern geographical name—the land of Bundelkhand. This Āryāvarta War gave to Samudra Gupta dominion over 'the *Āṭavī rulers* [of Āryāvarta]', i.e., the Vindhyan principalities of Baghelkhand and Eastern Bundelkhand. The war was waged, therefore, in the Vindhyan regions of Āryāvarta, that is, in or about Bundelkhand. To operate in the hills of Pannā is a difficult venture which military leaders would avoid. To

¹ The easy march according to Kautilya (ch. 130) was one *yojana* (7 miles) a day for an ordinary army; for a better one, 1½ *yojanas*, and for the best 2 *yojanas* a day. [The value of *yojana* to be 7 miles is well ascertained by Cunningham.] The campaign of Samudra Gupta must have been swift.

the south-west, Bundelkhand is bounded by the districts of Bhilsa [Vidiśā] [Eastern Malwā]. And Bundelkhand is much more accessible from Eastern Malwā, to which there was and has been a good plain road from the Gangetic valley across the Betwa or the Chambal. Samudra Gupta would have attacked the province of the Kilakilā-Vidiśa from the plain country now lying mostly in the Gwalior territory—the passage-land of the Marathas to Hindustan. The battle seems to have been fought at Eran. The reasons for this conclusion are as follows.

137. As Samudra Gupta built his monuments at Eran which was in the heart of the Vākātaka Battle of Eran. home-province, it is definite that he had a triumphant march into the Vākātaka country. In the reign of the next Vākātaka king, Prithivishena I, we find Bundelkhand still under the Vākātakas. Immediately to the south of Eran and also to its east there were the Republics (§145). Samudra Gupta's founding a Vishṇu temple at Eran, which was not in the territory under his direct administration, is suggestive. In the Eran inscription, where the king has not yet assumed the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, and where the set genealogy is yet unknown, lines 21 to 26, verses 6 and 7, show that after a military victory, Samudra Gupta raised a war memorial, like the one raised later by his grandson at Bhītari. The inscription is earlier than the Allahabad pillar inscription. The word '*Antaka*' is emphasised in this inscription; a whole lot of kings (*pārthiva-gaṇas sakalāḥ*) are noted to have been overthrown and deprived of their sovereignty, and the king is said to have taken a consecration¹ and is described to have become one whose valour had become '*irresistible*'—a title afterwards adopted on his coins. His action in war is given prominence, in line 21, which made his enemies fear him even in sleep. To mark the glory, he established (line 26) a foundation, which is evidently the Vishṇu Temple, still existing. On the freeze of the temple a funeral-scene is depicted,² which is unusual, and is to be interpreted as the cremation of the Vākātaka king,

¹ '*Abkishheka*'.

² A.S.R., Vol. X, p. 85.

defeated and slain. The town from that day became a direct, personal possession of the Gupta Emperor—which is the real meaning of the term '*svabhoga-nagara*'.

138. Eran is at the gate of Bundelkhand on one side and Malwa on the other. The whole of Eran a natural Battlefield. Malwa, both eastern and western, was under republics who submitted, without any fight, to Samudra Gupta. It seems that at this place, which had been a strategic point and had an ancient fort and which with a vast stretch of plain country is designed by nature to be an excellent battlefield, the action with the Vākātaka king was fought. It became a battlefield again in later Gupta times, as we have the memorial given here to a Gupta general (Goparāja) who fought and died here in the time of the Huns, where 'his devoted wife in close companionship' accompanied him on to the funeral pyre.¹

139. Rudradeva was defeated and killed on the battlefield by Samudra Gupta. Rudra is the only king whose name is coupled with 'deva' in the inscription of Samudra Gupta, and we may take it to be intentional. Rudrasena was the biggest monarch in India at the time, having succeeded his grandfather who had been a true Emperor of All-India. '*Sena*', in *Rudrasena* is really not a part of the name: as pointed out above we may compare the dropping of *sena* in the Nepal inscriptions where the Lichchhavi king *Vasantasena* is sometimes described as *Vasanta-sena* and sometimes as *Vasantadeva*. *Deva* is more dignified and stood for full royal dignity. The chronology proposed above makes Rudradeva succeed in 344 A.D., and Samudra Gupta's conquests are unanimously dated about 345 to 350 A.D. The Rudradeva of the inscription is thus contemporaneous with and identical with Rudrasena I (§ 64).

140. The Āryāvarta kings defeated by Samudra Gupta were:

Rudradeva, Matila, Nāgadatta, Chandrarman, Gaṇapati Nāga, Nāgasena, Achyuta Nandi, and Balavarman.²

¹ Fleet, G. I., p. 92.

² G. I., p. 12.

This list is divisible into two parts. (1) From Gaṇapati Nāga to Balavarman are the names of the kings already defeated in the first Āryāvarta War; the battle of Kauśāmbī accounting for the three, the last one, Balavarman, might have been the ruler of Pāṭaliputra captured by Samudra Gupta's army who is left unnamed in verse 7. If so, Balavarman, was the second or the *abhisheka*- [the coronation-] name of Kālyāṇavarman. The other group must therefore consist of the kings and rulers defeated in the Second War or in a probable continuation of the Second War.¹ Of these Nāgadatta is to be identified with the Nāgadatta, father of the Mahārāja Maheśvara Nāga—a Nāga sub-king whose seal bearing the *lāñchhana* of a cobra was found at Lahore and has been edited by Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, which according to its script belongs to the fourth century A.D. (G. I., page 283). Matila ruled in the district of Bulandshahr, whose seal with another Nāga emblem was discovered.² We do not know who this Chandravarman of Samudra Gupta's inscription was,³ but we know that a Yādava dynasty of feudatories had been set up about 250 A.D. at Simhapura in the Jālandhara Doab [§§ 78 and 80]. This house must have been feudatory to the Vākātakas. Their names ended in 'varman'. Although in the list of the Simhapura rulers we do not find any name as Chandravarman yet it is possible that he might have been a younger cadet who came to the battlefield to fight for Rudrasena, or *Chandravarman* was a second name of some king of the line. The sixth king who would have been a contemporary of Samudra Gupta and whose name is Vṛiddhivarman, is described as '*Chandra*'

¹ Very likely a little later, another expedition was undertaken to the west of Mathurā in the Srughna country and up to Jālandhara.

² I.A., XVIII, p. 289. It is the symbol of the Nāga *Saṅkha-pāla*. There is a conch and a serpent. The shape of the serpent is round and rays (*ābhā*) come out of its body, i.e. from its body rays emanate. A *dhyāna* of Durgā describes Saṅkha-pāla thus: *dāhotīrṇa-suvarṇābha*,^o used as a *kañkana* (bracelet) by the Goddess.

³ Once V. Smith proposed to identify the *Chandravarman* of Samudra Gupta with the *Chandravarman* of the Susunia inscription (J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 876). But the script of the latter (E.I., XIII, p. 133) is much later.

in verse 7 of the Lakkhā Maṇḍal inscription [E.I., Vol. I, 13]. Chandra-varman, according to the Allahabad inscription, was a neighbour of Nāgadatta who must have been a ruler beyond Mathurā and whose successor's seal was found at Lahore. There is no room for Nāgadatta between Ahi-chhatra and Mathurā. The grouping—*Rudradeva-Matila-Nāgadatta-Chandravarman*—is made up in a geographical order: Matila was next to Rudradeva, Nāgadatta was further west and Chandravarman, furthest, in the Eastern Punjab.

140 A. Now the question is whether all these three rulers fought on the side of Rudradeva in one battle or separately. Nāgadatta and Chandravarman were not in the neighbourhood of Rudrasena, but we know from Indian History that kings and allies travelled from long distances to fight pitched battles; it is not unlikely that the three feudatories fought along with Rudradeva in one and the same battle, which must have been expected. This must have been the biggest battle of Samudra Gupta, as he notes that all the Āṭavika kings became his servants after his war with these kings, which means that the rulers of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand took part in this battle and changed allegiance to the Gupta conqueror on the fall of their sovereign lord. But as to the two western kings or rulers it seems more likely that there was a subsequent engagement to the west of Mathurā. The Purāṇic (Va. and Br.) description of Samudra Gupta's empire at the date of the death of Rudrasena [§129], which does not include the Punjab, would also indicate it. There was thus, more likely, a Third War in Āryāvarta, a year or so later.

141. The enveloping movement of Samudra Gupta against the Vākāṭaka Empire was practically a continuation of his First Āryāvarta War. The three big battles form really one continuous campaign. The campaign, therefore, must have been carried through quickly. Under a generalship which was so perfect that it never met with a reverse or check, the campaigns would have been finished easily in three fighting seasons—October [Vijayādaśamī] to April each year. Following the chronology adopted above we may date the First Āryāvarta Battle about 344-345 A.D.,

the Second Āryāvarta War in or about 348 A.D., and the probable Third War c. 349 or 350 A.D.

XIV. THE SUBMISSION OF THE FRONTIER RULERS AND THE
HINDU REPUBLICS, AND THEIR PURĀNIC DESCRIPTION,
AND THE SUBMISSION OF FARTHER INDIA.

142. After the [Third] Āryāvarta War ending with the fall of Nagādatta and Chandravarman, Frontier Kingdoms. Samudra Gupta's period of war ended. The Allahabad inscription (line 22) is clear on the point. There were only five main states on his frontiers and they became part of his empire. (1) Samatāṭa, (2) Ḍavāka, (3) Kāmarūpa, (4) Nepāla and (5) Karttipura paid 'all' imperial 'taxes' and their kings presented themselves in person.¹ This line of 'the Frontier Kings' runs from the mouths of Ganges through the Lushai-Manipur²-Assam to the Himalayan Mountains covering what we call now Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal, and thence onwards to the Simla Hills and Kangra (Karttipura), i.e. the hills above Bengal [*Paundra*], the United Provinces, and up to the E. Punjab [the Mādraka country]. The inclusion of Karttipura implies that the result of the [Third] Āryāvarta War was the inclusion of the Eastern Punjab. This is probably also inferable from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa which does not note the Mādraka State in its list of the free republican states (§ 146). In the next reign we find the Gupta Era in the year 83 [=403 A.D.] dominant up to Shorkoṭ (old *Śivipura*) near the eastern bank of the Chenab³. In Nepal, Jayadeva I, the new Lichchhavi king of Nepal, was a relation of Samudra Gupta and his submission meant practically the submission of the whole group of the Himalayan States on the Indian side. The Gupta Era was introduced in Nepal in the reign of Jayadeva I.⁴ The relationship was evidently a great factor in avoiding a mountain

¹ Allahabad Pillar Insc., l. 22, G.I., p. 8.

² Col. Gerini, *Ptolemy* (pp. 55-61) identifies *Ḍavāka* with Upper Burma.

³ E.I., XVI. 15.

⁴ Fleet, G.I., Intro., p. 135; I.A., XIV, 345 (350).

expedition. Samudra Gupta seems to have, later on, annexed Samatata to the Province of Champā, to have a natural frontier up to the sea, which was a matter of necessity for an easier access to and the administration of Orissa and Kalinga, and the sea-trade with Further India (§ 150).

143. We should note here that the Empire of Samudra Gupta ending with Kangra, leaves out Kashmir and the plains below it. This becomes clear from the Bhāgavata, the original text of which was completed before the submission of the Daivaputra-group whom the text describes as richly deserving suppression. Line 23 of the Allahabad inscription registers the 'tranquil fame' of Samudra Gupta 'pervading the whole land' and his re-establishing many dynasties 'fallen and deprived of sovereignty'. The result of this policy of peace is immediately given as the submission of the *Daivaputra-shāhi-shāhānu-shāhi-Śaka-Muruṇḍas*—which completes the imperial geography of the North-West and Kashmir. This was the Mlechchha State of the Bhāgavata and the Vishṇu. The Shāhānushāhi made his submission in person, for the inscription gives the forms of submission which the Daivaputra group and others made respectively, and the order of their enumeration proves his personal submission. The first member of the group is the Daivaputra Shāhi-shāhānushāhi. The words *Daivaputra* and *Shāhi* qualify *shāhānushāhi*, which were probably necessary to distinguish the Kushan emperor from the Sassanian emperor who was at that time the next neighbour of the Gupta Empire. The first form of submission was that of offering themselves (*ātmanivedana*) and the second consisted of two things: presenting (*upāyana*) unmarried girls and giving of daughters in marriage (*kaṇyā-dāna*). The third was the request [*yāchana*] which consisted of two matters: asking for charters for the currency of the Garuḍa coinage within the jurisdiction of their own territories and an application to enjoy the governments of their own respective countries [*garutmadāṇka-svavishaya-bhukti-śāsana-yāchana*]: asking for charters (*śāsana-yāchana*) for the use

Kashmir and Daivaputra group and their submission.

of the Garuḍa-coin (*garuṣṭmadāṇka-bhukti*) and for the government of their own territories (provinces or districts, *svavishaya bhukti*)). We know from the Pālaḍa or Shālāḍa and the 'Shāka' coins of the Kushan subordinate kings of the Western Punjab, that they accepted the Gupta coinage.¹ They printed the effigy of Samudra Gupta and his name on their coins, and it was continued up to the reign of Chandra Gupta II when we find his effigy and name also similarly stamped. As to the identity of these Gupta kings there cannot be any doubt, for the kings wear ear-rings or *kundala* on these coins, while the Kushans never used them. These coins, have been already described by numismatists as coins allied to the Gupta coinage.² The *kanyā-dāna*, 'giving in marriage' (*dāna*, as opposed to *upāyana*, 'presenting') of 'a *kanyā*' should refer to the Kushan Emperor, looking at the system current at the time, that, as a rule, it was a big rival ruler who bending his head offered a daughter in marriage to the conqueror.

144. The Sassanian emperor at the time was Shapur II (310-379 A.D.) who was the suzerain of

Sassanian Emperor
and Kushan subordi-
nation.

the Kushan king. The Kushans at this time issued from Afghanistan the 'Kushāno-Sassanian' coins with the title *Shao-nano-shao*.³ The protection of the Sassanian Emperor and the close alliance with him could not prevent a virtual annexation of the Indian territories of the Kushans (to the east of the Indus) by the Gupta emperor. The Kushan subordinates of Kashmir, Rawalpindi and Peshawar were practically transferred to the Indian Empire by their adopting the Gupta imperial coinage. The personal submission of the Kushan Shāhānushāhi naturally prevented Samudra Gupta from pursuing a policy of aggression. But the enemy was left with potential power of mischief, for, soon after the death of Samudra Gupta the *Śakādhīpati* raised the banner of revolt, probably with the support of the Sassanian Emperor Shapur II. The ignominy of having to offer a Kushan royal princess

¹ J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 208-209.

² J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 208-209.

³ Vincent Smith, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, p. 91.

suffered in the time of Samudra Gupta was now sought to be avenged by the demand for Dhruva-Devī, which led to the final destruction of the Kushan king and Kushan power by the march of Chandra Gupta II up to Balkh, the farthest seat and centre of the Kushans.¹

145. The republics of the Mālavas, Āryunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Mādrakas, Ābhīras, Prārjunas, Sahasānikas, Kākas, Kharparikas and others were not on the frontiers of Samudra Gupta's empire as wrongly supposed by Dr. Vincent Smith, for, in line 22 (Allahabad Pillar Inscription) where 'the frontier kings' are mentioned, they are expressly excluded from that category. They were internal States and had become part of the Gupta empire by agreeing to pay all kinds of imperial taxes and obeying imperial orders. In the enumeration of the tributary republics there is a territorial scheme. The Mālavas, Āryunāyanas, Yaudheyas and Mādrakas are counted from the direct Gupta territory—say, from Mathurā. The first state is the Mālava. Nāgara or Karkoṭa-Nāgara which is situated in the modern State of Jaipur was the capital of the Mālavas whose thousands of republican coins—'as thick as shells on the sea-shore'—have been found there (§§ 42, 46). The Bhāgavata calls them the Arbuda-Mālavas and the Viṣṇu locates them in Rajputana (*Marubhūmi*). They were thus decidedly in Rajputana from Mount Abu up to Jaipur. The territorial designation Mālwār (मालवार्) seems to me to be based on their name.² To their south, there was the Nāga territory, and with the Nāga coins their coinage bears affinity.³ They were, like the Nāgas, followers of Nāga worship. Their capital was dedicated to Karkoṭa Nāga. Immediately north to them were the Yaudheyas, stretching from Bharatpur

¹ J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 29 ff.

² *Mārwār* of our maps is pronounced in the Punjab as *Mālwār*. In Rajputana ! is pronounced as in the South. *Mālava* = *Mālava* + *vāṭaka* will be the equivalent of *Mārwār*. For *Vāṭa* = *wār*, 'division,' see Hira Lal, *Inscriptions in C.P.*, pp. 24, 87; E.I. VIII, 285; Both *Vāṭaka* and *Pāṭaka* occur with geographical names for 'division'.

³ Rapson, I.C., sec. 51; V. Smith, C.I.M., 162.

[where their republican inscription of a time anterior to Samudra Gupta has been found at Bijaygarh] right up to the lower course of the Sutlej on the border of the Bhawalpur State where *Johiyāwār* still bears the stamp of their name. This was the biggest republican state also in the time of Rudradāman [c.150 A.D.]; the Yaudheyas were his neighbours, that is, reaching Lower Sindh. Between the Mālava and the Yaudheya States there was the small State of the Āryunāyanas whose exact location is not known but whose coins indicate that they were near Alwar and Agra. The Mādarakas were immediately to the north of the Yaudheyas extending up to the foot of the Himalayas. Madra-deśa was the plain country between Jhelum and Ravi¹, sometimes extending up to the Bias.² In the tract between the Bias and the Jumna lay the Vākātaka feudatories the Varmanas of Simhapura and the Nāga king Nāgadatta. The other republican group of Samudra Gupta's inscription consists of the Ābhīras, Prārjunas, Sahasānikas, Kākas and Kharparikas. None of these struck their coins before Samudra Gupta, and this for the simple reason that they had been under the Vākātaka governor of Western Malwā at Mandhātā (Māhishmatī) and under the Nāgas of Padmāvatī. Gaṇapati Nāga, in fact, is called the overlord of Dhārā [*Dhārādhiśa*]. We know now that the Sahasānikas and the Kākas were nearabout Bhilsa. The modern Kākpur was their town which is within 20 miles from Bhilsa³; the Sāñchi hill was called the *Kākanāda*. In the time of Chandra Gupta II a Sahasānika Mahārāja, probably a republican chief of the Sahasānikas, built the Chandra Gupta Temple in the Udayagiri rocks. About the Ābhīras, we get great help from the Bhāgavata. The Bhāgavata calls the Ābhīras, 'Saurāshṭra' and 'Āvantiya' rulers (*Saurāshṭra-Āvantiyā Ābhīrāḥ*), and the Viṣṇu treats the Ābhīras as occupying the Surāshṭra and Avanti provinces. We know from the Vākātaka history that in Western Malwā there were the Pushyamitras and two other republics with their names ending in -Mitra. These were

¹ A.S.R., Vol. II, p. 14.² J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 30.³ J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 213.

the Ābhīra republics and in their place in later Gupta history we find the Maitrakas rising as monarchs. This group beginning with the Ābhīras and ending with Kharparikas is almost in a straight line from Kathiawar and Gujarat to Damoh, below the Mālava republic and above the Vākātaka kingdom. The Ābhīras in the time of the Periplus occupy Gujarat, and there is no justification in locating them in Bundelkhand as Dr. Vincent Smith did [J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 30]. He was led to do so on account of a mistaken notion that Kathiawar and Gujarat were at that time governed by the Western Satraps. Both the Purāṇas and Samudra Gupta's inscription leave no room for the Satraps in Kathiawar or Gujarat. The Western Satraps had been already dispossessed in the Nāga-Vākātaka period from Kathiawar. The Purāṇas here throw great light.

146. The Bhāgavata treats the Ābhīras of Surāśṭra and Avanti, the Śūras and the Purāṇic Evidence. Mālavas of the Aravali as free republics. Their rulers are called *janādhipāḥ*, 'national' or 'popular' [i.e. republican] 'rulers'. It does not mention the Mādrakas. It seems that the Mādrakas had already come within the Empire of Samudra Gupta as a sequence of the Āryāvarta Wars and were probably the first amongst the republics to own allegiance to the Gupta Emperor when their overlord was conquered. The Śūras of the Bhāgavata are the famous Yaudheyas. The word *Śūra* ('hero') is a translation of the word '*Yaudheya*', their popular title. Rudradāman, 200 years earlier, recorded that the Yaudheyas were popularly known amongst the Kshatriyas by their title '*the heroes*'.¹ The Yaudheyas, according to the Purāṇas, were good and ancient Kshatriyas. They formerly lived, like the Mālavas, in the Punjab. It is they and the Mālavas who had kept the Kushan power in check, both at its western end on the Sindh borders and the eastern end at Mathurā. They were popularly

¹ 'sarvakshatrāvishkrita-vīra śabda-jātotsaka-avidheyānām' (E.I., VIII, 44): 'the Yaudheyas who were loath to submit, rendered proud as they were by having manifested their title of '*heroes*' among all Kshatriyas' (Kielhorn's translation).

known as 'Śūra', 'Vīra'. The Bhāgavata placing them next to the Ābhīras and before the Mālavas, puts them between the two, which indicates their position to the north of the Ābhīras and to the north-west of the Mālavas, i.e. the western portion of Rajputana. The Vishṇu reads:—'*Saurāshṭra-Avanti-Śūrān Arbuda-Marubhūmi-vishayāṁś cha vrātyā dvijā Ābhīra-Śūdra* [read *Śūra*]-*ādyāḥ bhokshyanti*'. Its reading *Śūdra* after *Avanti* has the variant reading *-śūra* which is confirmed by the Vishṇu Purāṇa itself in another place¹ and the *Hari-Vamśa*.² There was, however, a republic of the *Śaudrāyaṇas* whose name was derived from a proper-name *Śūdra*, not the caste-name but the personal name of the founder.³ But the texts of the Bhāgavata and Vishṇu here evidently mean '*Śūras*' which stands for the *Yaudheyas*. The Bhāgavata and the Vishṇu do not mention at all the Prārjunas, Sahasānikas, Kākas and Kharparikas. They had belonged to the Nāga group, being in Eastern Malwā.

146A. Then comes the Mlechchha State which is described by the Bhāgavata as the next state. This was the Kushan State. To the inscription of Samudra Gupta, the Purāṇa here acts as commentary:

Sindhos tatam Chandrabhāgām

Kauntīm, Kāśmīra-maṇḍalam

bhokshyanti śūdrās ch ānty ādyā (or, vrātyādyā)

Mlechchhās ch-ābrahmavarchasaḥ. [P.T., 55].

'Over the banks of the Indus, and the Chandrabhāgā, Kauntī (Cutch⁴) (and) the principality of Kashmīr, there will rule the Mlechchhas—the lowest of the Śūdras, who are opposed to Vedic holiness.'

The Vishṇu reads: *Sindhutata-Dārvikorvī-Chandrabhāgā-Kāśmīra-vishayān Vrātyā Mlechchhā śūdrādyāḥ* [or, *Mlechchhā-dayāḥ śūdrāḥ*] *bhokshyanti*. The Vishṇu is anxious here to connect the Indus-Chandrabhāgā valley (the Sindh-Sāgar Doab)

¹ Wilson, V.P., Vol. II, p. 133: '*Śūra-Ābhīrāḥ*' cf. *Harivamśa*, 12, 837, *Śūra-Ābhīrāḥ*.

² See Hall's note in Wilson's Vishṇu, II, 133.

³ See Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity*, I, p. 156.

⁴ J.B.A.S., 1851, 234.

with the Dārvīkorvī (the Dārvīka valley), i.e. the Khyber Pass with its hinterland (§ 124), which shows that there was a correct appreciation of the natural frontiers of India. The Chandrabhāgā limit is confirmed by the use of the Gupta Era at Shorkot in its 83rd year¹ when it is employed there without even the specification of the era, which shows that it must have been in vogue there for at least 25 years, i.e. since the reign of Samudra Gupta.

146B. The Mlechchhas are called here the lowest of the Śūdras. Here we should recall the Mlechchha rule described. *Mānava Code* and the other authorities which hold the Śakas in India to be Śūdras. Patañjali, c. 180 B.C., discussed the status of the Śakas and Yavanas who in his time had been politically turned out of India yet few of whom remained as subjects in India. The Mahā Bhārata also has discussed the status of such foreigners, Śakas and others, domiciled in India who had become Hinduised.² Early authorities are unanimous in giving the Śakas the status of the Śūdra who was not permitted to interdine with the twice-born Aryans. These ruling Śakas and political antagonists, on account of their political and social policy, have been lowered by the Bhāgavata as lower than the lowest Śūdras, to the position of pariahs (*antyajas*). The reason is given by the Bhāgavata itself. They not only disregarded the orthodox system ('the Vedic holiness') but they imposed a system of social tyranny. The country under them was encouraged or forced to follow their manners, ethics and religious theories: '*tannāthās te janapadās tach-ckhilāchāra-vādinah.*' Politically they did persistently what the Śaka Satrap Rudradāman was made to swear not to do. He, on getting himself elected as king, took the oath that he would not exact taxes except those sanctioned by Hindu Law³. The

¹ E.I., XVI, 15.

² [I have discussed the Mahā Bhārata passage in my Baroda Lecture (1931).] *M Bh.*, *Sānti*, LXV; Manu, X, 44; Patañjali on P. II. 4. 10.

³ E.I., VIII, pp. 33-43 [Junagarh insc., lines 9-10]: *sarva-varṇai-rabhiḡamya rakṣhaṇārtha(m) patitve vṛitena ā-praṇocchhvasāt puruṣha-vadha-nivṛitti-kṛita-satyapratijñena antyatra saṅgrāmeshu*. Then, line 12: *yathāvat-prāptair-bali-śulka-bhāgaiḥ*

Mlechchha kings, however, according to the description of the Bhāgavata and the Vishṇu, followed the general practice of their race—exacted illegal taxes (*prajās te bhakshayishyanti Mlechchhā rājanya-rūpiṇaḥ*). They killed and massacred even women and children. They killed cows (which had become sacred by that time, as the Vākātaka and Gupta inscriptions prove). They killed Brahmins, they took away wives and wealth of others (*stri-bāla-go-dvijaghnās cha, paradārādhanāhritāḥ*). They were never ‘crowned’, i.e., legal kings according to Hindu Law. They indulged in constant dynastic revolutions amongst themselves [*“hatvā chaiva parasparam”; uditoditavamsās tu uditāstamitās tathā*—a condition already guessed by numismatists from their coins. There was thus a national cry, expressed by the Purāṇa text, practically inviting the Gupta emperors and the Hindus of the time to eradicate this lingering canker in the North-Western corner—an operation which Chandra Gupta II was compelled to perform and which he did perform successfully.

147. This description is the description of the ‘Yauna’ rule and not of the Yavanas, the Indo-Greeks.¹ The *Yauna* has been turned into *Yavana*. The Brahmāṇḍa, closing the dynasties and rulers contemporary with the Early Guptas, says in its second half of verse 199 :

‘tulyakālaṁ bhaviṣhyanti sarve hyete mahīkṣhitāḥ’

and adds by its next verse (200) :

*‘alpaprasādā hyanṛitā mahā-krodhā hyadhārmikāḥ
bhaviṣhyantiṭha Yavanā dharmataḥ kāmato’rthataḥ.’*

‘There will be the Yavanas in this country propelled by religious zeal, ambition and greed, who will be of short whims, untruthful, of great anger and unrighteous.’

With this opening verse there follows a description which is a summing-up of the Period. The Matsya, which closed with the end of the Sātavāhanas, also gives the same description, though condensed in three lines :

¹ Cf. ‘*The Yaunas of the Purāṇas*’, J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 201.

*'bhavishyantiha Yavanāḥ dharmataḥ kāmato 'rītataḥ
tair vimīśrā janapadā Āryā Mlechchhās cha sarvaśaḥ
viparyayena variante kshayam-eshyanti vai prajāḥ.'*²

[The Aryan population would become mixed with the Mlechchhas and the people would decay.] The Bhāgavata applies the same description to the Mlechchhas of Sindhu-Chandrabhāgā-Kauntī-Kāśmīra, and gives great details, as summarised above, up to the end of the chapter (Bk. XII, Chapter ii).² The Bhāgavata is followed by the Viṣṇu in this scheme. It is thus evident that the *Yavana* of the other Purāṇas is the *Mlechchha* of the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata. The *Yavana* here could not be the Indo-Greek *Yavana* who had passed away long before, both according to the Purāṇic treatment of chronology and dynastic details. These *Yavanas* here are the *Yaunas*, i.e. the *Yauvā* or *Yauvan* rulers who have been shown to be identical with the Kushans.³ The Kushans bore the royal title *Yauv* or *Yauvā*, and the Kushans are placed in the Purāṇas as the Tukhāra-Muruṇḍas and Śakas. The Bhāgavata shortly after (XII, iii, 14) actually uses the form '*Yauna*'.

148. The Sindh-Afghanistan-Kashmir Mlechchhas had about four provinces, including Cutch. It is possible that some subordinate rulers under them were non-

The Provinces of the
Mlechchha State.

Mlechchhas, as the Bhāgavata says that the governors were predominately Mlechchhas (*Mlechchha-prāyās cha bhūbhṛitāḥ*). Kauntī or Cutch was included in Sindh, as the Viṣṇu does not mention it separately. Cutch-Sindh was under the Western Satraps whose coins we get for some 30 years after the Kushan submission, which we may date about 350 A.D.

² Ch. 272, 25-26.

² The next chapter is the description of the liberation of the country by Kalki from the Mlechchhas whom I had identified with Viṣṇu Yaśodharman, the final destroyer of the Huns; but his description in the Mahā Bhārata and the Brahmāṇḍa agrees with the description of the Brahmin Emperor Pravarasena I the Vākātaka. [See also p. 46, n. above.]

³ J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 287, XVII, 201.

149. Thus we have here a trustworthy and accurate account of the Bhāraśiva-Nāga-Vākāṭaka Period and the Early Gupta Period in the Purāṇas. It is very full for the Vākāṭaka and the Samudra Gupta Periods. In fact, our literature nowhere else gives such detailed account for any other period of Hindu History before the *Rājataranginī* takes up the history of the Karkoṭa Dynasty (7th century A.D.).

FURTHER INDIA.

149 A. Further India was recognized as part of India in the Bhāraśiva-Vākāṭaka Period. In the Matsya Purāṇa for the first time we find that recognition.¹ Between the Himavat and the Sea, Bhāratavarsha stands, but it covers a larger area on account of Indians [*Bhārati prajā*] living in eight more islands or sea-girt lands (dvīpas), 'which are mutually inaccessible on account of the sea intervening'. India is the ninth in that sea-girt system. This clearly means that the eight dvīpas or islands and peninsulas, inhabited by Indians, were in one direction from the Indian peninsula. The direction

¹ Matsya, ch. 113. 1-14 : [Cf. Vāyu Text, i. ch. 45, 69-86.]

यदिदं भारतं वर्षं यस्मिन् स्थायश्रुवादयः

चतुर्दशैव मनवः (1)

अथाहं वर्षं विष्णुमि वर्षेऽस्मिन् भारते प्रजाः (5)

न खल्वन्यत्र मर्त्यानां भूमौ कर्षविधिः स्मृतः ।

उत्तरं यत्समुद्रस्य हिमवदक्षिणं च यत् ।

वर्षं यद्भारतं नाम यच्चैवं भारती प्रजा ॥ [Vāyu, 75].

भारतस्यास्य वर्षस्य नवभेदान्निबोधत ॥ (7)

समुद्रान्तरिता ज्ञेयास्ते त्वगम्याः परस्परम् [Vāyu, 78]

इन्द्रद्वीपः कसेरुश्च ताक्षपणीं गभस्तिमान् ।

नागद्वीपस्तथा सौम्यो गन्धर्वस्त्वथ वारुणः ॥ (8)

अयं तु नवमस्तेषां द्वीपः सागरसंहतः । (9)

Then follows the description of the ninth dvīpa or section of Bhārata-varsha, which covers the whole of India, called here *Mānavadvīpa*.

is indicated by the situation of *Tāmra parṇī*, one of the eight Hindu dvīpas. All these dvīpas were to the east, that is, they constituted what we call to-day Further India. *Indradvīpa*, the first dvīpa in the list, has been satisfactorily identified with Burma.¹ The Malay Peninsula was well known to Indians at that time, a fact evidenced by an inscription of the fourth century A.D. inscribed on a pillar [in the present district of Wellesly] by a Hindu sea-captain (*Mahānāvika*) Budhagupta of Eastern India,² and it is very probable that the *Kaseru* or *Kaserumat* dvīpa which is mentioned next to *Indradvīpa*, meant the present Straits Settlements. The next class begins with *Tāmraparṇī* (the older name of Ceylon): *Tāmraparṇa*, *Gabhastimān*, *Nāgadvīpa*, *Saumya*, *Gāndharva*, and *Vārūna* dvīpas. *Nāgadvīpa* is Nicobar.³ We know from Cambodian inscriptions that Cambodia (Indo-China) was held by the *Nāgas* who were superseded by the orthodox Hindu dynasty of *Kaundinya* from India.⁴ We may take 'Nāga' to be the ethnic designation of the pre-Hindu inhabitants of these colonies. *Gabhastimān* ['Island of the Sun'], *Saumya*, *Gāndharva* and *Vārūna* represent the Archipelago (Sumatra, Borneo, etc.), out of which Sumatra-Java had certainly settlements of Indians before the fourth century A.D. It is certain that the *Purāṇas* in the third and fourth centuries are conscious of the Hindu colonies in Further India, and treat them as parts of *Bhāratavarsha*.⁵ Their *Bhāratavarsha*, which was primarily India, was at this point of time interpreted as India-cum-Greater India, which latter taking Ceylon, consisted of eight units or divisions, called *dvīpas*.

¹ S. N. Majumdar, J.B.O.R.S., 1922 (March), now reprinted in his edition of Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* (1924), p. 749. His identification of *Kaserumat* with the Malay Peninsula is reasonable. But the other proposals are hopeless.

² *Ibid.*, p. 752, citing Kern, *VG.*, III (1915), p. 255.

³ Gerini, *Ptolemy's Geography*, pp. 379-383.

⁴ *Champa* by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, ii. 18, 23.

⁵ The *Vāyu* shows a detailed knowledge of the Archipelago and gives in a new chapter [ch. 48] names current in Gupta times, e.g., *Aṅga* [Champā], *Malaya*, *Ya[v]a*, etc.

150. In line 23 in the group of Shāhānushāhi and others, i.e., the group of what we should call today the States 'under the sphere of influence', we have 'Saimhalaka-ādibhiḥ cha sarva-dvīpa-vāsibhiḥ', 'the king of Sīṃhala and all the other islanders (or, Oceanic rulers)', who made their submission and acknowledged Samudra Gupta as their Emperor. They paid no taxes but brought presents and expressly accepted his headship. Samudra Gupta describes this as *uniting the whole land* [Prithivī] *within his two arms*. His India or Prithivī, therefore, embraced within its bounds Further India. 'All the dvīpas' here meant all the Indian colonies of Bhāratavarsha (§ 149 A), of the *Bhāratī prajā*. Dr. Vincent Smith thinks that the embassy of Meghavarna of Ceylon, come to obtain permission for erecting a monastery for the Sinhalese pilgrims at Bodh-gayā, was alluded to by Samudra Gupta in his inscription as presenting tribute.¹ But the two matters seem to be quite independent. In the inscription the reference is not to the king of Ceylon only but also to the rulers of 'all the' dvīpas. That there were other Indian colonies at the time which had been in communication with the home-land is a well-known fact. We have in the third century a Sanskrit inscription in Champā [Cambodia] of a king belonging to the dynasty of Śrī Māra Kaundinya², anticipating the favourite *Vasantatilakā* metre and the language and style of the Vākāṭaka and Gupta inscriptions. This inscription establishes that the connection of the colonies with the Bhāraṣiva and Vākāṭaka India and with the revivalism of Sanskrit in the home-land had been fully maintained. All official inscriptions in India in the second century A.D., both in the South and in the North, had been in Prakrit.³ Bhadravarman

¹ E.H.I., pp. 304-305.

² *Champā* by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar: Inscription No. 1. Cf. also J.R.A.S., 1912, 677, where Fan Ye (d. 445 A.D.) is cited as describing [Gupta] India from Kabul to Burma or Annam.

³ With the single exception of the Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman who was particularly learned in Sanskrit and who tried to make himself an orthodox Hindu king, having come in by election.

['*Fan-Hou-ta*' of the Chinese] who defeated the Chinese forces [380-410 A.D.], was a contemporary of Chandra Gupta II. His father, a contemporary of Samudra Gupta, was fighting the Chinese Emperor at the time, and would have welcomed connection with the Indian Emperor. Bhadravarman's son, Gaṅgarāja, actually retired to India to pass his days on the Ganges and then went back to Champā and ruled.¹ The connection of the Hindu king of Funan with India since 245 A.D. is also a recorded fact. The impress of the time of Samudra Gupta on the Hindu Colonies is marked in such a degree that the Allahabad inscription is necessarily to be taken seriously—as seriously as it is taken with regard to its Indian matters. Samudra Gupta's reign coincides with a new social system on Hindu lines in Funan under Śrutavarman.² About the same time in the Hindu colony of Western Java we find inscriptions being written in Sanskrit in the script of 'the fourth or fifth century A.D.' And Sumatra gets so much of orthodox Hindu culture just before the arrival of Fa Hien that he found: '*various forms of error and Brahmanism flourishing while Buddhism in it is not worth speaking of*' (Fa Hien, p. 113). We have the evidence of Fa Hien that Tāmralipti, which, as we have seen, became a Guptan port by annexation in Samudra Gupta's time, was a brisk port for regular communication between India and Ceylon. To Tāmralipti the traveller had to go from Champā [Bhagalpur], which was a capital in his time—a fact fully corroborating the statement of the Purāṇas on the Gupta organisation of the Province of Champā-Tāmralipti. Fa Hien found a large merchant-ship sailing for Ceylon which he calls Simhala [just as in Samudra Gupta's inscription], and embarked for that island. The connection between Ceylon and India had been easy and constant enough to compel the Saīmahalaka King to accept the imperial position of Samudra Gupta. Tāmralipti was also the chief

¹ *Champā*, pp 25-29.

² Coomaraswamy: *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 181 [see authorities cited therein]; Finot in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1925, Vol. I, p. 612.

port in Northern India for Further India. Its annexation to the Province of Champā was with a view to come in close touch with the colonies in Further India and to control the sea-trade.¹ There was here a well-considered and well-calculated policy. The inscription is not a vague record of accidental visits from Ceylon and other islands, but is a record of the results of a conscious imperial policy.

151. Evidence of Art further establishes a Guptan connection with Indian Colonies. Pieces of sculpture going back to the fourth century A.D. have been noticed as bearing the stamp of the Vākātaka-Gupta Art, and temples of the Gupta type have been found in Cambodia.² Similarly the introduction of the Gupta script and its adaptation in Burma, and the large finds of Gupta terracottas in Burma are to be noted.³ The history of Art in subsequent centuries in Indonesia is so indissolubly knit with the Gupta art that it is to be regarded as bearing solid testimony to the introduction of Gupta influence beginning with Samudra Gupta's time. Samudra Gupta, if not politically, yet culturally, did cause the unity of Further India with the Motherland within his two arms⁴.

151A. Samudra Gupta in every respect carried out the Hindu Ideal. Hindu ideal of imperialism.⁵ According to the Mahā-Bhārata, Sīmhala [Ceylon] and the Hindu Dvīpas or colonies were integral parts of the Indian Empire of the Hindu Samrāj.⁶ According to that

¹ Influx of gold was probably more from Further India, than from the South. F. India produced much gold.

² Coomaraswamy: 157, 182, 183.

³ Coomaraswamy, *Ibid.*, p. 169. V. Smith, *Early History*, 4th ed., p. 297, n., asserts the introduction of the Gupta Era in Burma. I learn from Mr. Umya, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, that no record in the Gupta Era has been found in Burma. But see Führer's APR., for June, 1894. On the adaptation of the Gupta script to Burmese phonetics in the Pyu inscriptions see the forms in E.I. XII. 127.

⁴ 'bāhu-vīryya-prasara-dharanī-bandhasya'; L. 24, All. Insc., G.I., p. 8.

⁵ M.Bh., Sabhā, XIV, 9-12, XXXVII, 20.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XXXI, 73-74; [see also Southern Text, C. XXXIV].

ideal the whole of India including Afghanistan¹ must be comprised in that empire. But the empire must not go further west and be at the cost of the liberties of the countries beyond Afghanistan. The traditional international morality of Hindu India was noted by the Greek writers and the Arab Sulaiman.² The Law of Manu, which fixes the western boundary of India, was scrupulously observed by Samudra Gupta. The Sassanian king, who was troubled and weakened by the Roman emperor at the time, could have been invaded and probably easily conquered by Samudra Gupta, who in the art of war had no equal in his time. But Samudra Gupta had a law laid down to him by his dharmaśāstra—the code, 'the rule (śāstra) of civilisation' (dharma). And that dharma was followed: that dharma limited a Hindu monarch's actions, both international and imperial. The history of Samudra Gupta's conquests shows that his actions were well-regulated by that law, and that he did not become a militarist.

¹ *Ibid.*, XXVII, 25, where the frontiers of Seistan peopled by 'the Parama Kambojas' and their allied tribes the 'Northern Rishikas' [the Ārśī people] are described. On Rishika and Ārśī, see *Bhāratabhūmi* by J. Vidyālaṅkāra, pp. 313-315; J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 97.

² *Hindu Polity*, ii, 190-191.

PART IV
Southern India [150 A.D.—350 A.D.]
and
Unification of the North and the South

गायन्ति देवाः किल गीतकानि

‘ धन्यास्तु ये भारतभूमि-भागे

स्वर्गापवर्गास्यदमार्गभूते

भवन्ति भूयः पुत्राः सुरत्नात् ’ ॥

[—the INDIA-ANTHEM,

Vishnu Purāṇa, II, 3. 24.]

सम्यक् प्रजापालनमात्राधिगतराजप्रयोजनस्य ।

‘—[His majesty] to whom the *raison d'être* of acquiring kingship consisted in rendering good government to the people.’

[—*Inscriptions of the Gāṅga
Dynasty of Southern India.*]

XV. THE SUBORDINATE MEMBERS OF THE ĀNDHRA
[SĀTAVĀHANA] EMPIRE.

152. It will be convenient to have a retrospect of the Southern history to see its bearing on Northern India and the inter-connection between the South and the North before summing up the effects of the Gupta imperialism. The Purāṇas, from the time of the Āndhras onwards, give the subordinate ruling dynasties under the imperial power. They do so for three dynasties—the Āndhras (=Sātavāhanas), the Vindhyaakas (=Vākātakas) and the Guptas. It is noticeable that when the centre of imperialism shifts from Magadha, when it goes from the Kāṇvāyanas to the Sātavāhanas, the Purāṇas begin to describe the imperial dynasties with reference to their places of origin and not by their dynastic titles. The Sātavāhanas are described as *Āndhra*, i.e., arising from Andhra-deśa; similarly the Vākātakas are described as

Vindhyaka, arising from Vindhyadeśa. And when the Purāṇas revert to Magadha the Guptas are again described by their dynastic title. We shall now study the Āndhran imperial organisation as noted in the Purāṇas; the Vākāṭakan and the Guptan, we have already surveyed.

153. The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa state that under the Feudatories of the Āndhras there were established five contemporary families :

Vā. : *Andhrāṇām samsthitāḥ pañcha teshām vaṁśāḥ samāḥ punaḥ*.—Vāyu, 37, 352.¹

Br. : *Andhrāṇām samsthitāḥ pañcha teshām vaṁśyāḥ ye punaḥ*.—Br. 74, 71.²

On the other hand, the Matsya, the Bhāgavata and the Vishṇu do not give the number five, but describe three such dynasties. The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa mention two dynasties by name, which they have in common with the Matsya and the Bhāgavata, viz., the Ābhīras and the Subordinate Āndhras, but they imply three, saying that under the term 'Andhras' they are giving years for two dynasties. The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa in counting the five dynasties probably included in their list the Muṇḍānandas and the Mahārathī house (the family of Kalyāṇa Mahārathī of Mysore) who are known from their coins.³ As these two dynasties ceased early, the other Purāṇas limit themselves to three. The Purāṇas give the years and successions of such dynasties which came down to the next Purāṇic epoch, that of the Vākāṭakas ('Vindhyakas'). The texts are :

Matsya—*Āndhrāṇām samsthitā rājye teshām bhrityānvaye nripāḥ*

Saptaiv=Āndhrā bhaviṣhyanti daś=Ābhīras tathā nripāḥ. (271, 17-18).⁴

Bh.—*Sapt=Ābhīr=Āndhrabhṛityāḥ*.

Vishṇu—*Andhrabhṛityāḥ sapt=Ābhīrāḥ*⁵ (where the Vishṇu has misread the text quoted by the Bhāgavata,

¹ Bibliotheca Indica Edition, Vol. II, page 453.

² Bombay, Venkaṭeśvara Edition, p. 186.

³ Rapson, C.A.D., pp. 57, 60 (correction at p. 212).

⁴ J. Vidyāsāgara's ed., p. 1160.

⁵ J. Vidyāsāgara's ed., p. 584, Bk. IV, Ch. 24, Clause 13.

taking *Andhrabhṛityāḥ* as qualifying *sapt-Ābhīrāḥ*.)

It is thus evident that the Matsya and the Bhāgavata do not give the number of the dynasties; they specify the Ābhīras and the 'Subordinate Āndhras' (to be distinguished from the Imperial Āndhras) as the subordinate dynasties under the Āndhras and established by the Āndhras. Mr. Pargiter has mixed up these two different sets of data as if all meaning one and the same thing, and prepared a new text which has become most confusing here. The Matsya gives one more dynasty by name, in addition to these two, the *Śrī-Pārvatīyas*, which is its independent and exclusive information. As the Matsya makes them contemporaneous with the Subordinate Āndhras, they also seem to have been established by the Sātavāhanas, but probably they were not so very important in the Āndhra times as the other two. We shall now take up the history of these three dynasties.

154. The Āndhras, corresponding to the Viṣṇu's Andhra-
bhṛityas, i.e., the Subordinate
'Subordinate Āndhras' and
Śrī-Pārvatīyas. Āndhras, who are the first to be taken
up for discussion by the Matsya, the Vāyu,
and the Brahmāṇḍa, completed seven suc-
cessions. The Bhāgavata agrees in this except that it places
the Ābhīras before the Āndhras, which is not of much con-
sequence as these dynasties were contemporaries. The stand-
point of the Bhāgavata is probably territorial, surveying from
the north. The Matsya, the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa give
the durations. The Matsya manuscripts, by a majority, have
the following reading on the two dynasties (1) the Āndhras
(the Subordinate Āndhras) and (2) the Śrī-Pārvatīyas:—

*Āndhrāḥ Śrīpārvatīyās cha
te dve pañcha śatāni samāḥ.*¹

'The Andhras and the Śrī-Pārvatīyas—the two—(have)
105 years.'

Against this, the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa give their
text:—

¹ Pargiter, P.T., p. 46, n. 32.

*Andhrā bhokshyanti vasudhām
śataṁ¹ dve cha śataṁ cha vai.*

‘The Andhras will rule the land, the two (dynasties) for one hundred [years] and one hundred [years] respectively.’

It is clear that under the term ‘Andhras’ the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa include two dynasties—the Subordinate Āndhras who bore the imperial title and another, the Āndhra Śrī-Pār-vatīyas. Their duration in each case is of 100 years, against the 105 years of the Matsya. Dr. Hall’s copy² of the Brahmāṇḍa and the e- Vayu of Mr. Pargiter (which is really a Brahmāṇḍa MS.), give 100 years to the one and 100½ years to the other. Thus, in fact, all these three Purāṇas are describing three feudatory dynasties.

The expression ‘the Āndhras will enjoy the land (*vasudhām*, the earth,) shows that these latter ‘Āndhras’ assumed imperial powers. We shall see presently that the Śrī-Pār-vatīyas of the Andhra country did assume an imperial rôle, and that they were the first dynasty to do so in the South after the fall of the Sātavāhanas.

155. The Ābhīras, according to the Matsya, had ten successions and 67 years (*sapta-shashṭis tu varshāṇi daś Ābhīrās tathaiva cha; teshū tsanneshu Kālena tataḥ Kīlakilā-nṛipāḥ*). The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa too, give 10 successions to the Ābhīras, while the Bhāgavata gives them only 7, and the Bhāgavata does not give any duration. The Viṣṇu follows the Bhāgavata.

156. To sum up: there were these three dynasties, two of which were established by the imperial Āndhras, and the other also arose at the same time and evidently under them, who, though not of much importance at the time, acquired importance on the fall of the Sātavāhanas.

Thus we have

I. The Subordinate (bhṛitya) Junior Andhras, 7 successions, 100 or 105 years.

¹ P.T., p. 46, n. 33; *śate* in some MSS. is changed to agree with *dve*, while *dve* refers not to the years but to the dynasties.

² Wilson and Hall, Vāyu, P., IV, 208. P.T., p. 46, n. 34.

II. The Ābhīras, 10 (or 7) successions, 67 years.

III. The Śrī-Pārvatīyas, 100 or 105 years.

IDENTIFICATION AND HISTORY OF THE SUBORDINATE
ĀNDHRAS.

157. The Subordinate Āndhras are the well-known feudatory Sātavāhanas or Āndhras in whose line flourished the two Hāritīputras of the Chuṭu Dynasty, who have left their inscriptions at Kanheri (Aparānta), Kanara (Banavasi) and Mysore (Maḷavalli).¹ These inscriptions cannot be dated earlier than 200 A.D. on the evidence of their scripts.² Although the Banavasi record has an archaic script, the Maḷavalli inscription of the same reign has characters of 200 A.D. The latter record is in line with the Kodavali inscription of King Chamḍasāti—the last but one king of the Sātavāhana line (E.I., XVIII. 318), whose date, as given in the record, has been calculated by Mr. Krishna Śāstri as corresponding to December, 210 A.D., which is very near the Purāṇic date for that king (228 A.D., J.B.O.R.S., 1930, 279). The genealogy of the two kings—Rājā Hāritīputra Viṣṇu Skanda Chuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi and of his daughter's son Hāritīputra Śiva Skanda-varman, 'lord of Vaijayanti',³ has been carefully reconstructed by Prof. Rapson on the basis of the three inscriptions of the family, together with one inscription of the first Kadamba king.⁴ I cannot do better than adopt that reconstruction, having personally gone into the materials thoroughly. I, however, give a name-value to '*Viṣṇu Kadda*' as Viṣṇu Skanda :

¹ Rapson, C.A.D., LXXXI, XLIII, XLIX, LIII-LV, Kanheri : A.S.W.I., Vol. V, p. 86; Banavasi : I.A., XIV, 331. Mysore (Shimoga at Maḷavalli) : E.C., VII, 251.

² Rice, *E. C.*, Vol. VII, plate facing p. 252; I.A., Vol. XIV, 1885, p. 331, plate facing p. 332. Dr. Bühler considered the Banavasi inscription to belong to the end of the first or the beginning of the second century, but Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji considered it to be later. Prof. Rapson in C.A.D., p. xxiii, would place King Hāritīputra scarcely before the beginning of the third century A.D.

³ E.C., Vol. VII, p. 252.

⁴ C.A.D., pp. liii to lv.

King Hāritiputra Viṣṇu Skanda (*Viṣṇu Kadda*)

Chuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi=Mahābhoji°—

Mahārathi=Nāgamulanikā

Hāritiputra Śivaskanda varman

[*Vaijayantī-pati*].

158. There is no doubt that the dynastic name is *Chuṭu-*
 'Chuṭu.' [Kula]. The term *Chuṭu* has not yet been explained. It is the same word as the Sanskrit *churṇ*—'to become small'. It survives in the word '*Chuṭia* Nagpur' which means 'the minor' or 'smaller' Nagpur as compared with the bigger Nagpur in the Central Provinces. It is, very likely, a Dravidian word which was accepted by the Aryans. *Chhoṭū*=a 'younger member', is its modern Hindi equivalent which in *Chuṭia* Nagpur is still '*Chuṭu*,' meaning a younger brother. *Chuṭu* and *Chuṭu-kula* should be translated as 'the *Younger Branch*' i.e., the younger branch of the imperial Sātavāhanas.

159. According to the Purāṇas their family came to an end in the Vākāṭaka period, i.e., about 250 A.D., and that they had existed for 100 or 105 years. This will take them back to about 150 A.D. which was the most troublesome time for the Sātavāhanas owing to the rise of Rudradāman to power.

Rudradāman's constitutional position has not been appreciated by Indian historians. His great strength lay in his legal status which no Śaka ruler, before or after, ever acquired in this country. His father had been fully thrown out. But he was elected king by the whole Hindu community of Kathiawar (*Surāshṭra*) and the neighbourhood [*sarva-varṇair-abhigamya rakshanārtha (m) patitve vritena*]. The Saurāshṭras who elected him king had been a republican community according to the Arthaśāstra.¹ On his election, Rudradāman took an oath by which he gave an engagement which he reiterates and proclaims in his inscription at Junagarh, promising to remain true to

¹ Bk. XI, [c. 125].

his *pratijñā*, i.e., to his coronation oath.¹ Rudradāman's oath and the whole tenor of his public declaration in his Junagarh inscription mean that he would behave up to his last breath like a true Hindu sovereign, and he illustrated it by saying that when his ministers opposed his decision to rebuild the Sudarśana lake on account of its heavy cost, he accepted their decision but rebuilt it from his private purse. We may take it that this elected king, behaving, as he did, like a Hindu of Hindus, must have become a very popular leader. He was learned in Sanskrit and the Śāstras, and adopted Sanskrit as his official language. He became a great menace to the Sātavāhana sovereign and he actually defeated that 'Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha' twice, but followed the Hindu law of restoring a *bhrashta-rāja*—a fallen enemy. His reign led to a new organisation in the Sātavāhana empire.

160. Under these conditions the Junior Dynasty—the Chuṭa Kula—along with a few other subordinate dynasties came into existence. To this period probably the 'Chuṭu-kulānanda' coins are to be assigned. The Junior Dynasty guarded the sea-coast on the west. Their capital was Vaijayantī in the Province of Vanavāsī (Kanara). We find their inscription at Kanheri in the North, and we find their coins in the South at Karwar on the sea-coast in the province of Vanavāsī. On the coins, read as of *Chuṭu-kuḍānanda* (No. G.P. 2),² although the letters look earlier than those of 150 A.D., the form of 'ku' with a thickened head, and the treatment of anusvāra placed just on the top of 'na' and the form of 'sa' are later. It seems that archaic forms lingered on the coins, which amongst themselves show a period of hundred years as covered by them. It is to be noticed that the coins were not struck in the personal name of any member of the Chuṭu family but their official title—the Chuṭu Kula [*Raño Chuṭukudānandasa* '(coin of) the Pleaser of the Chuṭu Dynasty']. And we find the same characteristics on the coins issued by the governor [of the Muṇḍa-

¹ 'satyapratijñena'; *pratijñā* is a constitutional term denoting 'coronation oath'. See Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, ii, p. 50.

² C.A.D., p. xxii, Plate VIII, G.P. 2, G.P. 3, 235.

rāshtra] *Muṇḍānanda*. Muṇḍarāshṭra was a province in Andhradeśa according to the Pallava inscriptions.¹

161. These Chuṭu kings, the Subordinate Āndhras of the Purāṇas, being only a branch of the imperial dynasty, throw light on the caste of the Sātavāhanas. I have shown elsewhere² that the imperial Āndhras were Brahmins by caste. The description of the branch family confirms that view. Their gotra [stock] was 'Mānavya', essentially a Brahmin gotra and it was so recognised even after their time. In Mysore, Shimoga district, at Maḷavalli there was a Śiva shrine presided over by Maṭṭapaṭṭi-Deva to whom a Chuṭu king dedicated an estate and placed it as a Brahma-deya grant in the hands of a Brahmin called the Hāritiputra Koṇḍamāna of the Kaunḍinya gotra. This gift is recorded on a six-sided pillar which was lying on the ground at Maḷavalli.³ The name and description of the Chuṭu king are : *Vaijayantipura-rājā Mānavya-sagotto Hāritiputto Vinhu Kadda-Chuṭu-kulānanda-Sātakanni*, who had issued his order to his Mahāvallabha Rajjuka. This gift was evidently resumed by a subsequent government. A Kadamba king subsequently renewed the grant—'with a very glad mind⁴ (*paritutthena*)'—'for the second time' giving to a descendant of Koṇḍamāna, a maternal uncle of the king and a Kauśikiputra. The grant covered the old property and an addition of twelve new villages, all specified by name, and the gift was publicly registered on the same pillar. The gift by the previous donor is described in this as 'Śiva[Khada]vammaṇā Mānavya-sagottenā Hāritiputtena Vaijayanti-patinā puvva-dattitti'. Śiva Khada

¹ Coin No. 236 of the *Muṇḍānanda* belongs to the same series. It was evidently connected with Muṇḍarāshṭra which occurs in the Pallava inscriptions [EI. VIII, 159]. [*Muṇḍā* in the Muṇḍārī language of Chūṭia Nagpur means a *rājā*.]

² J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 265-266.

³ E.C., Vol. VII, Sk. 251-252, Nos. 263, 264.

⁴ See correction by Fleet, J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 305, footnote 2. Dr. Fleet, however, has made a confusion in regarding Śiva Skandavarman as the name of the Kadamba king, while it is the name of the Chuṭu king, which has been made clear by Prof. Rapson, C.A.D., p. lrv.

v a m m a n here which is put in the instrumental (as opposed to the Kadamba king who is placed in the *prathamā*), is the former king who had made the gift (*puvvadatta*). He is described with the same titles as in the inscription of Vishṇu Skanda Śātakarṇi. It was a common practice in those days to add the word *Śiva* as a mere honorific before names. The king's name, according to his mother's inscription at Banavasi,

'Śiva'
an honorific.

was *Śiva-Khada-Nāga-Siri*, which at Kanheri, according to the same authority, is, *Khamda*

Nāga Sātaka. The word *Śiva*, therefore, was only honorific. *Sāta* and *Sāti* stand for *Svāti* which the Purāṇas give with several names of the Andhras. *Svāti* means 'sword'. His mother was the daughter of Vishṇu-Skanda, spelt as *Viṇhu-Kada* (or, *Kada*) and *Viṇhu Kadda*, of the Chuṭu dynasty, who is also given the name *Sātakarṇi* in the Banavasi inscription. The former gift was actually made and recorded not by the Hārītiputra Śiva Skanda varman,¹ the lord of Vaijayanti, but by his grandfather Vishṇu Skanda (*Viṇhu Kadda*)² Sātakarṇi. And when the second inscription mentions that the Kadamba king having heard that a gift had been made by Śiva Skanda-varman, 'with a glad heart' makes the gift a second time, it means that a confusion was made between the names of the grandfather and grandson; instead of writing the grandfather's name the grandson's name was written by mistake.³

162. I have carefully studied the plate and I find it impossible to read *Kadambānām rājā* before

The Kadamba
king at Maḷa-
vaḷḷi—the Chuṭus
succeeded by the
Pallavas.

the word *Śiva* in line 4. I, however, find a reference to the prosperity of the Kadam-bas in the last line which shows that it is a Kadamba document and a Kadamba grant. The readable portion in line 4 which is the first line of the latter grant, is: *Siva-*

Kha[da] vamaṇā Mānavya-sa[go]ttena Hārītiputtēna Vaijayanti

¹ The Kadamba king turns *Sāta* into *varman*, or adds it, which had become a style of royalty in his time, though it had not been so before.

² I read *Kadda*, not *Kaḍḍa*. Compare 'da' in line 2 with *da* in 'Maṭṭapaṭṭideva', in 'nanda' in line 1 and in 'deyya' and in 'dinnam' in line 3.

³ Or, that the gift had been last confirmed by Śiva Skanda, as in

pati[na] (end of the line). Before *Śiva* there were two letters (*rañā*), then a blank space. Before *Śiva*, Mr. Rice read *Siddham jayati Maṭṭapattidevo Vaijayanti-dhamma-Mahārāje patikata-saujhāyichachchaparo Kadambānām rājā*, out of which I can read traces of *jayati Mat.*—*Dha[m]mahā.jā* After this what Mr. Rice read as *dhirāje* is not traceable but in its place I read *ra[s]ammā aṇpa.[ti]* . . . *ka* Mr. Rice's *pati kata*, etc., gives no meaning. His *dhi ra je pa ti ka ta* corresponds to my '*ra[sā]mmā aṇapa-ti*. I have no doubt that after *Dhammahārājo* followed (*Mayū*)*raśammā āṇapa(ya) ti*. A better rubbing and facsimile would disclose the true forms of the six blurred letters after *pa* and the four letters after *ka* and before *rañā*. *Mayūraśarmā* was the first *Kadamba* king. He renewed the grant.

It is, however, not a necessary corollary that the *Kadambas* came immediately after the *Chutus*. The *Chutus* and the *Kadambas* were connected, the latter being an offshoot of the former (§ 200). Some hostile power must have intervened and that was the *Pallava*. No room for speculation is left in view of the *Talagunda* inscription wherein *Mayūraśarman* is recorded to have carved out his fief at the cost of the *Pallava* territories, and was recognized as a chief in view of his lineage, of the *Hārīti-putra Mānavya*.¹ The *Chutus* thus were superseded by the *Pallavas* in the latter half of the third century, and the *Pallava* king who effected it was the king before *Śiva Skanda-varman* the *Pallava*, i.e., his father who performed an *asvamedha*. (§ 183).

163. The *Kauṇḍinyas* who were on the scene as early as the second century A.D. were probably the same family who sent out a scion to *Champā* (Indo-China) to be the founder of the *Kauṇḍinya* kingdom there. They seem to have been imported from Northern India in the time of the imperial *Sātavāhanas*. The family was a very respected one. They are mentioned with respect in the two *Maḷavalli* inscriptions and were related to the royal family. We seem to the case of the *Pallava* grant published in E.I., I, p. 2, where the *Pallava* emperor confirmed the gift made by his father ('*bappa*')

¹ E.I., VIII, 31-32 [insc. lines 2, 7].

have a historical corroboration here of the *Champā* tradition of the *Kaundinyas*. *Champā* received her colony from Southern India led by the *Kaundinyas*. Another *Kaundinya*, in the reign of *Samudra Gupta*, goes to *Champā* and reforms the society there. He was very likely connected with this family. The *Kaundinyas* must have been in touch with their *Champā* branch, which would have been certainly to their advantage. In the second, third, and fourth centuries they were thus social leaders in the South and the Colonies.

Identification and History of the *Ābhīras*.

164. The history of the *Ābhīras* is greatly explained by the Purāṇic data. Although the successions of the *Ābhīras* number 10 or 7, they have only 67 years to their credit.

Ābhīras
a republic.

It is commonly supposed that the *Ābhīras* of the time of the *Sātavāhanas* founded a kingdom under *Īśvarasena* whose inscription we find at *Nasik*.¹ That inscription gives two important pieces of information: (a) that *Īśvarasena* who is described as king and in whose 9th year the record is dated, was not the son of a king, his father *Śivadatta* is described only as an *Ābhīra* commoner [*Śivadatt-Ābhīraputrasya*]; (b) the lady donor of the foundation who deposited funds with certain guilds for the pious purpose of providing medicines for sick monks of all denominations, describes herself as the mother of the *Gaṇapaka Viśavarman* and as the wife of the *Gaṇapaka Rebhila*, which indicates that the relations had been presidents of a *gaṇa* republic. It seems that the *Ābhīras*, who rise under the imperial *Sātavāhanas*, had been a republic and that *Īśvarasena* was the first to assume monarchical title (*rājan*). He is believed to have ousted the *Śaka-Satrap* between the years 236 and 239 A.D. The *Matsya* (§ 155) marks the end of the *Ābhīras* expressly before the rise of *Vindhyaśakti*, i.e. about 248 A.D. It seems that with the rise of *Īśvarasena* the *Purāṇas* close the republican and subordinate period of the *Ābhīras* with him. Ten or seven successions in 67 years could

¹ E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 88.

only mean republican successions, like the republican successions of the Pushyamitras and the other 'Mitras' which the Purāṇas give and which are similarly of short durations. We do find the Ābhīras again as a republican community when Samudra Gupta comes on the scene. Īśvarasena probably went out of the Ābhīra constitution and tried to found a dynasty. In his own time the existence of Gaṇapakas is noted in the Nasik inscription. He could be even a republican 'rājan', though, more likely, he was a new monarch outside; it is, however, certain that about his time the Ābhīras as a political community ended their allegiance to the Sātavāhana house. The recognition of the Ābhīra republic by the Sātavāhanas about 67 years before Īśvarasena would be dated at about 160 A.D. They were evidently set up by the Sātavāhanas as a buffer against Rudradāman who had been greatly harassed by the republican Yaudheyas and the Mālavas. The Sātavāhanas would have noticed some points of advantage in having a republic next-door to their foe, the Satrap.

165. The confusion between the two data (10 and 7) in the Purāṇas for the successions of the Ābhīras is due to the next figure in the Succession of the Ābhīras. Purāṇas, viz., for the Gardabhilas which is

7. The Bhāgavata gives them 10 and to the Ābhīras, 7; while the other Purāṇas give the Ābhīras, 10 and to the Gardabhilas, 7. It is a case of mistake by transposition. The other Purāṇas being unanimous, the 10 successions for the Ābhīras are to be preferred.

166. In the time of the Kauṭilya, as noted above, there was the republic of the Saurāshṭras in Kathiawar. The Ābhīras and the Saurāshṭras seem to have been allied and akin to the Yādavas and the Andhaka-Vṛishṇis.

Identification and History of the Śrī-Pārvatīyas.

167. The identity of the *Śrī-Parvata* has been recently established by Dr. Hirananda Śāstri from the newly discovered inscriptions at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, i.e. 'Nāgārjuna's

Hill,' in the district of Guntur, on the Krishnā. The inscriptions belong to the third century A.D. The hills which enclose a valley were fortified; there are remains of a brick fortification, the bricks of which are of the Mauryan type. The place was a strong military position and seems to have been a provincial capital since the Maurya times or earlier. The natural defences were strengthened artificially by brick and stone fortifications. The bricks measure 20" × 10" × 3" which are the measurements of the bricks dug out at Bulandibagh.¹ It is evident that the place was a fortified capital of the empire of the Sātavāhanas, whose coins (forty-four in number) were found along with mason's tools in the remains of a monastery.

168. Here remains of Buddhist stūpas with carvings in the style of Amarāvati have been exposed by Mr. Hamid Kuraishi and Mr. Longhurst. The Ikshvāku Dynasty of Śrī-Parvata, Andhra-deśa. Eighteen inscriptions were found by Mr. Kuraishi, fifteen of which are incised on marble pillars which stood round the *Mahā-*

Chetiya or the Great Stūpa enshrining a relic of the Buddha.³ The inscriptions disclose the name of the place as *Śrī-Parvata*. We know the tradition that the famous Buddhist saint and scholar Nāgārjuna went to Śrī-Parvata and died there, which, curiously enough, is supported by the present name of the hill (*Nāgārjunikoṇḍa*). Yuan Chwang has recorded that Nāgārjuna was patronised by the Sātavāhana king.⁴ The inscriptions are in Prakrit of the Pāli type. A number of stone structures with decorations and original buildings were erected by certain ladies under the direction of the monk-architect Reverend Ānanda. These ladies were relations of a royal house called 'the Ikshvāku [*Ikshaku*] Dynasty'. We have known this dynasty from three inscriptions discovered at Jaggayya-

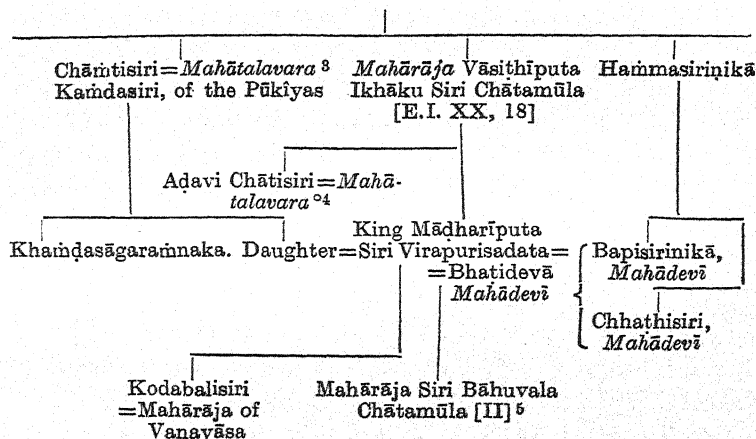
¹ A.S.R., 1926-27, pp. 156 ff., 1927-28, p. 114; on epigraphy see A.S.R., 1926-27, pp. 185-189. [Since going to the Press I have received E.I., XX., i, where the inscriptions have been edited by Dr. Vogel.]

² A.S.R., 1927-28, p. 121.

³ The relic itself has been now found. *Modern Review* (Calcutta), 1932, p. 88.

⁴ Watters, II, 200, 207.

peta in the year 1882, and these inscriptions were assigned to the third century A.D. by Dr. Bühler.¹ The present inscriptions disclose the fact that several royal ladies were ardent Buddhists, while the kings were all orthodox Hindus, and their capital town (Vijayapuri) was in the valley close by.² Most of the inscriptions are dated in the reign of King Siri Virapurisadatta, between his 6th and 18th regnal years, whose date at Jaggayyapeta is the year 20. One inscription is dated in the 11th regnal year of Mahārāja Vāsithīputa Siri Bāhuvala-Chātamūla [or, Chātamūla II]. These inscriptions along with the Jaggayyapeta inscriptions give the following genealogy :



¹ I.A., XI, 256.

² A.S.R., 1927-28, 117.

³ *Talavara* seems to be connected with what in the Law Reports figures as 'tarwāḍ', which is equivalent to an impartible rāj. *Mahātālavara* would mean a 'great rājā'—a big Jagirdār.

⁴ Married to *Mahāḍaṇḍanāyaka* Khaṇḍa=Visākhaṇḍaka, of the Dhanakas.

⁵ The names may be restored into Sanskrit thus:

Virapurisadatta=*Vīra Puruṣadatta*; *Chāntisiri*=*Sānti Sīrī*; *Hammasirinikā*=*Harṃya-Sīrikā*; *Chhathī*=*Shashthī* (goddess *Kātyāyāni*); *Chāta*=*Sāta* [meaning,—'happy'].

Dr. Hirananda Sastri's reading 'Bāhuvala' is correct (see plate 11) where it is a clear four-cornered *b*; *Ehu*° as read by Dr. Vogel is not borne out by the plate. In plate G the letter *b* is misformed, but the full form is in H where it occurs twice and in both cases it is clearly *b*.

Vīra Purisadata married three cousins, two of whom are called *Mahādevī* in inscriptions of the same date [E.I. XX, pp. 19-20]. Bhatidevā was probably the eldest queen, being the mother of Chātāmūla II. There were four more royal ladies who made donations but their relationship is not given. Their names are:

1. The *Mahādevī Rudradhara-Bhaṭṭārikā Ujanikā* ('from Ujjain'), daughter of a Mahārāja. She with Chānti Siri gave 107 pillars and a large amount of *dīnāras* for the Vihāra attached to the Mahā-Chetiya.
2. A *Mahātalavarī*, and the mother of the *Mahātalavara Mahāsenāpati Viṇhusiri*, and the wife of the *Mahāsenāpati Mahātalavara Vāsīthīputa Mahākumda Siri* of the Prakiyas.
3. Chula Chātasirikā, *mahāsenapatnī*, wife of the *Mahāsenāpati Mahātalavara Vāsīthīputa Khamḍa-chalikiremmaṇaka* of the Hiramñakas.

There was a Mahārāja of Vanavāsa, to whom a royal lady of the Ikshvāku family [sister of Chātāmūla II] was married. He was probably the last or one of the last Chuṭu kings, who from his title seems to have become subordinate to the Ikshvākus. It is clear that Chātāmūla I was originally a *mahārāja*, i.e. to the Sātavāhanas; his title is generally omitted in the inscriptions, he being described merely as Siri Chātāmūla of the Ikshvākus, and when the title is given [e.g. by his daughter, E.I. XX, 18 (B²)] it is always *mahārāja*, while Vīra Purisadata [except twice] is always 'King' (*Rājan*). The son of the latter, Chātāmūla II, is always '*Mahārāja*' (E.I. XX, 24). This shows that the royal position was assumed by Chātāmūla I and lasted for only one generation more, having been lost in the time of Chātāmūla II. That Rudradhara-Bhaṭṭārikā was the daughter of the Mahārāja of Ujjayini proves that in the time of the Ikshvākus there was a Hindu ruler in Avanti, and not a Satrap, a fact confirmed by Purāṇic history and other sources. Rudradhara-Bhaṭṭārikā's father must have been a member of the Bhāra-Śiva Empire.

169. King Siri Chātamūla (I) had performed *Agnihotra*, *Agnishṭoma*, *Vājapeya* and *Aśvamedha*, and was a worshipper of Mahāsenā, marshal of the gods. They had the Ikshvāku custom of marrying cousins. Their toleration of Buddhism is remarkable. Almost every lady of the royal family was a Buddhist but no king or any other male member has made a single donation in his own name, although they must have supplied funds to their ladies. The Ikshvākus followed the religious policy of the Sātavāhanas, their late sovereigns. Their reign was peaceful. According to one of the inscriptions of the time of Vira Purushadata, visitors from Vaṅga, Vanavāsa, Chīna-Chilāta, Kāśmīra, Gāndhāra, etc. and Ceylonese monks frequented Nāgārjuna's Hill.

170. According to the script of the inscriptions of the family of Chānti Siri, she lived in the third century. Bühler placed Vira Purushadata, who was nephew and son-in-law to Lady Chānti Siri, in the third century A.D.¹ The *aśvamedha* of King Chātamūla (I) seems to have been performed about 220 A.D., soon after the end of Chāṇḍasāti, the last of the Imperial Sātavāhana dynasty in Andhra.² The same sacrifices were performed a few decades later by the Pallava king Śiva Skandavarman (*Aggiṭhoma*, *Vājapeya*, *Aśvamedha*³), and with some Brahmanic additions and on a grander scale, by the Vākātaka Emperor Pravarasena I. The history of the North and the South here become interconnected.

171. The family was of a good Kshatriya stock from the

¹ I.A., XI, 258.

² His record of about 210 A.D. is found there [E.I., XVIII, 318]. With the next king, Pulomāvi (III), the Purāṇas close the dynasty J.B.O.R.S. XVI], who does not seem to have succeeded to the whole of his predecessor's kingdom.

³ E.I., Vol. I, p. 5. The adjectives applied to Śiva Skandavarman's father are borrowed from the Ikshvāku style, denoting an immediate political succession :

(Ikshvāku) *hiraṇa-koṭi-go-satasahasā-hala-sata-sahasā dāyisa*.

(Pallava) *ameka-hiroga-koṭi-go-hala-satasahasā-ppadāyino*.

North. They married cousins like the ancient Ikshvākus. They very likely had migrated to the South in the imperial days of the Sātavāhanas when the latter reached the United Provinces and Bihar. King Chātāmūla I was the first Śrī-Parvata Ikshvāku to declare his full sovereignty, probably towards the end of his reign; it is significant that his name has been mentioned in the inscriptions without a title, except in the inscription of Bhatidevā where he is given his feudatory title—'Mahārāja.' Virapurisadata alone had the title of King. Chātāmūla II is only known in the inscriptions by the feudatory title of Mahārāja. He sought to revive the Southern Empire of Dakṣiṇāpatha, and he inaugurated it with an *āśvamedha*. The Ikshvākus tried to be the Southern political counterpart of the Bhāraśivas of the North. Chātāmūla (I) was evidently influenced by the example of the Bhāraśivas who had already carried out their programme with success in the North and in the Central Provinces up to the frontiers of Andhra. The intimate connection of the Ikshvākus with the North is confirmed by one of the Ikshvāku queens being an Ujjayinī lady.

172. We may take it that the Ikshvāku dynasty thought of empire-building after Chandra-Sāti Sātavāhana, about 220 A.D.¹ Taking the three generations, the family would have come to a close about 250-260 A.D., which would agree with the Purāṇas dating their fall with the rise of Vindhyasakti. They had been brought into existence by the Sātavāhanas about the same time as the Chuṭus and the Ābhīras. The Chuṭus and the Ābhīras protected the West; similarly the Ikshvākus were posted in the East. Chātāmūla II was probably the last king of the line. In the 10th year of a feudatory *Mahārāja* 'the lord father (*bappasvāmin*)' of Śiva Skandavarman Pallava, we find the Pallava government in possession of Andhradeśa,

¹ E.I., XVIII, 318. The inscription of King *Vāsithiputa Sami* [*svāmin*] Chāmḍasāti is dated in his 2nd year, in *ma 1, he 2, di 1*, which Mr. Krishna Sastri takes to be *Mārgaśīrṣha bahula prathamā* and calculates to correspond with December, 210 A.D. Cf. the Purāṇic date for that king (228 A.D.-231 A.D.) in J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 279. The above inscription is at Koḍavali, nine miles from Pithāpuram.

i.e. by about 270 A.D. (§§ 180, 187) the Ikshvākus have retired into the unknown. The time of these rules would thus approximately be :

Chātāmūla I (220-230. A.D.)

Purisadata (230-250. A.D.)

Chātāmūla II (250-260. A.D.)

§ 172 A. The Art at Śrī-Parvata which sculptured in the round a Śaka as a door-keeper¹ is to be referred to the Sātavāhana period. Giving the honour of a door-keeper to the Śaka antagonist would fix its period, and so would do also the Sātavāhana coins found in one of the monastery remains. The freezes, and the sculptures in the round, are part and parcel of the Art of Amarāvati which may be called the Veṅgī School of Indian Art. It goes back to pre-Christian centuries as evidenced by the Amarāvati inscriptions (E.I., XV, 267). I think the superb animated carvings of Amarāvati are works contemporary with the Sātavāhana whose personal name was *Shi-yen-te-ka* or *Shan-t'e-ka* (Watters, ii, 207), which seems to me to represent *Śāntakarna*, a name which occurs thrice in the Sātavāhana list. The tradition which Yuan Chwang heard that the king was a patron of Nāgārjuna may be apocryphal, unless Nāgārjuna flourished in B.C. The original stūpa was, according to Yuan Chwang, by Aśoka. The Ikshvāku work was an imitation of the Sātavāhanas. *Śāntakarna* II alone was rich enough to decorate the Andhra tope of Aśoka; he had a very long reign (100-44 B.C., J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 278) to accomplish it, which agrees with Yuan Chwang's description of the long life of the king; and his son's reign is a recorded date at Amarāvati (Lüders, no. 1248). The story that Nāgārjuna gave Śāntaka Sātavāhana gold out of rock to replenish his treasury depleted in building the stūpa, may have its basis in his discovering and recognising the gold ores of Mysore or Bālāghāt. Nāgārjuna had specialised in the knowledge of metals and chemistry among his other achievements in a long life.

¹ *Modern Review*, Calcutta, July, 1932, p. 88.

XVI. THE PALLAVAS AND THEIR ORIGIN.

173. The Pallavas who superseded the Ikshvākus and the Chutus, the last remnants of the

Position of the
Pallavas in Indian
History.

Sātavāhanas, have a most important position in Indian History. They are the Vākātakas and the Guptas of the South.

They introduced Sanskrit in the South as the Vākātakas did it in the North. They established Śaivism as the State religion in the South as the Vākātakas did the same in the North. Just as the Guptas gave a permanent stamp of Vaishnavism on Northern India which has come down to our own time, so the Pallavas imprinted Śaivism on Southern India which has come down to us. As the Vākātakas and the Guptas unified Northern India, so the Pallavas established the unity of the South which came down to the last days of Vijayanagara. The Pallavas beautified the South with sculpture and architecture, just as the Vākātakas and the Guptas did the North. The Pallavas introduced a system of Hinduism in the South which was common to the North and the South. That system became truly the imperial and universal social system for the whole of Bhāratavarsha, i.e. India-with-Further India. A unity which Aśoka had failed to achieve was accomplished in the India of the Vākātakas and the Pallavas. And that unity of civilization is a legacy enjoyed to-day. They turned Kāñchī the old capital of the Cholas, which had been outside the limit of Aryan sanctity, into another sacred Kāśī, and under them the South became as sacred a Hindu-land as the North. 'Bhāratavarsha,' which in the time of Khāravela was probably confined to the North only,¹ was given a new definition to include the land up to Cape Comorin. 'Āryāvarta' and 'Dakṣiṇāpatha' gave way to 'Bhāratavarsha.'² And the Hindu historian in the Vishṇu Purāṇa composed a national anthem, saying,

Even the Gods congratulate and envy the born-Indian ; ' the Indian, born in Bhāratavarsha, is blessed ' , sing the Devas in heaven. ' Let us be born in that land. ' ³

¹ E.I., XX, p. 72, Line 10.

² Vishṇu Purāṇa, Bk. II, Ch. 3, 1-23.

³ *Ibid.*, 24-26 ; See above p. 160.

The point of view becomes Indian from that of Aryan, and the Indian [*Bhārati santatiḥ*] includes all the children of the soil, Aryan and non-Aryan.¹

174. The Pallavas who turned the South into a sacred Hindu-land were Brahmins, who, as they proudly say in their inscriptions, raised their position by their austere political deeds and became Kshatriyas.

The Pallavas
arise as feudatories
to the Nāgas.

The statement is strictly true. Virakūrchā, the founder of the Pallava Dynasty, was invested with the insignia of full sovereignty by his marriage with the Nāga Princess, daughter of the Nāga emperor.² The Nāga emperor at the time, in the latter half of the third century, was the Bhārasīva Nāga whose dominions extended through Nagpur and Bastar up to the confines of the Andhra country. Virakūrchā [or, °korchā], an inscription of whose grandson found in Andhradeśa mentioning him as beginning the line gives him the feudatory title of 'Mahārāja' and the description of one who though endowed with the highest Brāhmaṇa-hood (*parama-brahmaṇya*) attained the position of a Kshatriya³, was thus a member of the Bhārasīva empire with the position of a sub-king. In the Andhra country itself there had been no Nāga dynasty before. There were the Ikshvākus⁴ and before the Ikshvākus there were the Sātavāhanas. The Nāgas who installed Virakūrchā Pallava must have enjoyed an imperial

¹ *Ibid.*, verse 17.

² यः फलीन्द्रसुतया सदाप्रदीप्राजचक्रमखिलं यशोधनः । S.I.I., ii., 508.

³ परमब्रह्मण्यस्य खबाडबलार्जितचातपोनिधेर्विधिविहित-सर्वमर्यादस्य, E.I., i., 398 [Darśī copperplates]. Here the Mahārāja is called *Virakorchavarman*. This is the oldest record mentioning his name.

⁴ There was a family of the *Bṛihat-phalāyanas* (E.I., VI, 315) in the Krishnā District who were probably feudatories to the Ikshvākus or to the early Pallavas. We do not find any trace of the family of Jayavarman *Bṛihat-phalāyana* before or after him. The letters of his copperplates agree with the letters on the plate of Śiva Skandavarman, the Pallava Yuvarāja (E.I., VI, 84). Does *Bṛihat-Phala* stand for the *Bṛihat-Bāna*, the well-known Southern family, *phala* being the arrowhead (*bāna*)? The *Bṛihat-Bānas* were feudatories to the Pallavas in the time of Mayūrasarman (E.I., VIII, 32). Probably both *bāna* and *phala* were translations of some Tamil word.

position and must have been on the borders of the Andhra kingdom. These conditions are fulfilled only by the imperial Bhāraśiva Nāgas.

175. We get help and corroboration here from the Buddhist history. In 310 A.D., according to Siamese Buddhist history, Andhradeśa was under Nāga kings, from whom permission was taken to transfer a portion of the tooth relic to Ceylon from Dantapura in Andhradeśa.¹ The place in Andhradeśa is called *Majerika*, which I think is the name of the branch of the Godavari now called *Manjhira*.² The 'Nāga' king described by the Buddhists must be the Pallava king who was under the Nāga empire and was at the time (c. 300 A.D.) a descendant of the Nāga Emperor, having sprung from the Nāga princess married by Virakūrchā (§ 182 ff.).

176. *Who were these Pallavas?* This question has been sought to be answered by various scholars since the discovery of this dynasty from their copperplates. 'Pallava' has remained a mystic, undeciphered figure. It was fashionable to regard every unexplained dynasty

Who were the
Pallavas ?

as being of foreign origin, and in that vogue the Pallavas became Parthians. But the conscience of the historians was not satisfied and almost instinctively they came to the conclusion that the Pallavas were natives of the country. But they regarded them as Dravidian or connected with the Dravidians of Ceylon. All these theories have ignored written records and materials which leave no room for any controversy. The Pallavas have suffered at the hands of historians a fate similar to that of the Śūṅgas. They have been deprived of their true status which is one of good, pedigreed Brahmins. The Śūṅgas had been declared to be foreigners, until the present writer was instrumental in showing that the Śūṅgas were Vedic Brahmins and the founders of a Brahmin empire, a finding which has now been universally accepted. The key of their origin was

¹ Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (ed. 1924), p. 612.

² *Ibid.*, p. 805. Cunningham thinks that the stūpa from which the relic was removed was the same as the Amarāvati one.

found in the orthodox literature of the country. We should employ the same method again with regard to the Pallava ethnology. The code to decipher the Pallava mystery is locked in the Purāṇas, in their Vindhya-ka history. The code is this: A branch of the Imperial Vindhya-ka-s, i.e. the Imperial Vākāṭaka-s, became kings of Andhradeśa which had become connected with the Vākāṭaka province of Mekalā. This Mekalā I have identified as a province of 'Sapta-Kosalā,' below the Maikal range of our maps, i.e. the British district of Raipur and the Indian State of Bastar. These Vākāṭaka sub-kings of Andhradeśa ruled in seven successions from the time of Vindhyaśakti the founder of the Vākāṭaka power, down to the time of Samudra Gupta's conquest. We have thus one index here for identification. Another index is the caste and *gotra* of the Vākāṭakas. We know from their inscriptions that the Vākāṭakas were Brahmins and that they were Bhāradvāja-s. The third fact is that they belonged to Āryāvarta and their language was Northern, not Dravidian. The fourth fact that we have consists in the date of Vindhyaśakti and his dynasty. And the fifth fact that we have is that when Vindhyaśakti arose, the Nāga emperors were ruling over Āryāvarta and the Central Provinces, and that Vindhyaśakti himself came to the forefront on account of them and out of them, the Kilakilā Nāgas—*tataḥ Kilakilebhyaś cha Vindhyaśaktir bhaviṣhyati*. The sovereigns and emperors of Vindhyaśakti were the Kilakilā Nāgas, i.e. the Bhāraśiva Nāgas (§ 11 ff.). Now let us see where we can find all these five marks of identification of these Āndhra sub-kings of the Vindhya-ka-s, in the Pallavas. The kings of the Andhra country up to c. 250 A.D. were certainly the Ikshvāku-s on the east-coast, contemporary with whom were the Chuṭu Sātavāhanas on the west-coast. The time of Vindhyaśakti is from 248 to 288 [or, 244] A.D. In this period, we find the Pallavas superseding the Ikshvāku-s and the Chuṭu-s. The Pallavas according to their own deeds and documents, executed on copperplates about 300 A.D. or a little earlier,¹ describe themselves as

¹ Cf. Krishna Śāstri, 'the Prākṛit charters of Śiva-Skandavarman and Vijaya-Skandavarman do actually belong at least to the beginning of

Bhāradvājas, the identity of whose gotra is made further clear by the later documents of the dynasty. They were the Bhāradvājas of the family of Droṇāchārya and Āśvatthāmān. They, therefore, belonged to the same Brahmin gotra to which Vindhyaśakti belonged. Their language in their copperplates is Prakrit or Sanskrit, not Dravidian. The variety of Prakrit they use in their earliest copperplates is northern. Very soon in the third generation, immediately on the close of the Nāga empire, they begin to employ Sanskrit, the style of which is Vākāṭaka. Like the imperial Vākāṭakas they are Śaiva by religion. As we have already seen, it is stated in the documents of the Pallava dynasty that the founder of the Pallava dynasty was made king by the Nāga emperor on the former's marriage with a Nāga princess. The Purāṇas give to these descendants of Vindhyaśakti, the kings of Andhradeśa up to the time of Samudra Gupta, seven successions, and the early Pallavas up to Samudra Gupta's time do number seven successions [§ 183]. Thus all the marks of identification respond to the Vākāṭaka indices. Their gotra is identical, their language and religion, their age and date, their Nāga allegiance all agree entirely. And so does the number of successions of the Pallavas up to the time of Samudra Gupta with the number of successions given by the Purāṇas to the Āndhra branch of the Vindhyaka dynasty. No room for doubt is thus left on the question of identification. The Pallavas were a branch of the Vākāṭakas. And when their inscriptions say that they were in the line of Droṇa and Āśvatthāmān, they record a truthful tradition. The Vākāṭakas did belong to the line of Droṇa and Āśvatthāmān, being Bhāradvājas. And I have personally found the tradition still alive at Bāgāt, the original home of the Vākāṭakas in Bundelkhand, that their home (Bāgāt) is still called the village of Droṇāchārya, the military professor of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas [§§ 56-57]. The northern culture of the Pallavas in art

the 4th century A.D., if not earlier [E.I., XV, 248]—a view with which I fully agree. The writing which is of the Nāga type was introduced in the South for the first time by the Pallavas; the tops of letters are headed (lined), though not box-headed.

and religion, for which they stand out as the greatest dynasty of the South, thus stands explained. The Pallavas were neither foreigners nor Dravidians, but good Brahmin aristocrats from the North, military by profession.

177. We have in the example of the 'Gaṅga Dynasty' a purely assumed dynastic title, unconnected with the gotra or personal name of the founder. Similarly the word *Pallava*, which means a 'branch,' probably stands for the 'Junior Dynasty,' like the 'Chutus' of the imperial Sātavāhanas, whom they superseded. As the Chutus were to the imperial family of the Sātavāhanas, so the Pallavas were to the Imperial Bhāradvāja Vākātakas:—'branch' i.e. the Lesser Dynasty. The first Pallava king bears the name *Virakūṛcha*; *kūṛcha* means a bundle of twigs—almost the same as *Pallava*. The real name seems to be *Vira* which is repeated in the name of his grandson *Viravarman* (§ 181 ff.). The name of the other son of Vindhyaśakti was *Pravira*, who was probably the younger, as he had a very long reign. As *Pravira* married his son to the daughter of the Nāga Emperor and thereby succeeded to the Nāga empire, similarly *Vira* had married a Nāga princess and was made king of Andhradeśa [which his father as a Nāga general had probably conquered]. The Pallava inscription correctly relates that the ancestors of *Virakūṛcha* used to assist the Nāga emperors in their government, that is, they were Nāga officers; we have already seen that Vindhyaśakti was at first only an officer, probably the chief general of the Nāga emperors (§ 59). The use of the word *Bhāra* in the inscription in connection with the burden of government of the Nāga king may or may not have an echo of the *Bhāra* of the 'Bhāra Śiva Nāga.'¹

178. The Pallavas naturally adopted the imperial Vākātaka heraldic marks, which is evident from their seal [S.I.I., ii, 521] and the subsequent history of Imperial Insignia in Southern India

¹ भू-भार-खेदालस-पद्मगेन्द्र-साहाय्य-निष्ठात-भुजागलानासु ।—Velurpalaiyam Plates, verse 4, S.I.I., II, 507-508. [Cf. App. A, below on the place-name *Bhū-bhārā*.]

(§§ 61 and *ns.*; § 86). The Pallavas have on their seal *G a n g ā* and *Y a m u n ā*, which are known Vākātaka insignia. They have probably also *Makara*-Standard or 'Makara-Toraṇa' in common.¹ They have the Bull of Śiva in common, facing left (proper right).²

179. The Pallavas and the Vākātakas never come in conflict. The Early Pallavas never strike their own coin. Śiva Skandavarman, the second king, introduced a new regal title. He called himself '*Dharma-Mahārājādhirāja*,' i.e. 'the rightful overlord of *Mahārājas* [Emperor]' or 'the Emperor by virtue of *Dharma*'. This title had not been used by the Sātavāhanas. It was an importation from the North, it was a Hindu edition or rather a Hindu counter-title of the Kushan '*Daivaputra Shāhā-nushāhi*'. Instead of being a *Daivaputra*, the Pallava king places his claim on his adherence to the orthodox law and the orthodox civilization, which was quite in conformity with the law of Hindu constitution. He was substituting *Dharma* for the divine *Daivaputra*. It should be noted that the Ikshvākus never used this title and they were simply *Rājans* or 'kings' like their late masters the Sātavāhanas, following the old Hindu style.³ Thus we have a full effect of the northern imperial idea in the Pallava beginnings. When the Āryāvarta Branch of *Vindhyasakti* attains the imperial position just after or in the life-time of Śiva Skandavarman (I), the same idea of *Dharma Sovereignty* on a bigger scale is found. The All-India SAMRĀṬ had a *Dharma raison d'être* as fully set out in the *Mahā-Bhārata*.

¹ See the open mouth of the animal in the Pallava seal in E.I., VII, 144 and on Rudrasena's coin (§§ 61, 86).

² See the seal in E.I., VIII, 144, and the bull on the Vākātaka coins reproduced in Part II of this book. The bull is made recumbent in the later Pallava documents.

³ In one of the Ikshvāku inscriptions (E.I., XX, 23) all the three kings are called '*mahārāja*'. This is one of the last records. Probably at that time the independent position had been lost. They had been originally *mahārājas*. The first Ikshvāku to adopt the title of king (*rājan*) was Vīra Purushadatta. His son was only *Mahārāja*.

When the main Vākātaka branch acquired the title of the *Samrāt*, the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* was naturally dropped by the Pallava family. Śiva-Skandavarman was the first and the last man in our period to have assumed the imperial style in the South.¹ That Śiva-Skandavarman was already gone before Samudra Gupta's time is evident from Samudra Gupta's inscription where the ruler of Kāñchī is Vishnugopa. The time of Śiva-Skandavarman thus necessarily falls in the reign of the Samrāt Pravarasena I. From the time of Pravarasena I the Pallava king remains *Dharma-Mahārāja*, and the title allowed to the first Gaṅga king who was installed in the time of Pravarasena, was *Dharma-Adhirāja* (§ 190). The style of *Dharma-Mahārāja* becomes fixed with the Pallavas and the Kadambas in the South, and it travelled from the South before 400 A.D. to Champā (Cambodia)².

180. Śiva-Skandavarman, as the Crown Prince, rather as 'the junior governor' (*Yuvamahārāja Bhāradāya-sagotto Pallavānam Śiva-Skanda-vammo*—E.I., VI., 86) issued a charter of land-grant in the *Andhrā-pāṭha* from his seat at Kāñchīpura addressed to the officer at *Dhānyakataka*, in the 10th year (of his father's reign). It shows that the Pallava dominion in the second generation had grown, at the cost of the Tamil states, to a magnitude justifying the ambition of Śiva-Skandavarman. The *Dharma-mahārājādhirāj* Śiva-Skandavarman describes his father³ as *Mahārāja Bappa-svāmin* (*sāmi*), which shows that his father started life as a feudatory and that Śiva-Skandavarman was the first dynast to adopt the full royal title. His father had reigned for 10 years or more, the grant of the Yuvamahārāja Śiva-Skandavarman being dated in the 10th year. It seems that his father was a feudatory of the Nāgas, and succeeded to the settled and well-organized government of the Ikshvākus which is evident

¹ See Southern List of Kielhorn (E.I., Vol. VII, p. 105).

² There we find Bhadravarman using it. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar's '*Champā*,' Bk. III, 3.

³ E.I., I, 6. 'Bappa' distributed *crores* of gold which should really refer to an *aśvamedha*. [Cf. here the description of Chātāmūla I (E.I., XX, 16)]. E.I., I, 8. His son describes himself as 'of the dynasty of the *Pallavas*'. E.I., VI, 82.

from these two Prakrit copperplates of his son and the Ikshvāku records.

181. Viravarman and his son Skandavarman II were also contemporaries of Pravarasena I. In Skandavarman II's time the official language of the Pallava Court changes from Prākṛit to Sanskrit. His daughter-in-law who dates her gift in his reign (E.I., VII, 143) uses Prākṛit, but Skandavarman himself (E.I., XV) and his son Vishṇugopa employ Sanskrit. And the Sanskrit style is continued by the successive generations. If the Yuvamahārāja Viśṇugopa of Kāñchī (I.A., V, 50, 154) be the Vishṇugopa of Samudra Gupta, which seems to be certain, we have another proof of the Vākāṭaka affinity in this change of the official language of the charters. Vishṇugopa imitates the Bhāraśiva description of the Vākāṭaka documents :

Yathāvadāhṛita-aneka-

Āśvamedhānām Pallavānām.¹

'The Pallavas who had completed with full ceremonies several āśvamedhas.'

This employment of Sanskrit dates from before Samudra Gupta's conquest.

§ 182. The genealogy of the Early Pallavas can be reconstructed from their own documents on

Genealogy of the Early Pallavas. copperplates which are copious.² For almost every second generation we have a copperplate. They have the system of reciting pedigree up to the fourth generation in each case. The only exception to this rule are the charters of Śiva-Skandavarman, as he had not completed four generations of kings. I note below the grants and the authorities issuing them in their chronological order.

Mayidavōlu, issued from Kāñchīpura by Yuvamahārāja (Śiva)	
E.I., Vol. VI,	Skandavarman (I)
84, in Prākṛita.	in the 10th year
	(of his father).

¹ The Vākāṭaka historiographical style found in the inscriptions of Prithivīśeṇa and his successors is a stereotyped style and as such evidently goes back to the time of the Imperial Vākāṭakas.

² It is curious that not a single inscription on stone has been found of the Early Pallavas.

Hirahadagalli, issued from Kāñchīpura by *Dharma-mahārāja*
 E.I., I, 2, in *dhirāja* (Śiva)
 Prākṛita. Skandavarman (I),
 in his 8th year.

Darśi, E.I., I, ,, ,, 'Dasanapura, the capital' (*adhishṭhāna*)
 307, in Sanskrit. by the great-grandson
 of *Mahārāja* Virakorchavarman.

Ōṃgōḍu, E.I., ,, ,, Tāmbrāpa ,, *Mahārāja* (Vijaya)
 XV, 251, in Skandavarman (II)
 Sanskrit. in his 33rd year.

On the basis of the genealogies given in the above title-deeds executed by these kings, the ancestry and the order of succession of the early Pallavas can be ascertained easily. We are absolutely certain that the great-grandfather of Skandavarman II and the father of Skandavarman I or Śiva Skandavarman was Kumāra Viṣṇu the *āśvamedhayājīn*, and that Skandavarman I's son and successor was Viravarman whose son and successor was Skandavarman II. The only question left for speculation is the position of Virakorcha who must come above Skandavarman I, being the founder of the dynasty. The Rāyakōṭa (E.I., V, 49) and the Velurpalaiyam (S.I.I., II, 507) plates here become helpful. Virakorcha or Virakurcha, who according to the unanimous testimony was the first Pallava king, was married to the Nāga princess according to the inscriptions, and Skanda-sishya, i.e. Skandavarman was the son of the Nāga lady according to the Rāyakōṭa plates.¹ We have

¹ In some text-books it is wrongly assumed that Skanda-sishya in the Rāyakōṭa plates is stated to be the son of Aśvatthāman from a Nāga lady. The text does not allege it. It only mentions that Skanda-sishya who was an *adhirāja* was the son of a Nāga lady. Aśvatthāman is only mentioned as one of the ancestors.

In the Velurpalaiyam plates the Skanda-sishya who is the father of Kumāra Viṣṇu and the grandfather of Buddhavarman is clearly Skandavarman II, whose son, as we know from the inscription of Kumāra Viṣṇu III [E.I., VIII, 233], was Kumāra Viṣṇu II. In the Velurpalaiyam plates it is not stated, as has been wrongly assumed by the editor of the plates and writers of some text-books, that he (Skandasishya) was

thus to identify Kumāra Vishṇu with Virakorcha-varman of the Darśi plate, who would thus be the great-grandfather of Skandavarman II. Sanskrit is found for the first time employed by the latter in the grants; the Darśi plate which is in Sanskrit seems to have been issued by him. Use of two alternative names in documents we know of from the later Vākāṭaka plates of Prabhāvatī Guptā and Pravarasena II, and earlier from the inscriptions of Aśoka. The repetition of the name Vira as the name of the son of Skanda-varman I also proves the identity of Virakurcha with Kumāra-Vishṇu I, father of Skanda-varman I., grandfather's name being repeated in grandson's. The early genealogy thus will stand as follows:—

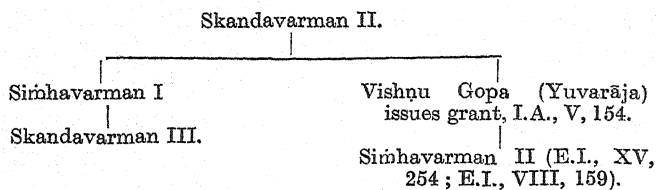
1. [Virakorcha-varman] Kumāra Vishṇu (ruled 10 years or more).
2. Skandavarman I, called Śiva (ruled for 8 years or more).
3. Viravarman—(no record of his).
4. Skandavarman II, Vijaya (ruled for 33 years or more).

Skandavarman I does not give the name of his father, but refers to him only as *bappa* which stands for 'father,' as later kings refer to theirs by the same term *bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktah* (E.I., XV, 254; I.A., V, 51, 155). The name is supplied by Skandavarman II's grant (E.I., XV, 251). *Vīrakūrchā*, in numerous later documents of the family, is mentioned as the real founder of the dynasty (occasionally coming after two ancestors *Kāla-bhartri* and *Chūta-pallava*¹, who are the son of Virakorcha. In verse 7 Skanda-sishya is clearly stated to have flourished 'after' [tataḥ] Virakorcha and in his line. The statement implies a break between the two [cf. *tataḥ* in I.A., XIX, 24(10), and Kielhorn's opinion thereon in E.I., V, App. No. 195, n.; E.I., III, 48]. These mistakes, and especially the latter, have led to a great confusion in fixing the identity of the Pallava kings and in re-constructing their history.

¹ Is this *Kāla-bhartri* the *Kāla* of the Purāṇa text *teshātsanneshu Kālena* ['when (the Muruṇḍas etc.) were overthrown by *Kāla*']? If so, then the true name of Vindhyaśakti who rises after *Kāla*, according to the Purāṇas, was *Chūta-pallava*; and *Kāla* would have been a Nāga general, and an ancestor of Vindhyaśakti.

not mentioned as kings), and as already pointed out, in one of those later copperplates it is expressly stated that he was given the status of king on account of his marriage with a princess of the Nāga emperor. The name *Virakūrcha* does not recur, except once, in the whole series of the Pallava plates. The character and style of the copperplate mentioning the name of Virakorcha is very early. As we know all the names up to the father of Skandavarman I from the record of the grandson of Skandavarman II, it is evident that Virakorcha is to be placed at the top, as already discussed. About Virakorcha being the first king there cannot be any doubt; the rest of the tradition about the still earlier names is yet unconfirmed, except the fact that the ancestors of Virakorcha were generals of the Nāga emperors. The latter fact is true, as they do rise in the Nāga period. They owed allegiance to no Southern king and there was no Southern Nāga king near about Andhradeśa where they first come into political existence, while the Nāga empire was next-door to Andhra, in the Central Provinces.

§ 183. The lines after Skandavarman II is similarly well-attested. Vishnugopa, one of the sons of Vijaya Skandavarman II, has left one copperplate dated in the reign of Simhavarman I. Simhavarman I would have been proved conclusively to have been the elder brother of Vishnugopa by the Udayendiram plates (E.I., III, 142), but unfortunately they, in my opinion, are clearly a spurious document, being written in a script of several centuries later. However, we get the same result, viz. that this Simhavarman was not the son of Vishnugopa but his elder brother, from Yuvarāja Vishnugopa's document, and the Gaṅga copperplate (E.I., XIV, 331) where Simhavarman (I) and his son Skandavarman (III) are stated to have installed respectively two successive Gaṅga kings [§ 190]. There are also two grants by Simhavarman II, son of Vishnugopa, which recite the genealogy (E.I., VIII 159; E.I., XV, 254). Thus the later genealogy on the statements of Vishnugopa and his son and the Gaṅga plates stands thus :

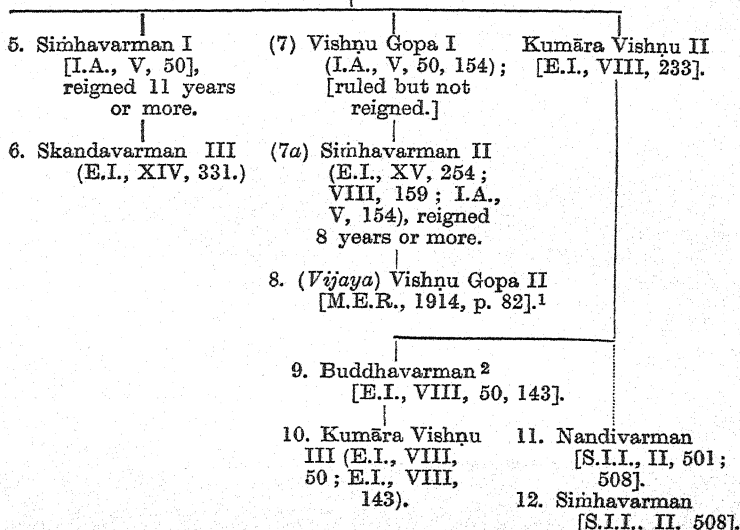


Vishṇu Gopa gives the genealogy up to Skandavarman I who is described here without 'Śiva', as also by Skandavarman II, his father.¹ Simhavarman II gives the genealogy up to Viravarman, a name which is not repeated again in the family line. These two branches really constituted one continuous line reigning one after the other; Vishṇu Gopa's plate (I.A., V, 154) is dated under the reign of his elder brother, on the extinction of whose line Vishṇu Gopa's son evidently succeeded. But there was still another junior branch from Skandavarman II. This branch is established by two copperplates (E.I., VIII, 143; E.I., VIII, 233). The first is the British Museum plate by Chārudevi, wife of Yuvamahārāja Buddhavarman, issued in the reign of Vijaya Skandavarman (II), and the second is by Buddhavarman's son Kumāra Vishṇu (III) whose grandfather's name was Kumāra Vishṇu (II) and whose great-grandfather was Vijaya Skandavarman. It is thus clear that Buddhavarman who is described as Yuvamahārāja by his wife in the reign of Skandavarman II was the son of Kumāra Vishṇu II, and not of Skandavarman II as generally supposed. He was Yuvamahārāja to his grandfather, and his father had evidently predeceased him. His relationship with Skandavarman (II) is not given in the British Museum plate. We know that Yuvarāja's office was a ministerial post open to grandsons even in the life-time of their fathers.² Thus, the complete Pallava genealogy for our period will be as follows (those who reigned are numbered; nos. 1 to 7a complete our period):

¹ As we have already seen in our section on the Chutus (§ 161), *Śiva* was merely honorific. The repetition of the word Vishṇu in the family is probably connected with the name of Vishṇu Vṛiddha, one of the early ancestors [Bhāradvājas] whom the Vākātakas specifically mention. Otherwise it would be unexplained, the family being pronouncedly Śaiva.

² Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity*, II, 125.

1. Kumāra Vishṇu Virakorchavarman (E.I., XV, 251; E.I., I, 397) (*aśvamedhin*)=Nāga princess (S.I.I., II, 508; E.I., VI, 84); 10 years or more.
2. (*Śiva*) Skandavarman I (E.I., VI, 84; E.I., I, 2; I.A., V, 50.); 8 years or more.
3. Viravarman (I.A., V, 50, 154).
4. Skandavarman II (E.I., XV, 251; I.A., V, 50, 154); 33 years or more.



I have extended the genealogy beyond our period to bring out the utility of the Velurpalaiyam plates [S.I.I., II, 501]. These plates furnish the early history of the dynasty with which we are dealing, and are important otherwise. They give the rise of the family with Virakūrcha and then give the genealogy from Skandavarman II. On the succession of Nandivarman I, it gives the important information that

¹ This plate is called the Narasaraopet plate. I have ascertained by correspondence with the Government of India Epigraphist that it is the same plate which is called the Guṇṭur plate or the Churā plate. The owner did not allow a facsimile to be taken. It is not dated. It was issued by 'King Vijaya Viṣṇu Gopavarman, son of Siṃhavarman, grandson of Mahārāja Viṣṇu Gopavarman and great-grandson of Kandavarman (i.e. Skandavarman)', from Vijaya Palotkṛṣṭa, in favour of a Brahmin of Kundūr. It is in Sanskrit.

² It seems that Buddhavarman reigned after No. 8, which is suggested by his description: भर्ता सुवो भूदय बुद्धवर्मा in S.I.I., II, 508.

when Vishṇu Gopa (II) was dead and the other kings were all gone, Nandivarman succeeded. It means that after the extinction of the line of Vishṇu Gopa and the line of Kumāra Vishṇu III the succession opened to him. One Nandivarman, is mentioned in the Udayendiram plates [E.I., III, 142] as coming after Skandavarman III, son of Simhavarman I, but this plate is spurious, being in characters, as already pointed out, several centuries later; no reliance can be placed on it. Nandivarman I flourished in the line of Kumāra Vishṇu II according to the Velurpalaiyam document. On the death of Simhavarman I his son Skandavarman III succeeded, and on the failure of his line, Yuvarāja Vishṇu Gopa's son Simhavarman II succeeded. Vishṇu Gopa evidently did not accept the throne. He ruled but did not reign (§ 187). According to the Narasaraopet plates [M.E.R., 1914, p. 82] Simhavarman II's son Vishṇu Gopa II succeeded his father. This is confirmed by the list given in Vayalur pillar inscription.¹ After Vishṇu Gopa II the members of the third line from Skandavarman II came in—first, Buddhavarman and his son Kumāra Vishṇu III, and then his cousin Nandivarman. This is the meaning of 'sa-Vishṇugope cha Narendrabrinde² gate tato 'jāyata Nandivarmā'.

It became customary after Vishṇu Gopa I to call every ancestor 'Mahārāja,' whether he had succeeded to the Pallava throne or not, as in the case of Vishṇu Gopa I himself, whom his son calls only *Yuvamahārāja* but his grandson gives the title of *Mahārāja*. So the plates of Kumāra Vishṇu III call his each ancestor 'Mahārāja'. Unless we get actual grants from them we cannot be certain of their succession even in a secondary line of rulers. On the evidence of the plates only one line seems to have ruled, and till now we have no evidence of the existence of more than one ruling line of the dynasty. Vishṇu Gopa I, who alone could have been the contemporary of Samudra Gupta, was regent in Simhavarman II's time and was in charge of the government at Kāñchī; hence he would be called *Kāñcheyaka*. Members of the family might have been temporary

¹ E.I., XVIII, 145. This, as an original material, is useless, being an amalgam of several lists put together.

² Read ° *vrīde*.

local governors with titles of 'Mahārāja,' i.e. 'Governor' or 'Yuvamahārāja,' i.e. 'Lieutenant Governor'.

§ 184. Virakūrchakumāra Vishṇu performed an aśvamedha, that is, he declared himself to be the successor of the Ikshvākus. Early Pallava kings. It was repeated by Śiva Skandavarman. Evidently Viravarman lost Kāñchī¹ which had to be conquered back by Kumāra Vishṇu II.² The Velurpalaiyam plates do not call the latter a king. He, as a prince, seems to have conquered Kāñchī for his father. Both father and son had to fight the Cholas and probably also some other Tamil kings.³ Skandavarman II re-established himself at Kāñchī. In his time, the Gaṅgas and also the Kadambas were set up as feudatories on the Tamil frontiers (§ 188 ff.). Their similar titles indicate that they were all Mahārājas to the Vākāṭaka Emperor. Their being Dharmamahārājas seems to imply that they all were appointed by the Samrāt, that they belonged to a Dharma Empire established by the Vākāṭakas. There was practically a continuous fight with the Cholas until Buddhavarman broke them.⁴

185. The ancestral state of the Pallavas is called Navakhaṇḍa.⁵ We have a Navarāshṭra in the Mahā-Bhārata,⁶ but it was in Western India. This Navakhaṇḍa should be near about Andhra. We have Nawāgarḥ as one of the traditional '18 Forest Kingdoms' of Kosala.⁷ Its situation is near

¹ This name is never repeated in the line; it seems to have been inauspicious and unsuccessful. His bravery, however, is noted in the inscriptions (वसुधातलेकवीरस्य).

² गृहीत-काञ्चीनगरस्ततोभूत् कुमारविष्णुस्समरेषु जित्वा: (verse 8).—E.I.I., II, 508.

³ अन्ववाय-नभश्चन्द्रः स्कन्दशिष्यस्ततोभवत्, विजानां घटिकां राजस्सत्यसेनात् जहार यः (verse 7), *Ibid.* Satyasena was probably a Chola or some other neighbouring Tamil king.

⁴ भर्ता भुवो भूदथ बुद्धवर्मा यस्सोल-सैन्यार्षव-वाडवाग्निः । (verse 8).—S.I.I., II, 508.

⁵ S.I.I., II, 515 (verse 6).

⁶ *Sabbā*, 31, 6.

⁷ Hira Lal, E.I., VIII, 286.

Bastar, by the Nagpur division of the Bhāraśiva kingdom, from where an attack on Andhra was easy. Very likely, the father of Virakorcha was the governor or sub-king in Kosalā, and from there Andhra was acquired.

§ 186. *V i r a k o r c h a* Kumāra Vishṇu I must have had a fairly long career. He was an *āśvamedhin*

Pallava
Chronology.

and the conqueror of *K ā ṇ c h ī*. Probably it was his suzerain or his father who conquered the *I k s h v ā k u s* and *A n d h r a*, and he conquered the *C h o l a s* and occupied *K ā ṇ c h ī*. His son *Ś i v a S k a n d a*, to be the *yuvārāja* and the sub-governor of *K ā ṇ c h ī*, must have been at least 18 or 20 in the 10th year of *Virakorcha*. The capture of *K ā ṇ c h ī* was accomplished from the Andhra throne. *Virakorcha*'s marriage and his recognition as a sub-king could not be simultaneous, for in his tenth year *Ś i v a S k a n d a* was old enough to be the governor of *K ā ṇ c h ī*. At his marriage, *Virakorcha* was probably only an *adhirāja* and not a *Mahārāja*, and would have got the higher title on the conquest of *K ā ṇ c h ī*. Placing the conquest of Andhra about 250-260 A.D., we may date the conquest of *K ā ṇ c h ī* at 265 A.D., and the tenth year of *Virakorcha* as *Mahārāja* would be about 275 A.D. when *Ś i v a S k a n d a* would be about 20. To verify this initial date we have a guide in the date of Vishṇu Gopa I; let us see if our proposed date stands verified by his date.

187. If *Ś i v a S k a n d a v a r m a n* came to the throne, say, five years later than the grant by him as *Yuvamahārāja*, i.e. in 280 A.D., and ruled for 15 years, his period [280-295 A.D.] would agree with the time assigned to him on the basis of the script of his charters as discussed above. *V i r a v a r m a n*, in whose time *K ā ṇ c h ī* is lost and to whom no conquest is attributed, but who is noted for his bravery and whose name is never borne again by his descendants, seems to have died on the battlefield at the hands of his Chola enemy. The death of *Ś i v a S k a n d a v a r m a n* would have given a signal for an attack by the Cholas. *Viravarman* could not have remained king for longer than a year or two. *V i r a v a r m a n* following the ancient orthodox custom had taken the name of his grandfather *V i r a [Korcha]*. But his name was, as already observed, never

repeated. It seems that the name Vira which came to be associated with a political misfortune—the loss of Kāñchī and a defeat at the hands of the Cholas, was given up by the family. Skandavarman II became, for the second time, the founder of the Pallava power, and this time it became seated permanently at Kāñchī. We should remember that in his time the Vākāṭaka family was led by Pravarasena I under whom it reached its zenith, which was a point more elevated than that attained by any previous imperial dynasty. Presumably Skandavarman II received support from the Vākāṭaka emperor. He assumed the title of '*Vijaya*' deservedly. In his long reign he had sufficient time to consolidate his, and the Vākāṭaka imperial, position in the South. For over half the period of the reign of Pravarasena I he was his contemporary. We should assign him a reign of about 35 years, 33rd year being his recorded date. After him we have one record of the reign of his son Simhavarman I and of the governorship of his another son Vishṇu Gopa. But of his grandson Skandavarman III we have no record, and as the latter was succeeded by the son of Vishṇu Gopa I, his reign must have been a short one. Evidently, Vishṇu Gopa was defeated by Samudra Gupta before his coronation and according to the well-known custom he abdicated in favour of his son and never became legally Mahārāja, i.e. though he ruled, he did not reign. The dated chronology would stand thus :

1. Virakūroha Kumāra Vishṇu (at Kāñchī).	c. 265-280 A.D.
2. [Śiva] Skandavarman I	.. c. 280-295 A.D.
3. Viravarman	.. c. 295-297 A.D.
4. [Vijaya] Skandavarman II	.. c. 297-332 A.D.
5. Simhavarman I	.. c. 332-344 A.D.
6. Skandavarman III	.. c. 344-346 A.D.
7. Vishṇu Gopa I	.. c. 346
7A. Simhavarman II	.. c. 346-360 A.D.

This is fully confirmed by the date of Vishṇu Gopa which we gather from the history of Samudra Gupta.

XVII. SUBORDINATE BRAHMIN KINGDOMS OF THE SOUTH:
THE GAṄGAS AND THE KADAMBAS.

§ 188. Under the Pallavas there came into existence a sub-kingdom of the Brahmin Kāṇvāyanas, who after their original home adopted their dynastic name 'the Dynasty of the Gaṅgā,' like 'the Magadha Dynasty,' of the Kāliṅga kings under the Guptas. The kings of the Gaṅga Dynasty, from the third king, were installed in each generation by the Pallavas of whom Simhavarman the 'Pallavendra' ['the Pallava emperor'], and also his successor Skandavarman (III) are named in their earliest genuine copperplate.¹ These Kāṇvāyanas very likely were an off-shoot of the Imperial Kāṇvāyanas of Magadha, the last king of whom (Sūsarman) was taken prisoner [प्रगृह्यतं]² and removed to the South by the Sātavāhana.³ From the point of view of cultural history the Brahmin subordinate dynasties become important. There had been already a class of political Brahmins in the South.

§ 189. The Kaundinyas, whom we have already noticed, were introduced into the South from the North in the days of the Sātavāhana empire which once embraced both the South and the North. The tradition of certain Brahmin families coming to the South from Ahichhatra in the time of the ancestors of Mayūraśarmaṇ Mānavya,⁴ who, as we shall presently see, belonged to the Chuṭu Śātakarṇi family, seems to have been based on history. The Sātavāhanas married into a few exclusive Brahmin families, e.g. of the Gautama gotra, Vasishṭha gotra, Māthara gotra, Hārīta gotra, etc. There was a large settlement of the Gautamas in the South [Mysore].⁵ The Ikshvākus followed that tradition strictly,

¹ E.I., XIV, 333.

² Matsya, Pargiter, Purāṇa Text, p. 38, 3, 6.

³ J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 294.

⁴ E.C., VII, Sk. 186.

⁵ E.C., VII, Introduction, p. 3.

and to some extent also the Kadambas. The Brahmin families occupied the position of aristocracy in the South. They remained exclusive and were intimately connected with the royal families. The Aiyars and Ayangars are still the real aristocrats of the South. The Brahmin rulers of the early centuries, now succeeded by the Vākāṭaka-Pallavas and the Gaṅgas of the revivalist period, and their matrimonial Brahmins were the makers of Southern India, who by introducing their culture in the South made Dakṣiṇā-patha an integral part of Hindu India, and they truly extended the boundaries of Bhāratavarsha to include the whole of the South.

§ 190. The Gaṅga genealogy for our period may be reconstructed on the basis of the first undoubtedly genuine copperplate of the Gaṅgas, published by Mr. Rice in the *Epigraphia Indica*, XIV, 331, which is of the latter part of the fourth or the early part of the fifth century A.D. (circa 400 A.D.). I have extended the line by adding one more name from other records to fix and to verify the chronology. The genealogy will stand as follows:—

Koṅkaṇivarman, *dharmādhirāja*

Mādhava (I), *Mahādhirāja*

Ayyavarman (Ari¹ or Harivarman), *Gaṅga-rāja*
(installed by Siṃhavarman, *Mahārāja*,
of the Pallava Dynasty).

Mādhava (II), *Mahārāja*, the *Siṃhavarman*, installed
by Skandavarman III, *Mahārāja*, of the
Pallavas.

Avinīta Koṅgaṇi, *Mahādhirāja* (married a daughter
of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman, sister
of Kṛiṣṇavarman, *Mahādhirāja*).³

¹ Cf. Kielhorn's *List*, E.I., VIII Supplement, p. 4.

² [According to Mr. Rice, a Viṣṇu Gopa was probably left out by mistake between Ayya and Mādhava II] E.I., XIV, 333; Cf. Kielhorn, p. 5.

³ Kielhorn, p. 5. Mr. Rice, E.I., XIV, 334, thought that Mādhava II [whom he calls 'Mādhava III', counting Koṅkaṇivarman's personal

§ 191. The marriage of Avinīta Koṅgaṇi with a Kaḍamba princess is alleged by the Gaṅga documents and seems to be confirmed by the reference in the Talagunda inscription of Kākusthavarman to the political marriages brought about by Kākusthavarman. Kṛishṇavarman I whose sister Avinīta Koṅgaṇi is recorded to have married, was the son of Kākustha.¹ The time of Avinīta Koṅgaṇi is thus fixed by Kākustha's time (c. 400 A.D.). Ayyavarman, the third prince, was installed by the Pallava Siṃhavarman II whose time is about 330-344 A.D. (§ 187), and Mādhava (II) was installed by the Pallava Skandavarman III (c. 344-346 A.D.) who was the successor of Siṃhavarman. Thus these three contemporary houses fix each other's chronology, and prove that the founder of the Gaṅga Kāṇvāyana Dynasty could not have flourished earlier than 300 A.D.² Their time approximately would be thus (which gives them roughly an average of 16 or 17 years each) :

1. Koṅkanivarman	..	.. c. 300-315 A.D.
2. Mādhavarman I	..	.. 315-330 A.D.
3. Ayya or Arivarman	..	.. 330-345 A.D. ³
4. Mādhavarman [II]		
Siṃhavarman	..	.. 345-375 A.D.
5. Avinīta Koṅgaṇi	..	.. 375-395 A.D.

§ 192. The first prince adopted the name Koṅkanivarman probably for his having come recently from Koṅkaṇa. His dominion was what is known as Gaṅgavāḍi in Mysore. The Penukonda plates (E.I., XIV, 331) have been found in the Anantapur District, Madras. The Gaṅgas were the next-door

name Mādhava as Mādhava I] married the Kadamba princess, which is wrong on the evidence of the Gaṅga records and on the chronology for these kings discussed below (§§ 190-191).

¹ Cf. *Kadamba Kula*, the first chart.

² This proves that the records dated in early Śaka years (247 A.D. etc. Cf. Kielhorn's *List*, E.I., VIII, p. 4, n.) could not be genuine, though they recite the genealogy fairly correctly. The people alleging themselves to be descendants of old donees of lands forged a number of Gaṅga documents ; they had a fair idea of the genealogy of the Gaṅga kings.

³ Vishnu Gopa's existence is not certain (§ 190, n.).

neighbours of the K a d a m b a s who came into existence about the same time or a generation later.

§ 193. The title *D h a r m ā d h i r ā j a* of the dynasty shows that the G a ṅ g a s, like the K a d a m b a s, formed part of the Dharma Empire of the Pallavas.

§ 194. The first Gaṅga king came in by right of conquest, presumably as a general of the Pallavas or
Konkanivarman. the main Vākātakas, which is suggested by their title *Gaṅga*. He acquired a country of 'gentlemanly population' [sva-bhuja-java-jaya-janita-sujana-janapadasya], having fought terrible enemies (dāruṇa-arigaṇa°). The king was 'adorned with marks of wounds (in battle)' [labdha-vraṇa-bhūṣaṇasya Kāpavāyana-sagotrasya Śrīmat K o ṇ k a ṇ i - v a r m a - d h a r m a - m a h ā d h i r ā j a s y a] .

§ 195. His son M ā d h a v a, *Mahādhirāja*, was deeply learned in the sacred and polite literature
Mādhava I. of Sanskrit and was an authority on Hindu political science—' *he was skilled in expounding it and applying it in practice* : Nīti-sāstrasya vakṭri-prayokṭri-kuśalasya.

§ 196. Mādhava's son A y y a v a r m a n ' *was decorated with wounds on his body acquired on numerous battlefields* '—
Ayya (Hari) varman. aneka-yuddh=ōpalabdha-vraṇa-vibhūṣita-śarīrasya.

He had devoted his time to the study of history.

§ 197. The Gaṅga genealogical history, summarised above, breathes the spirit of the Vākāṭaka
Vākāṭaka spirit. tradition. It relates to a period before Samudra Gupta reached the South. It is in Sanskrit and had been copied from earlier documents, as it was copied in all subsequent family deeds. It was a cultured family of the type which the Vākāṭakas created.

§ 198. The ideal of the early G a ṅ g a s, both personal and civic, are remarkable. The kings decorated
Gaṅga civics. themselves, like V i n d h y a ś a k t i, with wounds won on battlefields. This finds an

echo in Samudra Gupta inscription. The Gaṅga's civic ideal is exact and positive. The *raison d'être* of kingship was good government:

samyak-prajā-pālana-

mātr=ādhigata-rājya-prayojanasya :

'(to His Majesty Mādhava (I) Mahādhirāja) the object of kingship consisted only in rendering good government to his people.'

§ 199. The Kadambas are not the direct product of the invasion of Samudra Gupta, as generally supposed, but the product of the early history of the Mānavyas. Their history has been separately discussed in a recent text-book by Mr. Maores. A few points which have not yet been noticed and which have a bearing on our period may be noticed here.

§ 200. The Kadambas from their official documents, beginning with Talagunda pillar inscription, Their Descent. style themselves as Hāritīputra Mānavyas.¹ Now we know that the Vanavāsi Āndhras (the Chuṭus) were Hāritīputra Mānavyas (§ 157 ff.). It seems to be certain that the Kadambas were descendants of the Chuṭu Sātakarnis. By calling themselves *Hāritīputra Mānavyas* they mark their descent from the last Chuṭu Mānavya who was a Hāritīputra. The moment the first Kadamba king acquires Vanavāsi and Kuntala, the original seat of the Chuṭus, he 'with a glad mind' restores the old grant made by the Hāritīputra Śiva Skandavarman of the Mānavya gotra and records it on the very pillar set up by the Chuṭu king for the purpose of registering the gift of the same property, which had been attached to Maṭṭapaṭṭi² through the same Kaundinya family. The grant was made a second time,

¹ E.I., VIII, 34, footnote, by Kielhorn. Cf. E.I., XVI, p. 266, '*Mānavya-sagotrānām Hāritīputrānām*'.

² Its name survives to-day in '*Malavalli*'.

The interval between the ages of the scripts of the two inscriptions is sufficiently marked, and is not one of a few years, as supposed by Mr. Rice, in E.C., VII, p. 6. The language is also different. It is a new language, Mahārāshṭrī, which had never been employed before in official drafting.

implying that it had been resumed by the authority just preceding, which could not be that of any other than the Pallavas, from whom Mayūra Śarman is recorded to have acquired the territory on account of, amongst other considerations, his past 'lineage', that is, the ex-royal dynasty of the Chutu Mānavyas. It is dated in the 4th year of the king's reign. I regard it to be a writ of Mayūra Śarman, a fragment of his name is readable on the plate (§ 162). He was vindicating here the right of his family. He recovered his family's home-land, and revived their gift. The relationship with that ancient respectable family of the Kaundinyas, who had been probably imported there by his ancestors, had continued in the meantime, as the new donee is described as the *mātula* (maternal uncle) of the donor king.

§ 201. The Pallavas as they dispossessed the Ikshvākus dispossessed also the Chutu Mānavyas. The Ikshvākus disappeared for ever, but the Mānavyas revived once more. At the first opportunity Mayūra Śarman Mānavya recovered his ancestral home and founded a new dynasty under the title 'Kadamba'.

§ 202. The Kadambas attempted to revive the dynastic memories. As they re-endowed the Maḷavalli god of the Sātavāhanas, and marked the tank and temple at Talagunda, which had associations with the Sātakarnis, with their proud pillar and prouder inscription, so they tried to reach the northern limit of the Sātavāhana dominions in the West, for which they made repeated efforts, but they were kept back by the Vākātakas who strenuously retained to themselves the maritime province of Aparānta, with its Western Foreign trade.

§ 203. In this attempt for, what we may describe as *Sātavāhanism*, Kaṅga who flourished in the time of Samudra Gupta, is the most prominent figure. Kaṅga was the son and successor of Mayūra Śarman. He dropped the Brahmin title *śarman* and adopted the royal style *varman* with his name. He was the real founder of the Kadamba kingdom which became very powerful in his time,

Kaṅga and the position of the Kadambas.

though only for a few years. The Pallava power, after its defeat at the hands of Samudra Gupta, was sought to be superseded by Kaṅga, whom the Purāṇas fully describe under the name Kāṇa and Kanaka (§§ 128-129). The Pallavas formed the southern portion of the empire of the Vākāṭaka Samrāṭ. They were 'Mahārājas' to the Vākāṭaka Chakravartin. The Pallavas, on behalf of the Vākāṭaka emperor, seem to have exercised suzerainty over the Trairājya, the group of three Tamil kingdoms, the leader of whom—the Cholas—they had actually conquered. Kaṅgavarman became the ruler of three connected units—Strirājya, Mūshika and Bhojaka, and according to the Vishṇu Purāṇa, his rule covered also Trairājya, i.e., he became the overlord of the South for the time being, eclipsing the Pallavas. The Pallava territory alone is excluded from his jurisdiction. It seems that Kaṅga tried to restore the Southern Empire of his ancestors after the defeat of the Pallavas and to question the right of Samudra Gupta to be the Emperor of All-India. He was, however, defeated by Prithivishena Vākāṭaka and had to abdicate (§ 127 ff.). After Kaṅga the Kadambas remained politically attached to the Vākāṭaka kingdom which touched the Kuntala part of the Kadamba kingdom on its own Bhojakata frontiers. The importance of the Kadambas lies more on the social side. They had been long in the South before the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas. Yet in the new social revival they showed new vigour and became as good agents of that revival as the Gaṅgas and the Pallavas, within their own sphere.

§ 204. Thus the history of the South for the period is

Making of
One India.

really a history of the Northerners in the South, both new and old, and of their efforts to introduce and establish a common civilization, viz. that Hinduism which proved so successful at the time in reforming and reviving society in the North. The South becomes so united with the North through these efforts that truly the old definition of Bhāratavarsha had to be revised and extended to include the whole of the South. The northern Hindus introduce the language, the script, the worship

and the culture in general, of the North into the South. They infuse new life in Further India from there, and make history. They make One-India by a common culture, the legacy of which has come down to us.

PART V.

Conclusion.

‘Dharma-prāchīra-bandaḥ śaśi-kara-suchayaḥ kirttayaḥ supratānāḥ.’

[—Allahabad Pillar.]

XVIII. Effects of Gupta Imperialism.

§ 205. The military achievements of Samudra Gupta are well known and need not be commented upon here. It should be noted that he did not over-do militarism. He was fully conscious of the value of a policy of peace. After his second campaign he never undertook any expedition, but gained his object through diplomacy and peace by bringing the Shāhānushāhi, the Hill States, the Republics, and the Colonies within the fold of his empire and the sphere of his imperial influence. His possession of an enormous quantity of gold which Northern India had not known before was the result of the inclusion of Southern India and the Colonies in his empire. The contact with the South was kept up through the Vākāṭaka House, which was soon restored, though in the Allahabad inscription the Vākāṭaka country is treated as being part of his Central Provinces and the survey of the Republics is made as if sitting at Gwalior or Eran. In line 23 of the Allahabad inscription he says that he was restoring old royal families and in line 26 he says that his officers were busy in restoring the wealth of various kings who had been conquered by the strength of his arms. Prithivishena I undoubtedly was one of those. Gold from the South and Further India kept on pouring-in even in the next reign. If Samudra Gupta excelled Rāma and Prithu in giving gold coins as he says in his Eran inscription, his son certainly excelled all figures in past history in distributing gold amongst his subjects. There is no exaggeration in this. We have the testimony of Chandra Gupta II's daughter that her father gave away several thousands of crores of [Gupta] sovereigns¹, which is again

¹ Poona Plates, E.I., Vol. XV, p. 41.

confirmed by Yuan Chwang. Amoghavarsha in his inscription admits that the Gupta king was the greatest donor of the Kali Age. This became possible on account of the beneficial foresight of Samudra Gupta. His policy of peace and reconciliation turned Prithivishena I into a faithful ally who conquered back the Kuntala or Kadamba king. The latter had seriously threatened Samudra Gupta's supremacy in the South, which probably led to his putting off the *Aśvamedha* or to its repetition mentioned by Prabhāvatī Guptā.¹ His colonial policy and the control of the port of Tāmralipti must have been a great source of revenue. The eastern trade with China and Indonesia was brisk at the time and was probably of greater importance than the Western trade. Both Samudra Gupta and his son Chandra Gupta emphasised their sea-frontiers, which alone they recognised on their three sides as they recognised the Himavat [Tibet] to be their northern frontier. The people were as lightly taxed as possible in both reigns, which Fa-Hien for the latter reign has particularly noticed. Samudra Gupta truly became *Dhanada* to his subjects. People could well afford to found big hospitals, and the peace of Samudra Gupta could very well enable Chandra Gupta to abolish capital punishment.

§ 206. The psychology of the nation was entirely changed and the outlook became lofty and magnanimous. It was a psychology directly borrowed from the Emperor. The Hindus of his day thought of big undertakings. They contributed high, elegant and magnanimous literature. The literary people became literary Kuberas to their countrymen and literary empire-builders outside India. Kumārajīva made a literary conquest of China.² The Kaundinya missionary established a social and cultural overlordship in

¹ *anek-āśvamedha-yājī Lichchhavi-dohitrah* (E.I., XV, 41).

² He, a contemporary of Samudra Gupta, left for China, where [405-412] he dictated Chinese commentaries on the Buddhist Canon. His translation of the Diamond Sūtra is a national classic in Chinese literature, from which 'Chinese poets and philosophers have drawn inspiration and instruction'. Cf. Giles, *Chinese Literature*, p. 114.

Cambodia. Merchants and artists made India a wonderland for the foreign eyes. There was nothing feminine in art, literature, piety or politics. The chisel produced virile gods and martial goddesses. The pen portrayed handsome and masculine men, self-conscious and proud Hindu Prussians. Scholars and Brahmins wielded sword and pen with equal facility. Aristocracy of intellect and ability was raised to a height which was hardly repeated again in this land.

§ 207. Sanskrit became the official language, and it became entirely a new language. Like the Gupta coin and Gupta sculpture, it reproduced the Emperor, it became majestic and musical, as it had never been before and as it never became after again.

The Gupta emperor made a new language, and in fact a new nation.

§ 208. The field, however, had been prepared by the Bhāraśivas and more so by the Vākātakas.

The seed-period
of Samudra
Gupta's India.

Sanskrit had been employed by the Śuṅga kings in their official inscriptions. It was employed by Rudradāman, again, about 150 A.D., but the Kāvya style, as evidenced by the Champā (Cambodia) inscription which anticipates Samudra Gupta's style, is referable to the Vākātaka period. The Vākātakas had already created an All-India Empire. They had driven the Kushans to a corner. They had raised the military tradition of the people. They had brought back the Śāstras to their rightful throne. Samudra Gupta took full advantage of it and kept up the continuity of history initiated by the Bhāraśivas and fostered by the Vākātakas. They had paved the road through which the Shāhānushāhis and the Śaka lords could be brought to Ajodhyā or Pāṭaliputra to bend their heads before the Hindu throne. The renaissance had begun before 248 A.D. The Hindus had freed themselves already from the Kushan social tyranny and their political rule. They had already rejected Buddhism as a system unfit for their society tending to make people weak and passive. It had been, however, left for Samudra Gupta to give a constructive faith, and he gave it in the form of his *bhakti* in Viśṇu. The

Bhāraśivas had adopted Gaṅgā and Yamunā as the symbols of freed Āryāvarta, and rightly hooded Nāgas were put over the figures of the river goddesses, translating politics into the language of the chisel. The Guptas duly took over those motifs though they removed the Nāgas from their heads. The sombre Śiva of the Bhāraśivas and the Vākātakas makes room for the constructive Viṣṇu who stands with His hands erect upholding Hindu society, with a vigour which knows no lessening. Solid, not elegant, become the homes of Hindu gods. Square-built, rock-cut and rock-like temples are preferred to pinnacles. Self-confidence is the breeding spirit of the time. The Hindu has faith in himself: the Vākātaka, the Gaṅga and the Gupta speak of their manly beauty moulded by swords and arrows; deities are compared with men and to the advantage of men. Faith in the great God Viṣṇu, to whom the Gupta dedicated all his deeds and in whom he merged himself, was transmitted to the whole nation and even to Further India. This unity of man and his God was reflected in the sculptures they wrought by fashioning them after the devotees. The lofty spiritual tone reached the very zenith. Vindhyaśakti whose strength grew in great battles and whose valour could not be overcome even by gods, was yet a man exerting himself to gain spiritual merit. Mādhava I of the Gaṅga kings, whose decorations were wounds received on battle-fields, declared that kingship existed only for rendering good government to the people. Śiva Skandavarman, the performer of proud sacrifices, was after all a *Dharma-Mahārājā*dhirāja. Samudra Gupta the rampart of religion, the path of the sacred hymns, worthy of study by others, was practising royalty and his duty in a way that gave him the satisfaction that he was winning his heaven and hereafter thereby. Man was made for society, and by performing his duties he was winning the kingdom of heaven. Revivalist piety thus spiritualized politics, even conquest, and left passive pietism and inert quietism of the pre-revival days to bury its past. Buddhist celibacy had lowered the position of woman. Now once more woman became the object of high honour and a political partner. In coins and inscriptions she is given

equality. Wife was never so honoured as Samudra Gupta honoured Dattadevī. In the greatest moment of his triumph at Eran the Emperor of All-India proudly remembered his life-partner and the day of his marriage when her dowry consisted of only the manliness of her lord, and whose grandeur now consisted in being the ideal Hindu woman, the *kula-vadhū* and the Hindu mother surrounded by sons and grandsons.

§ 209. We are thus dazzled by this atmosphere of full manhood and glory, of conquests and culture, of activity far and wide, at home and abroad, and we forget the unknown poets and patriots and teachers of the Bhāraśiva period who sowed the seed of which the Vākātaka and the Gupta reaped the harvest. The hundred years of the Bhāraśivas are the seed-period of this Hindu imperialism. Literary remains of that seed-period movement we have practically none. But we recognise the tree from its fruit. That 'Dark Period' brought light and illumination to Āryāvarta and India. The spiritual movement begun in that period assumed the form of intense *bhakti* in the heroic aspect of Vaishṇavism. Who were the preachers of that cult? We know not. But we can say this much that the bible of that cult was the Bhagavad-Gītā which is repeated in the inscription of Samudra Gupta. The cult is that Viṣṇu comes in the form of statesmen and heroes and readjusts society, protects Dharma and His people.

§ 210. Grand and pleasing is this picture and the mind gets so captivated that it becomes most reluctant to turn away from the vision of Samudra Gupta's India. A present-day historian trained in Imperialism would naturally take delight in that picture, a picture of bold strokes, of Kiriṭa and Kuṇḍala, the picture of imperial Hinduism, of the revealed vision of the greatness of the Guptas. But does his duty end with reproducing on the fresco of the past of his race the picture of the Gupta superman? His duty does not conclude without giving the judgment of the post-Gupta Hindu who looked back on Gupta imperialism and coolly analysed it. The Hindu historian

in the Vishṇu Purāṇa makes another appraisalment of the matter. His concluding words¹ may be summed up thus:

*'I have given this history.² The existence of these kings will in future become a matter of debate and doubt as the very existence of Rāma and other Emperors has become to-day a matter of doubt and speculation. Emperors become mere legends in the current of time—the Emperors who thought and think "India is mine". Fie on Empires, fie on the Empire of the Emperor Rāghava.'*³

The refrain of the historian is to rail at Emperors and Conquerors. They suffer, he says from *mamātva*,—*'l'etat c'est moi'*⁴.

¹ See V.P., Bk. IV, c. 24, verses 64–77, cf. also *'the Verdic of India'* (*Prithivī-Gītā*), verses 55–63.

² इत्येषः कथितः सम्यङ् मनोर्वंशो मया तव (64)

श्रुत्वैवमखिलं वंशं प्रशस्तं शशिश्रिययोः (67).

इत्थाकु-जन्तु-मान्वाह-सगराविचितान् रघून् (68)

³ यः कार्त्तवीर्य्यो बुभुजे समस्तान् दीपान् समाम्रम्य हतारिचक्रः;

कथाप्रसङ्गे त्वभिधीयमानः स एव सङ्कल्पविकल्पहेतुः (72)

दशाननाविचित-राघवाणमैश्वर्य्यमुद्भासित-दिङ्मुखानाम्

भस्मापि जातं, न कथं क्षणेन ? भूभङ्गपातेन धिगन्तकस्य (73)

[*'ऐश्वर्य्यं धिक्'*—Commentator.]

कथाशरीरत्वमवाप यद्वै मान्वाहनामा भुवि चक्रवर्त्ती ।

श्रुत्वापि तं कोऽपि करोति साधु समत्वमात्मन्यपि मन्दचेतः । (74)

भगीरथाद्याः सगरः ककुत्स्थो दशाननो राघवलक्ष्मणौ च

युधिष्ठिराद्याश्च बभूवुरेते सत्यं न मिया क्व नु ते न विश्वः । (75)

⁴ Cf. *Prithivī-Gītā*:

पृथ्वी मनेयं सकला समैषा समान्वस्यापि च शास्त्रवेद्यम्

यो यो मृतो ह्यत्र बभूव राजा कुबुद्धिरासीदिति तस्य तस्य । (61)

विद्यथ मां मृत्युपथं व्रजन्तं

तस्यान्वयस्त्वस्य कथं समत्वं हृद्यास्पदं मृत्युभवं करोति । (62)

'पृथ्वी समैषाऽपि परित्यजेन्न' वदन्ति ये दूतमुखैः स्वशत्रुम्

नराधिपान्तेषु समातिहासः पुनश्च मृतेषु दद्याभ्युपैति । (63)

An oversea-Empire, characteristic of the Guptan, is particularly hit at:

ततो मृत्यांश्च पौरांश्च जिगीषन्ते तथा रिपून्

क्रमेणानेन जेष्यामी वयं पृथ्वीं ससाम्राम् । (57)

समुद्रावरणं याति (58)

दीपान् समाम्रम्य हतारिचक्रः (72).

Against whom is this bitter criticism directed ? Again and again the historian uses the word Rāghava. Did not Samudra Gupta try to revive the tradition of Rāma the Rāghava, from Ayodhyā ? Did not Kālidāsa render Samudra Gupta's conquest in Raghu's Digvijaya ? The hit is palpably against the builder of the last empire chronicled in the Purāṇa—the builder of the Gupta empire whom he has left unnamed in his chronicle. He means to say that a history which is worth remembering is a history of good deeds and just services ; the deeds which trample upon the rights and liberties of others are not to be canonised by the historian. If he were alive to-day, he might have said—'Remember Vikramāditya, the son of Samudra Gupta, but forget Samudra Gupta. Note only virtue, give no countenance to vice in any form or shape.' Samudra Gupta, like Alexander, killed the free spirit of his country. He destroyed the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas, who were the nursery of freedom ; and many others of their class. Once those free communities were wiped out, the recruiting ground for future heroes and patriots and statesmen disappeared. The Gupta themselves, both from their mother's side and their father's side, had descended from those republican communities. They themselves were crops of those seed-communities, but they totally destroyed them.

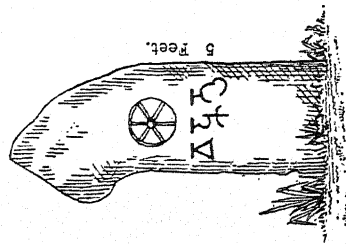
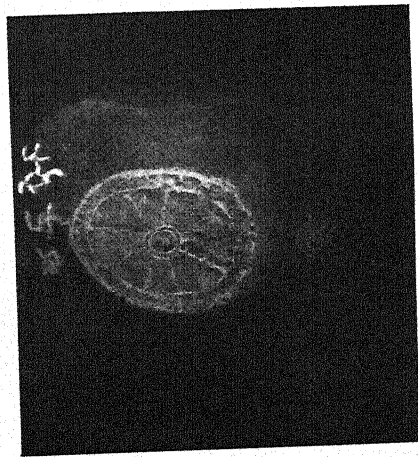
§211. The social system of the republican communities was based on equality. They knew no caste. They consisted of one caste only. The orthodox system, on the other hand, was based on inequality and caste where mass patriotism could not be mobilised as it could easily be done amongst the Mālavas, the Yaudheyas, the Mādrakas, the Pushyamitras, the Ābhiras and the Lichchhavis. They were the exercise-ground for state-making, for patriotism, for individual ambitions, capabilities and leadership. But under Samudra Gupta and his descendants they all merged into an organised, officialised, orthodox caste-system and an 'orthodox political system which recognised and fostered monarchy and imperialism. The seed-pod for the rise of a Kṛishṇa, the prophet of rightful war and the prophet of the cult of duty, the seed-pod to produce a Buddha, the prophet of a universal religion and universal

equality, was consumed for ever ; the seed-pod for the production of a future Bhāraśiva or a future Gupta was made extinct. And the Hindu sank. The Republics of Rajputana dissolved into the Rajputs who forgot all the traditions of their republican ancestors. And the Republics of the Punjab dissolved into the Jāts with all their past lost. The life-giving element was gone. The Hindus did not remember the name of Samudra Gupta with any gratitude, and when Alberūni came to India he was told that the Guptas were a wicked people. This is another view of that picture. They were tyrants to Hindu constitutional freedom, though excellent rulers to the individual subject.

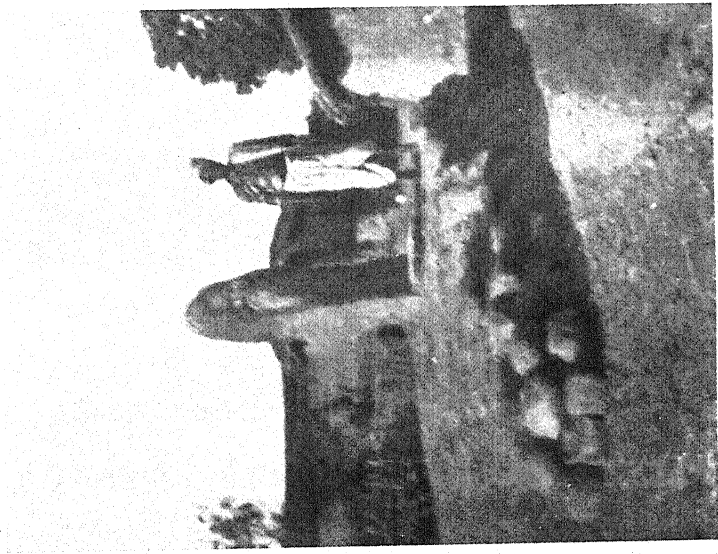
§212. The only thing which could appeal to the Hindu mind represented by the historian of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, whose political ethics never gave countenance to force and coercion, was a system like that of the Bhāraśivas, uniting in a federation of states with full individuality and individual life. The Bhāraśiva Federation was an enlargement of the *Sangha* organisation of the Hindu republics. It was a league of equals with a recognised leading power. If the Guptas had experimented that, they would have been better remembered by the Purāṇic historian. Following the historian of my country I would say : *Let us remember to-day only the good deeds of the Guptas and forget their imperialism.*



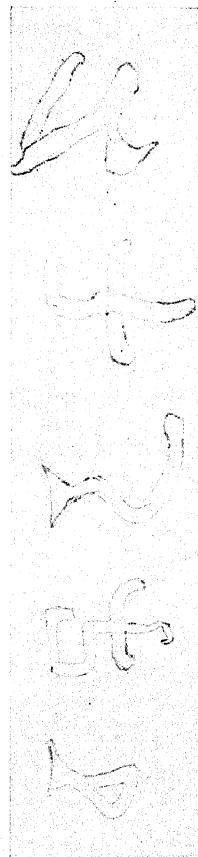
Durehā [Jāso] Pillar.



Cunningham's
drawing.



Durehā [Jāso] Pillar Inscription.



Eye-Copy tracing of letters.

APPENDIX A.

On the Durehā Vākāṭaka Pillar, and the Nachnā and Bhūbharā (Bhūmarā) Temples.

Since completing the *History* above I took a journey (December, 1932) to verify certain facts. The result is noted below.

Durehā is a flourishing village at a distance of about 4 miles (S.) from the town of Jāso, the seat of the Chief of Jāso. Jāso is a small Bundela principality on the borders of Nagod (Nagaudh), Baghelkhand, Central India. Cunningham visited Durehā and noticed a stone monument which he described in his *Reports*, Vol. XXI, p. 99 (Plate 27), as 'a natural *lingam*'. He gave an eye-copy of the inscription on it and a drawing of the monument. Since his time no one else went to the place to verify Cunningham's record. Suspecting the inscription to be of importance, in my last tour in Bundelkhand I made enquiries about the place *Dareda* as Cunningham had spelt it. I came to know from my friend Mr. Śaradā Prasad of Satna that the correct name of the village is *Durehā* and I motored with him to the place. The monument is by the side of the unmetalled road in the village, standing on an artificial elevation. It is not a lingam at all, but a pillar; the side facing the south is made smooth by chisel, while its back is rough as it was hewn out of the quarry. Unfortunately when I returned from Nachnā and took an impression of the inscription it had become dark and the operations had to be done in artificial light. Below the inscription which consists of one line there is a wheel with 8 spokes, just as on Rudrasena's coin and Prithivishena's inscriptions of Ganj and Nachnā. Cunningham gives this inscription below, not above, the wheel in his eye-copy. It seems that the drawing given by him was done from memory, not on the spot, as the order of the inscription and the wheel is

transposed and the shape of the stone is also not truly drawn. The stone is not round.¹

A flashlight photograph was taken after filling the lettering with French chalk, but as I could not fully follow the forms of the letters in darkness, the third letter was not fully filled in and its left-hand loop incision (which has come out in the impression²) was missed. There is a flaw in the stone to the right of the third letter which gives a false impression of there being a letter. It is produced by a higher level of the surface. The last two letters were completely missed by me on the stone in the darkness; but they have come out in the impression. I give a photograph of the whole stone to show its shape. The stone is painted white by the villagers and a few letters in white paint are written above the inscribed portion. It is now called *Maṅgalanātha* (*Śiva*).

The inscription reads *Vākāṭakānā[m]* which evidently refers to the royal *insigne* the wheel, *chakra*, below. The whole would read 'the chakra of the *Vākātakas*'. It was obviously set up in the *Vākāṭaka* territory.

Its letters belong to the early *Vākāṭaka* time. The first letter *Va* is earlier in form than the same letter in *Prithivīsheṇa*'s inscriptions. Its second letter *kā* agrees with the form of the same letter with the same value in the impression of *Prithivīsheṇa*'s inscription reproduced by General Cunningham in his plate (A.S.R., Vol. 21, plate XXVII, second inscription). The third letter *ṭa* has a wedge on the top and the box is not developed. The fourth letter *ka* has no box on its top; nor does the last letter *na* has the form of the time of *Prithivīsheṇa*, it belongs to an earlier type. *M* is also of an early form. Hence the majority of the letters appear to indicate a date earlier than that of the known inscriptions of the time of *Prithivīsheṇa*.

I may note here the distances between
important ancient sites in the area.

Durehā is about 5 miles to the north-west from Nachnā. Bhūbharā (Bhūmarā) to Khoh is 5 miles (to the south) across the hill. Ganj to Bhūbharā the distance is 13 miles. Khoh is on the southern side below a high range (about 1,500 ft.), and Nachnā below its northern slopes. Khoh is in the Nagod State

¹ See Plate IV.

² See Plate V.



Gond Type at Bhūmarā.

K .P. j.

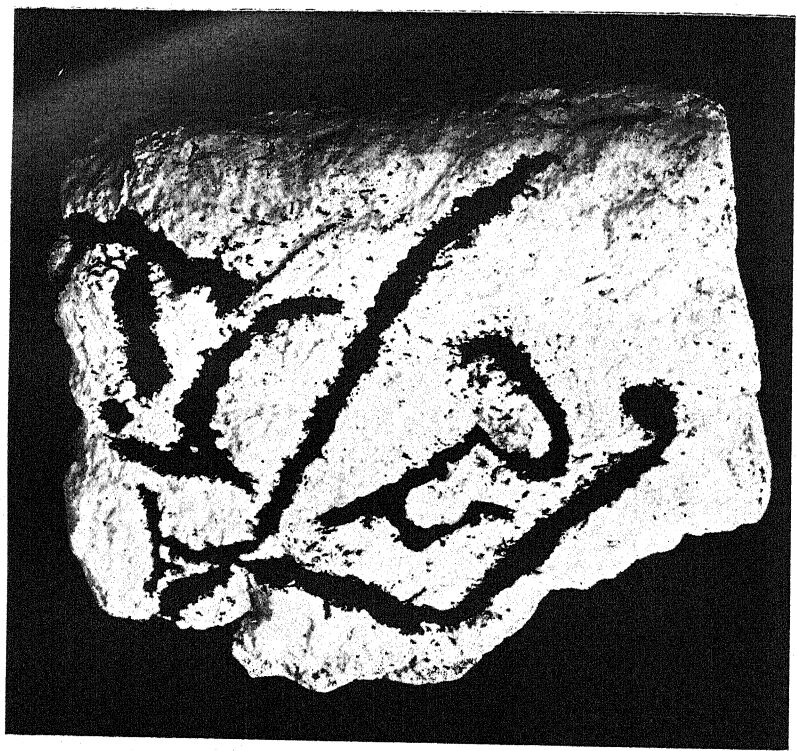
J. B. O. R. S., 1933.

Bhūbharā [Bhūmarā] Voussoir Bricks.



[Reverse Side]

K. P. J.



[Obverse Side]

while Nachnā is in Ajaygarh. Durehā is in Jāso. There were two large towns in the early centuries—one on the site of Ganj-Nachnā and the other at Khoh. These were twins, united and separated by the chain of the mountain on the top of which was situated the Temple of the so-called 'Bhūmarā', more common and correct pronunciation being *Bhūbharā*. The temple is near the village Majhgawāñ ('the middle village'), at a distance of 1½ miles from the village Bhūbharā [which everyone I met at the locality and at Nagod called by this name].

Bhūbharā is a village of the Goṇḍs, who have features as in Bharahut sculptures.¹ Bharahut and Bhūbharā are within Nagod territory and within about twenty miles from each other as the crow flies. In the middle lies Uch-harā, the residential fort of the Rajas of Nagod.

There was a brick-wall round the temple of Bhūbharā. Thousands of bricks still lie in a square round the temple remains. Most of these bricks where I examined the heap (East Gate) disclosed Brāhmī letters of c. 200 A.D. I have brought to the Patna Museum two such bricks. They are important as affording some reliable data on the date of the temple. The letters on the rough bottom-side read *darva-ārā[la]* on one and *darva* (l. 1) -*ārālā* (l. 2) on the other.² *Darva* is 'hood' and *ārāla* or *ārālā* is 'arch', from *ārā*, 'segment of a circle', 'a spoke'; cf. Sanskrit *arāla*. These marked bricks are, as a matter of fact, voussoir bricks. *Ārā* seems to mean a voussoir, and in *ārālā* we seem to discover the technical architectural Hindu term for the horse-shoe arch. The name *darva-ārālā*, 'hood-arch', may refer to the shape of the arch, or to the purpose of accommodating hoods of Nāga images. It is evident that the outer wall of the temple had niches with round arches for reception of images. The smooth face of one brick has a clear *bhū* inside a bigger letter which is a large *bhā*. This large letter is followed by a large *rā* and a *ya* with an anusvāra.

¹ See Plate VI. Female types have a still greater resemblance.

² See Plates VII and VIII. The surface of the bricks has been made lighter to bring out the lettering in the photograph.

The whole inscription reads *Bhūbhārāyam*, 'at Bhūbhārā.' The other brick on the top-side has *ā* at the left corner and *rā* at the right. They have arrow-marks to show the correct direction to the mason. The bricks are voussoir bricks in shape. The measurements of the bricks are: (1) $7'' \times 8'' \times 9''$ (one side broken, at present $6''$, originally probably $8''$ like the opposite side); the thickness is $2\frac{1}{2}''$, and the fabric very strong; (2) $8'' \times (7''$, broken) $9''$. It seems that bricks were made below the hill and were marked for *Bhūbhārā* which was evidently the name of the hill where the temple was built. Probably bricks were made together for several buildings and were thus allocated.

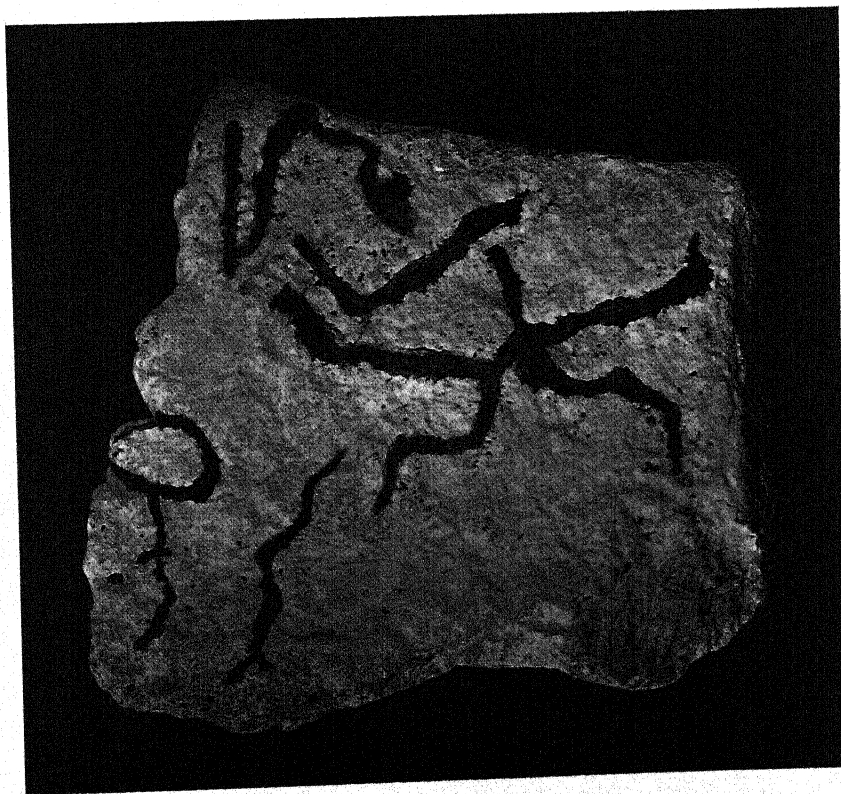
There being no inscription on the stone remains of the 'Bhūmarā' temple, the brick inscriptions are very useful in fixing the age of the temple. The temple cannot be later than 200 A.D., it should be, as the letter-forms certainly indicate, of about 150-200 A.D.

The name of the mukhalingam, now lying flat in the temple, is *Bhākul dev*, according to the 'Bhākul dev.' tradition current at Majhgawāñ and the neighbourhood. This seems to stand for *Bhāra-kula-deva*, 'the Deity of the *Bhāra-kula* (dynasty)'. The date of the bricks would warrant the inference that probably this was the Śiva-lingam founded by the Bhāra-Śiva king mentioned in the Vākātaka inscriptions. In any case its period is the Bhāraśiva period.

There are place-names in the neighbourhood, e.g. *Bharahaṭṭā* and *Bharauli*. Near Satna there is Place-names having *Bharjunā* where ancient sculptures are Bhāra or Bhāra. found. Pre-eminently in the same group of nomenclature and area stands the well-known *Bharahut*.

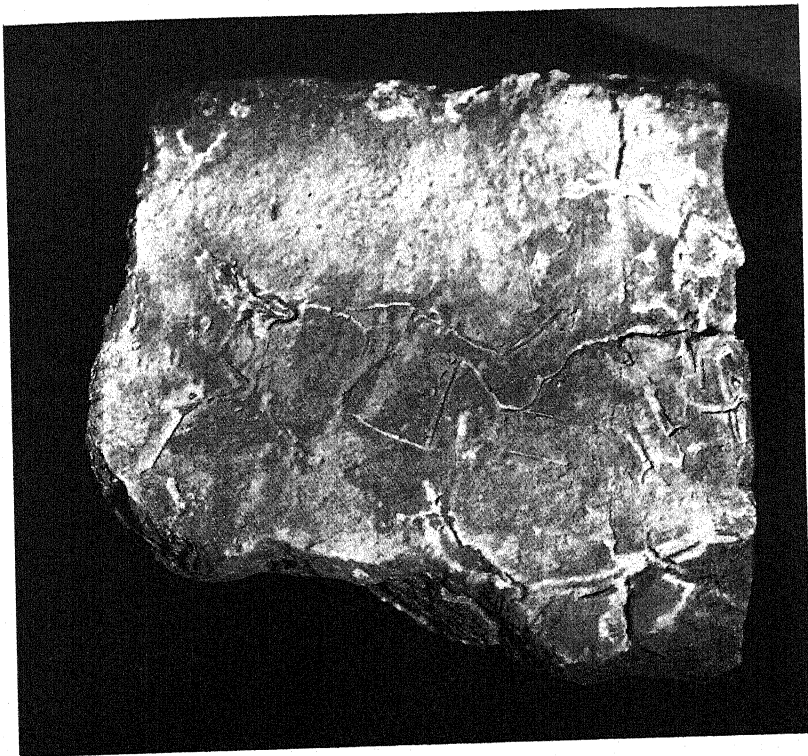
Bhūbharā [village] marked the boundary between the Gupta empire and the Vākātaka kingdom during the Gupta period, according to the boundary pillar inscription of Bhūbharā (*thārī pāṭhar*) which is traceable at present in the jungles. Bhūbharā and Majhgawāñ are in the thick of the jungle. We found fresh foot-prints of a pair of huge tigers who had walked back by the time of our return over our shoe-marks. Reports of similar temples on the hill still existing have reached me. The hill should be explored.

Bhūbharā [Bhūmarā] Voussoir Bricks.



[Reverse Side]

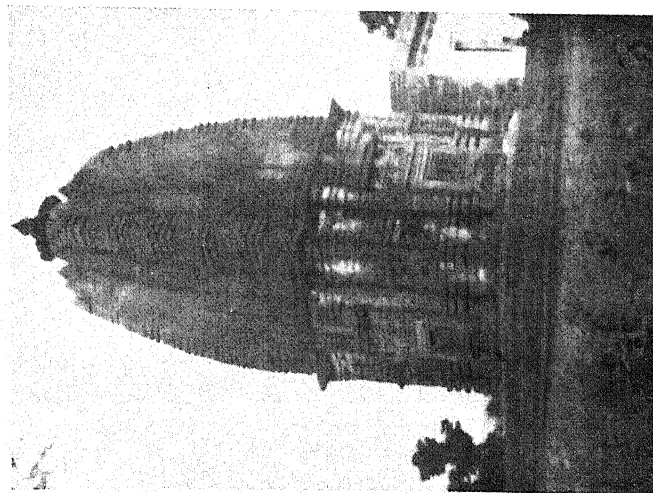
K. P. J.



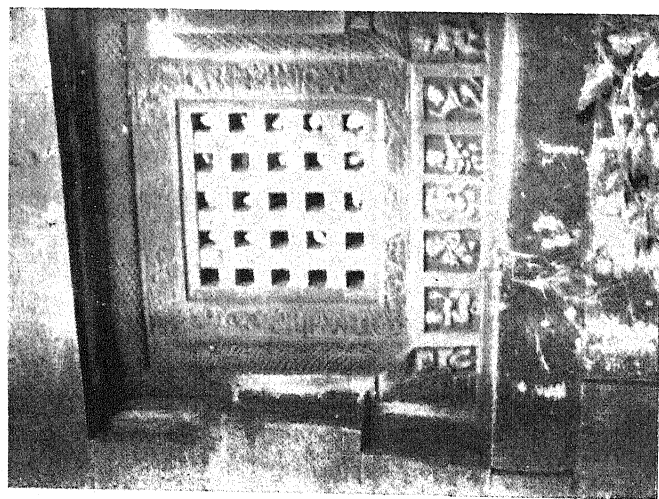
[Obverse Side]

J. B. O. R. S., 1933.

Nachnā Temples.



Bhairava-Siva (Chaturmukha) Temple
{Pinnacle over Āmalaka restored recently,
and Portico added.



A window in Pārvati Temple showing
Date-Palm Design.

The Bhūbharā temple has been subjected to modern vandalism. The glorious door with its jambs and sculptures has been removed; that is, the temple has been practically demolished; and the parts have been taken to the Indian Museum at Calcutta and to Fort Uch-harā, where numerous parts have been fortunately saved and preserved by Lal Saheb M.-Kumāra Bhārgavendra Singh, President of the Council of Nagod. But they are lying scattered. The exquisite face-lingam is lying uncared for in the jungle within a shrine which has been rendered tottering by the removal of the massive door and the sculptures which faced and lined the sides.¹ This link between Bharahut and the revived Hindu plastic art has been subjected to a fate worse than Bharahut.

The Nachnā temple has been the subject of a worse treatment. The famous Pārvatī temple has been, within the last few years, deprived of its outer walls completely.² With its pieces one side of the tower of the Śiva temple has been repaired by a local Brahmin,³ who is said to have discovered gold coins buried in jars at Nachnā. The walls of the Pārvatī temple imitating rocks and caves have thus wholly disappeared, and their animal sculptures which are amongst the most beautiful specimens of Hindu plastic art are either lying scattered on the ground or taken away. A few of them have been rescued by a friend of mine.

The Pārvatī temple and the Śiva temple are works of the same artists and are contemporary ones. Mr. Codrington is wrong in saying that the Śikhara of the temple of Śiva is a later construction and 'superimposed' (*Ancient India*, p. 61). I have examined the temples and had the advantage of the expert opinion of an engineer whom I had taken with myself. The

¹ Lal Saheb whose attention was drawn to the present condition of the temple has kindly promised to take steps to preserve what still remains.

² See the *Modern Review* (Calcutta), April, 1933, for its illustration.

³ See Plate IX. The room in front of the Śikhara temple is a recent addition. The side photographed shows the original śikhara, except for the pinnacle which is modern.

Śikhara temple is the earliest in India existing in its original form. The carvings and the technique are the precursor of the Gupta and the later art. The Śiva-faces on the lingam are superb.¹ One of them with a Bhairava expression has its palate wonderfully well done, which one realizes by feeling it. I hope, some artist will make a thorough study of the temple and sculptures on the spot, and some official attempt would be made to rescue the buildings and the remains.

A good datum on the age of the Nachnā buildings is the cult-figure of Śiva. The face to the south is Bhairava. Śiva was worshipped in his auspicious (Śiva) form by the

Age of Nachnā
Temples.

Bhāraśivas; the forms at Bhūbharā, and Nakṭi(Khoh) and the one discovered by me (see below) are all of that aspect.² The Vākātaka Rudrasena I, on the other hand, worshipped that god in the *Mahā-Bhairava* form (G.I., p. 236). It was interdicted to make Bhairava in the main shrine (*na mūlāyatane kāryo Bhairavas tu...* Matsya 258. 14). Hence we have his fierce face (*tīkshṇa-nāsāgra-daśanaḥ karālavadano mahān*; 258. 13) combined with other faces.³ Two more Bhairava-Śivas in the same style are found at Jāso, one on a platform in the village, fashioned in the same red stone as the Bhūbharā sculptures, and another in black stone in the Jāso temple (brought there and deposited from some neighbouring site). The Nachnā temples will go back to the time of Rudrasena I, for Prithivīsheṇa worshipped the god in the *Maheśvara* form (G.I., p. 237). The Pārvatī temple has the date-palm trunk design in one of its windows.⁴ This design is prominent at Bhūbharā. R. D. Banerji has pointed out the intimate structural and material affinity between the Pārvatī and Bhumara temples (*Memoir*, No. 16, p. 3). Nachnā is nearer Gupta Art and serves as a link between that and Bhūbharā.

Near the village of Bhūbharā close to a well under a tree I found a mukhalingam belonging to the same period as the Bhūbharā-Majhgawān

New discoveries.

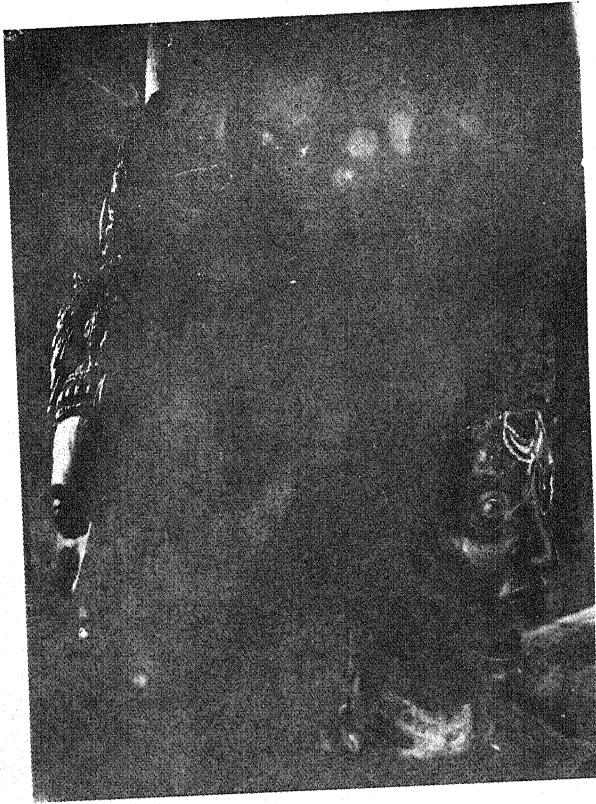
¹ See Plate X.

² See Plate XI.

³ See the two faces reproduced in Plate X. The sanctum is dark but for the windows. With difficulty this photograph was taken.

⁴ See Plate IX.

Vākāṭaka Śiva.



Two faces of
Bhairava-Śiva <Chaturmukha Lingam>
at Nachnā.

Bhāra=Śiva Śivas.



Bhūbarā [Bhūmarā] Śiva
[Eka=ukha Lingam] in the Temple.

K. P. J.



Eka=ukha=Śiva—Nakti=ki=talai,
Khoh (A. S. W. C., 1919-20).



Bhūbarā Eka=ukha Lingam Śiva
[Under tree near the Village]

Bhākul dev.¹ Between Ganj and Nachnā I found a square stone temple with a few sculptures on a *bāwali* (stepped well) which have exactly the same technique as the Nachnā sculptures. The temple contains a plain lingam. The spot is called Chauparā.

From Lal Saheb of Nagod and other persons I came to learn local traditions about the past dynasties which ruled over Uch-harā, Nachnā, and Nagaudh. The 'Bhars' are said to have been the former rulers of Nagaudh and Nachnā and the Sanyāsins, of Uch-harā. These Sanyāsins are the historical 'Parivrājaka Mahārājas' of the inscriptions, and 'the Bhars' might probably be the Bhāra-Śivas. There is no room in history from the Chandel times or rather from the Gupta times to the present day for a Bhar dynasty. It is possible that Mahārāja Jayanātha and his family who were neighbours of the Parivrājakas were a branch of the Bhāra-Śivas.

There is no Bhar village at Bhūbharā. But I was told by Lal Saheb, who is the adopted son of the late Chief of Nagaudh and knows every inch of the ground, that the Bhars in the State wear sacred thread and have the status of inferior Kshatriyas. They may or may not be connected with the Bhāra-Śivas. I am inclined to regard them as unconnected.

At Bhārahut I heard the tradition that there had been a Teli dynasty there. This probably refers to Tailapa, as in the proverb of 'Gāngū and Teli' (Gāngeyadeva and Tailapa).

¹ See Plate XI. Curiously enough, I found a similar, though later, sculpture at Koch, near Tikari, Gaya, indicating the Bhāraśiva influence in Magadha. [The Koch image will be illustrated in a subsequent issue of J.B.O.R.S.]

APPENDIX B.

On Chandravalli Inscription of Mayūraśarman.

The Archæological Survey of Mysore Annual Report, 1929, published in 1931, came to my hands after I had completed the above *History*. In the Report (p. 50 ff.) Dr. M. H. Krishna has published a new inscription of Mayūraśarman where Mayūraśarman's name clearly appears. This inscription may be compared with the Kadamba inscription of Maḷavalli in which I have read Mayūraśarman's name (§ 161). In both records he is 'Mayūraśamman'. In the new record, which is engraved on the embankment of a lake at Chandravalli by the fort of Chitaldrug in three short lines, Dr. Krishna has read certain geographical names as 'Pāriyātrika, Sakasthā[na], Sayindaka, Puṇāṭa, Mokari'. He has given a photograph of the rock which at places is very indistinct, and he has given a drawing (eye-copy) of the letters. From the photograph I have checked the reading which needs modification.

Dr. Krishna's reading of the first line I fully accept: it is:

(1) *Kadambāṇaṁ Mayūraśammanā [viṇimmi]aṁ*

The second and third lines he reads as

(2) *taṭākam, dūbha Trekūṭa Abhira Pallava Pāri-*

(3) *yātrika Sakasthā[na] Sayindaka Puṇāṭa Mokariṇā.*

And he has translated them as

'(Mayūraśarman) who defeated Trekūṭa, Abhira, Pallava, Pāriyātrika, Sakasthāna, Sayindaka, Puṇāṭa, and Mokari'.

But *Mokariṇā* will mean 'by Mokari', i.e. by Mayūraśarman a Mokari, *Mokariṇā* qualifying the above *Mayūraśarmanā*. Nor can *dūbha* be taken for 'defeated'. The reading is obviously not correct. Following the photograph I read the two lines thus:

[Symbols: between lines 1 and 2 there are symbols of the sun and moon, denoting perpetuity]

- (2) *taṭi*[.] Kāñchi-Trekūṭa-Ābhīra-Pallava-[pu]ri-
 (3) [yāti]keṇa Sātahanīstha-Sendraka-puri-damana-
 kāri[ṇā].

The three lines will mean :

‘ Mayūraśarmman, of the Kadambas, who marched against Kāñchi and Trekūṭa (Trikūṭa)—the Ābhīra and the Pallava capitals—and who subdued the Sendraka capital at ¹Sātahani, built the embankment ’.

The first two capitals were of the Pallavas and the Ābhīras respectively ; the order is wrong in the inscription ; having mentioned *Trekūṭa* the writer put down Ābhīra. The Sendraka seat seems to have been at *Sātahani* which name as the name of a province we already know. As the names of capitals are sought to be given, I am more inclined to take this *Sātahani* as the name of a town.

In *taṭi* the long *i* was seen by Dr. Krishna (p. 54), but he refused to read it, to connect with it the next *ka*. Dr. Krishna has drawn in his tracing the form *pu* after *Pallava* but has read it as *pa*, with the result that he obtains *Pāriyātrika*. The next letter *ṇa* he has missed. The supposed *ka* of his *sakasthāṇa* is clearly *ta*; *ha* and *nī* (the next letters) he has completely missed. Evidently a part of the ligature in *Sendraka* is taken by him as a part of a *y* which does not exist. There is an *i*- or *i*-mātrā on *r* (read by Dr. Krishna as *ṇā* of his *Puṇāṭa*); the suggestion of a straight line to the right at the tail-bend of the letter is no part of the letter which can be clearly seen under a magnifying glass.

It will be seen that Mayūraśarman has not yet assumed any royal title.

The date of the inscription on palæography would be *cir.* 300 A.D. The late Chalukyan form of *r* is to be noticed in *Sendraka*. Dr. Krishna's date (250 A.D.) is influenced by his wrong reading.

We are thankful to Dr. Krishna for bringing the record to light and for deciphering most of the letters, which must have entailed great labour.

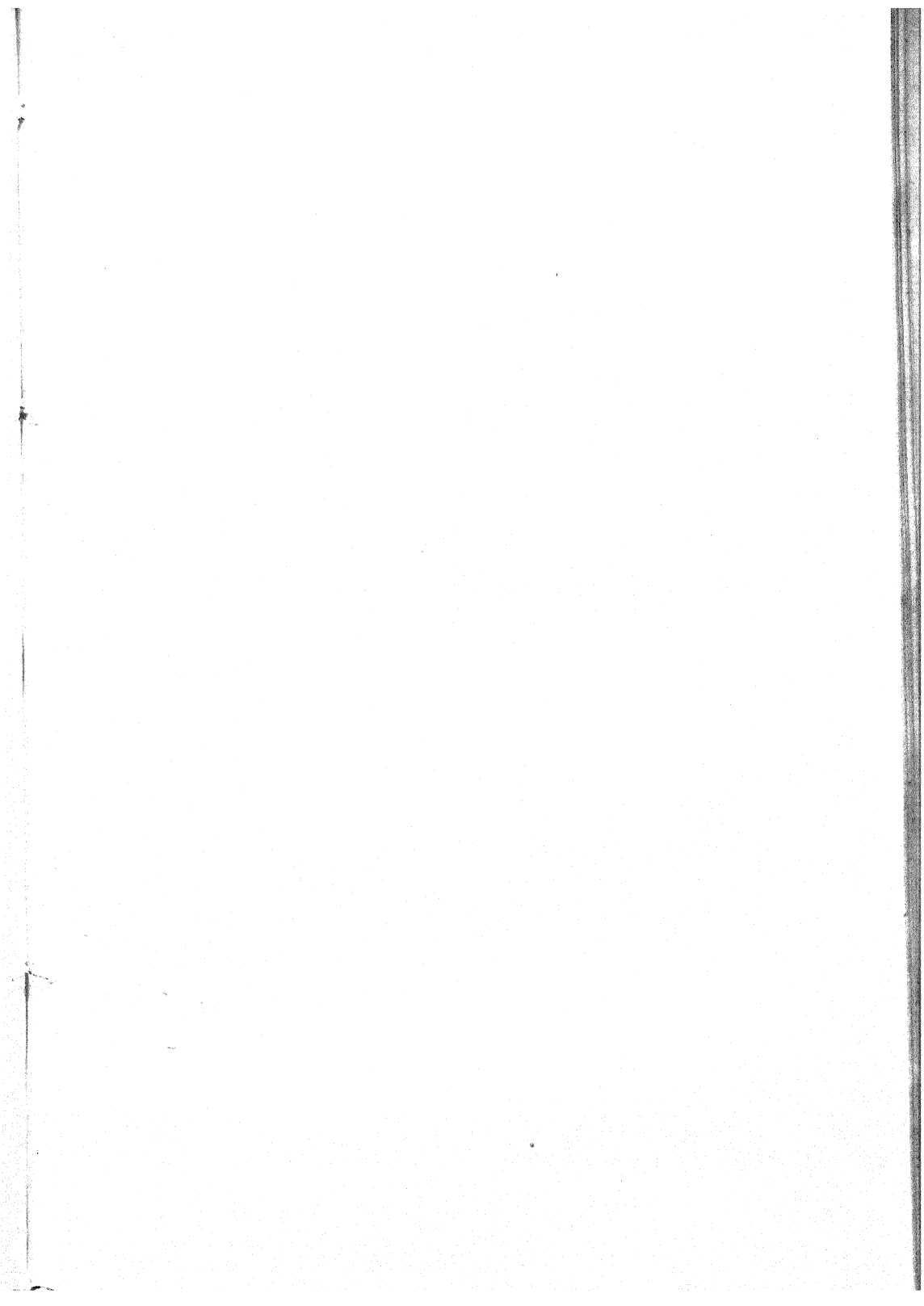
APPENDIX C.

On Chandrasena, and Nāga Marriage.

Chandra-sena (pp. 113, 117): On Chandrasena as a ruler in the district of Gaya see Cunningham, *Reports*, XVI, 41-42. General Cunningham heard the tradition at Dharāwat [a village near Kauwādol] that the king of the place was Chandrasena whose lake *Chandra Pokhar* measuring 2,000 ft. × 800 ft. is still existing. He is said to have married a fairy. His time was before Guṇamati, the Buddhist scholar (p. 46). Seals in Gupta characters were dug out by Cunningham at Dharāwat.

Nāga marriage and Kalyāṇavarman's marriage (pp. 113, 118): The marriage of Kalyāṇavarman was peculiar in that the young king did not go to Mathurā for his marriage; on the other hand the bride was brought to Pāṭaliputra. This custom of bringing the girl by her parent's party to the bridegroom's house for marriage was a Nāga custom, which has been brought out by Mr. Hira Lal Jain in his edition of the Jaina text the *Nāya* [= *Nāga*]-*Kumāra-chariṇi* of Pushpadanta, Karanjā Series, 1933 (p. xxvii).

N.B.—*Ajanṭā*: I have ascertained now that the correct pronunciation is *Ajanṭā*, not *Ajanṭā* which I adopted above from Vincent Smith [*E.H.I.*, 442].





On the Lwanl Glacier, October 1930.

II.—The Skirts of Nanda Devi—(*Continued*).

By the Vice-President.

IV. *The Goriganga valley.*

The ordinary route to Milam and the Untadhura Pass leaves the Pindari route at the bridge where formerly stood the signpost 'To Tibet', which was mentioned in the account of the route to the Pindar valley. Here instead of crossing the stream the traveller follows it up to its source. The first camping ground is at *Shama*, at 6,700 feet, on a pleasant spot high up on the hill-side, twelve miles from Kapkot, and fifty-two from Almora. The camping-ground is practically on the watershed; and the next stage is only of six miles, all down-hill to *Tejam* (3,182), a less pleasant camping-ground: but one which cannot easily be cut out in any arrangement for double marches, because a good bania's shop is on the camping-ground, and supplies can be there easily replenished. The downward march is so easy, except for the crossing of the Ramganga, that the journey from Kapkot to Tejam is often taken in one day (as a '*dabl parao*'); but Tejam is not a pleasant place in the hot weather months, infested with a peculiarly noisome biting fly; and if any double marches are to be done in these months, it would be worth while to take trouble to cut Tejam out, though in September and October it is pleasant enough. Tejam lies on the northern side of the Ramganga river, where it is joined by the Jakala; and the Ramganga is not bridged, and has to be forded. From the middle of October until the stream is swelled by the melting snows of the lower slopes of Nanda Kot the crossing is made very easy, with a temporary bridge where the water might reach the thighs, and merely involving wet feet for the rest. But in other parts of the year the crossing may be more difficult. Ordinarily in September, and until the monsoon is well-established at the end of June, no undue delay need be apprehended at the ford, where sturdy men from Tejam may be expected to be present to assist the laden coolies

in crossing the stream, which runs strongly, though the water is not cold. In the early part of September of 1931, when Mr. Hugh Rose came here, he had continuous heavy rain; and so had to make a long detour south from Shama to Berinag, where he joined the road leading from Bageswar to Thal, and crossed the Ramganga by the bridge there, ten miles north-east of Berinag, and twelve miles south of Tejam.

Tejam is comparatively low; and the camping ground is small and much frequented, with a bania's shop on one side of it. From here to Munsiri, the gate of the Milam valley, is seventeen miles, of which the first six go due north, up the valley of the Jakala. The track then turns to the east, and a steep climb leads to *Girgaon* (6,600), nine miles from Tejam, a pleasant camping place on the hill-side. From here it is an easy march to Munsiri. The pass is comparatively high for the outer ranges (9,000); as the road rises Cheena and Lariya Kanta stand out prominently on the south-west; at the pass the group of the Panch Chola, less than twenty miles distant, affords a view of startling beauty, if one is so fortunate as to find it unclouded. From the pass an easy descent leads to Munsiri, a comparatively large village which lies at the gate of the Milam valley.

Munsiri is an important village, with a post office and a rest-house which on the map is called the Ranthi rest-house, because that is the revenue mauza in which it lies. The furniture has during many years been allowed to fall into decay; but no grievance can be made of that, since anybody who reaches Munsiri will ordinarily be travelling with tents, and so be independent of bungalow furniture.

The provisions of Regulation V of 1873 have been applied to the area north of Munsiri, which forms the 'inner line' of the Regulation, which the European traveller may not enter without a permit, to be obtained from the Deputy Commissioner of Almora before setting out. If the traveller desires to enter Tibet, obtaining permission may not be so easy; but for the ordinary respectable European resident in India, whose word may be trusted when he says that he will not enter Tibet, the granting of the permit is a mere matter of form. A printed

list of stages and their lengths will probably have been sent by the Government Coolie Agency when application was first made to them. The length of the stages therein given is approximately correct on the route to Phurkiya, and on the Milam route up to Munsiri; but in the lower part of the Milam valley, these stages will be found in practice to be longer than the official distances, which do not take into account the diversions; the steep climbs and long descents where the road, if there ever was a road, has been swept away by avalanches. When Dr. Boeckh made the journey, there was an artificial road, built out from the cliffs, for a short distance; but I doubt whether there has ever been anything like an easy road between Laspa and Martoli. The first official stage after Munsiri is at Lilam, eight miles from Munsiri; but most travellers will push on to Rarar Gar, four miles farther on, since the difficulties of the road have hardly begun at Lilam. Two and a half miles from Lilam, the Ralam river joins the Goriganga, which here takes a sharp turn to the east for a mile or so, turning again to the north where it is joined by the Rarar Gar, which comes in from the left, flowing down from a hill four miles away, 16,755 feet high. Close to the junction of the streams is a camping ground, with a storm-shelter, such as will be found again later on in this valley at Baugdiar and Rilkot, and in the valleys of the tributary glaciers. References to shelters which must have been somewhat of this kind are to be found in the accounts of the earliest European travellers in Bashahr, so that they cannot be a new thing in the Himalaya. They give cramped shelter, with little head-room; but on occasion they may be found extremely useful: and at sight they call to mind similar shelters on approaches to the more frequented Alpine passes, as for instance, the Col de Balme. I do not know when they were first put up in the Goriganga valley and its tributaries; but they must be comparatively modern, because Robert Schlagintweit expressly noted that there were none.

The second official stage from Munsiri is at Baugdiar (8,550), eighteen miles from Munsiri. There is a tolerably good camping ground here, close to the place where the stream which flows from the Poting Glacier enters the Goriganga. But all

the camping grounds on this route are much the same; and if the traveller has camped at Rarar Gar, he will probably go on to Laspa. The valley narrows down, with comparatively great mountains on either side, until we reach the gorge which Dr. Kurt Boeckh compared to the *Via mala* of the Alps. The comparison is obvious; though this is more of a *via mala*: the Goriganga may be broader than the stripling Rhine, but the enclosing mountains are higher in proportion. Winter rain and snow has been deficient in the last two years; but there was something over the normal fall in 1929. The avalanches which followed in the *via mala* and beyond it destroyed the made road; but they brought down such a mass of snow to the Goriganga as to provide a comparatively level road for two miles or so, with the Goriganga roaring underneath, which has not yet perished. I have mentioned how Traill said that Laspa had suffered from excessive snowfall; but in normal conditions Laspa would probably always be cold. The traveller who may go up the valley in the autumn should be prepared to find Laspa as cold as any part of it, and should take precautions accordingly.

The third official stage from Munsiri is at Rilkot, 103 miles from Almora and twenty-three from Munsiri, where shelters will be found of the kind already described. Three miles beyond, in theory, but double the distance if that actually covered owing to the windings of the track is to be considered, is Martoli (11,070), a considerable village standing on a plateau above the Goriganga, with a singularly beautiful view to the north, of the high mountains beyond Milam. Here the Lwanl stream enters the Goriganga, flowing from the Lwanl Glacier, and fed by tributary glaciers from the south-eastern face of Nanda Devi (24,379), and from 21,624, 20,740, and Nanda Kot.

It was by this valley that Mr. and Mrs. Rutledge with General Wilson, approached Traill's Pass when they made their successful crossing in 1926. The valley, like other high valleys of the Himalaya, is frequented by shepherds in the summer; and the tracks which they have made to ascend it facilitate the approach to the glaciers. Following the right bank from Martoli, a comparatively good track leads to the village of



Nanda Devi from the Lwanl Glacier,
October 16th, 1930.

J. B. O. R. S., 1933.

Lwanl. Immediately before Lwanl is reached, the stream which flows out of the Salung Glacier from Nanda Kot has to be crossed. In the summer months, this affords no difficulty, because it is bridged; but in the autumn, when the valley is deserted, and the planks of the bridge have been removed, a detour up the Salung Gadh is necessary to find a tolerable ford. When these streams have to be crossed in the autumn, it is better to wade them than to be carried over on a jhibu or by a hardy follower, particularly in the afternoon, if the water is of such depth as to entail the possibility that a drop of it may enter a boot. I have known a frost-bitten toe to follow from a little water's entering a boot at 11,500 feet on a mid-October afternoon. It is not necessary in the autumn to go very high in this country to find the conditions described by Mr. Smythe as prevailing at higher altitudes earlier in the year: to be liable at the same time to sun-stroke from above, and to frost-bite from below. At that time of year, the valleys of the Goriganga and its affluents are very much colder than the Pindar valley; and it is well to take no risks.

The warmth of the sun is deceptive in the day-time; but when we were in the valley in 1930 we did not realise how deceptive it was; how cold the air really was; and how little one could judge the matter under the sun, until it was too late to ascertain what the temperature really was, because the thermometers had been sent ahead. A bag of clothes had become damp from the slip of a jhibu in crossing the Salung Gadh on the 16th of October. At half-past nine on the following morning at Martoli they were spread out on a stone wall to dry. After ten minutes on the wall, under the sun, which certainly seemed to be hot, they were frozen stiff, to our complete astonishment.

Above the eastern bank of the Salung Gadh, about four miles from Martoli: rather less if the bridge is standing, but considerably more if a ford has to be found, is the little village of Lwanl, the only village of the valley, deserted like the rest of the villages of the upper Goriganga valley from the beginning of October until the end of April, where there is a good camping ground. About a mile above Lwanl the main stream is

crossed, and the shepherds' track on the left bank is followed. Six miles from Lwanl is Narspan Patti (13,200), which will be recognised by an unmistakable landmark, the great overhanging rock which afforded shelter to Adolphe Schlagintweit in his descent from Traill's Pass in 1855. Far below Narspan Patti, a long stretch of avalanche snow, now become ice, covers the main stream of the Lwanl Gadh, which emerges from the ice in such a manner that one might well be deceived into imagining that this is the snout of the Lwanl Glacier, particularly since the ice-cave is at about the height at which the snout would be naturally expected to occur. But the appearance is deceptive; whatever the reason may be, the snout of the Lwanl Glacier is exceptionally high for this area, and the Lwanl Gadh will be found to be flowing, a broad, shallow, cold stream, far above Narspan Patti. The last of the shelters, of the kind which has been described, will be found a mile and a half beyond Narspan Patti; the broad and shallow glacier stream must be crossed to reach it; and the snout of the glacier is about half a mile above it.

Dr. Longstaff, accompanied by Alexis and Henri Brocherel of Courmayeur, came to Narspan Patti on the 6th of June, 1905. He ascended on the 7th as far as the snout of the northern glacier which flows into the Lwanl from Nanda Devi, and leaving his coolies behind, camped at 17,400 feet with the two guides. On the next day he reached 19,350 feet on the southern spur of the eastern peak of Nanda Devi; but on the 9th, after ascending to over 20,000 feet, he abandoned the attempt to climb the mountain. It appeared to be clear that to continue the attempt would mean at least two more nights in the snow; and to be extremely doubtful whether the ascent was practicable, owing to the steepness of the ridge and the imminent danger of avalanches. Dr. Longstaff accordingly came down and returned to Narspan Patti.

On the 10th of June he crossed the glacier stream by a snow bridge, and climbed towards Nanda Kot. He camped at 16,550 feet, whence he sent his coolies back to the Lwanl Glacier. On the 11th the climbers set out at 3-45 a.m. They reached the north-eastern ridge of Nanda Kot at 20,000 feet at



Milam Village

J. B. O. R. S., 1933.

8-45 a.m. and proceeded to climb it. They ascended the ridge to over 21,000 feet; but as the ridge became steeper and narrower the snow became worse, and the danger of starting an avalanche made it impossible to proceed, so this attempt also was abandoned.

Dr. Longstaff then decided to see what might be done by way of the Salung Glacier, whose outfall flows into the Lwanl stream just below Lwanl village, and to try to cross by the head of the Salung to the Poting Glacier, which flows from the south-eastern ridge of Nanda Kot, the source of the stream which joins the Goriganga at Baugdiar. He sent his main camp to Baugdiar, taking light equipment up the Salung valley. On the 17th of June, he camped on the glacier at 15,600. On the 18th, he started at 3 a.m., reached the head of the glacier at 8 a.m., and crossed to the Poting. He remarks that Nanda Kot from the pass looked magnificent but impracticable; but the pass at the head of the Poting valley to the Pindari Glacier looked as if it were practicable. The descent from the head of the Poting Glacier to the lower valley was found to be difficult.¹

According to the official list of stages, Milam is only thirty miles from Munsiri, and only seven miles from Rilkot. Milam is actually about eight miles from Martoli; and it would be well to work on the assumption that from Martoli to Munsiri is something over thirty miles, probably thirty-two. From Martoli onwards the route is easier. There are tracks on both sides of the river; the track on the right bank, the Martoli side, is for some reason more used than the other, though it is the worse of the two. The late traveller, unless he wishes to explore the Panchu valley, will do well to cross the Goriganga by the bridge which leads to Burphu, a little village which stands out prominently on the left bank. Milam stands on a peninsula where the Goriganga, flowing down from the complicated glacier system of the Untadhura valley and from glaciers to the north-west, joins the Milam Glacier stream: and one or other of the rivers must be crossed. Over the Goriganga

¹ A.J., XXIII, No. 172, August, 1906.

there is a bridge so constructed that it cannot be dismantled, and so high above the river that it is safe. On the Milam stream there is a bridge which is removed as soon as Milam is deserted, so that the early or late traveller will have to wade. The stream is only thigh deep; but it runs strong, and the temperature of the water, a little below where it has emerged from the snout of the glacier is about 36°F, a temperature which is apt to be paralysing unless one is quick; and there the timid follower becomes a cause of danger.

Another reason for taking the left bank, which will naturally weigh with many visitors to Milam, is that baral are to be found in the valleys on that side, and more rarely on the other. But if any exploration of the Panchu valley is contemplated, the right bank must be followed. Opposite Panchu, which is five miles from Martoli, if cloud should be absent, there will be a sudden and startling view of Nanda Devi in all her glory, ten miles distant, beautiful beyond anything that has hitherto been seen, unless the Lwanl valley has been ascended. She looks near; but the appearance is deceptive. Dr. Longstaff explored the Panchu valley in 1905 with his two guides; but he found nothing at the head of it which indicated that an approach to Nanda Devi was to be found by this route. On the 31st of May, he bivouacked on the right lateral moraine at 14,600 feet, whence he climbed to the head of the glacier at 18,000, and there, turning to the left, he descended to the Lwanl Glacier, to which he subsequently returned, to make the gallant but unsuccessful attempt on Nanda Devi which has been already described. On the Lwanl Glacier he kept to the left bank, and followed the track to Mapa (midway between Martoli and Panchu), which is shown on the survey map as the end of the road which begins at Almora and leads to Phurkiya, crosses the head of the Pindari Glacier by Traill's Pass, descends the Lwanl Glacier, and ends at Mapa.

Milam (11,250) is the highest inhabited village of this valley. It stands on the left bank of the considerable stream which flows from the Milam Glacier on a peninsula made by the other branch of the Goriganga as it flows down from the mass of glaciers which lead to the Untadhura Pass, and from other

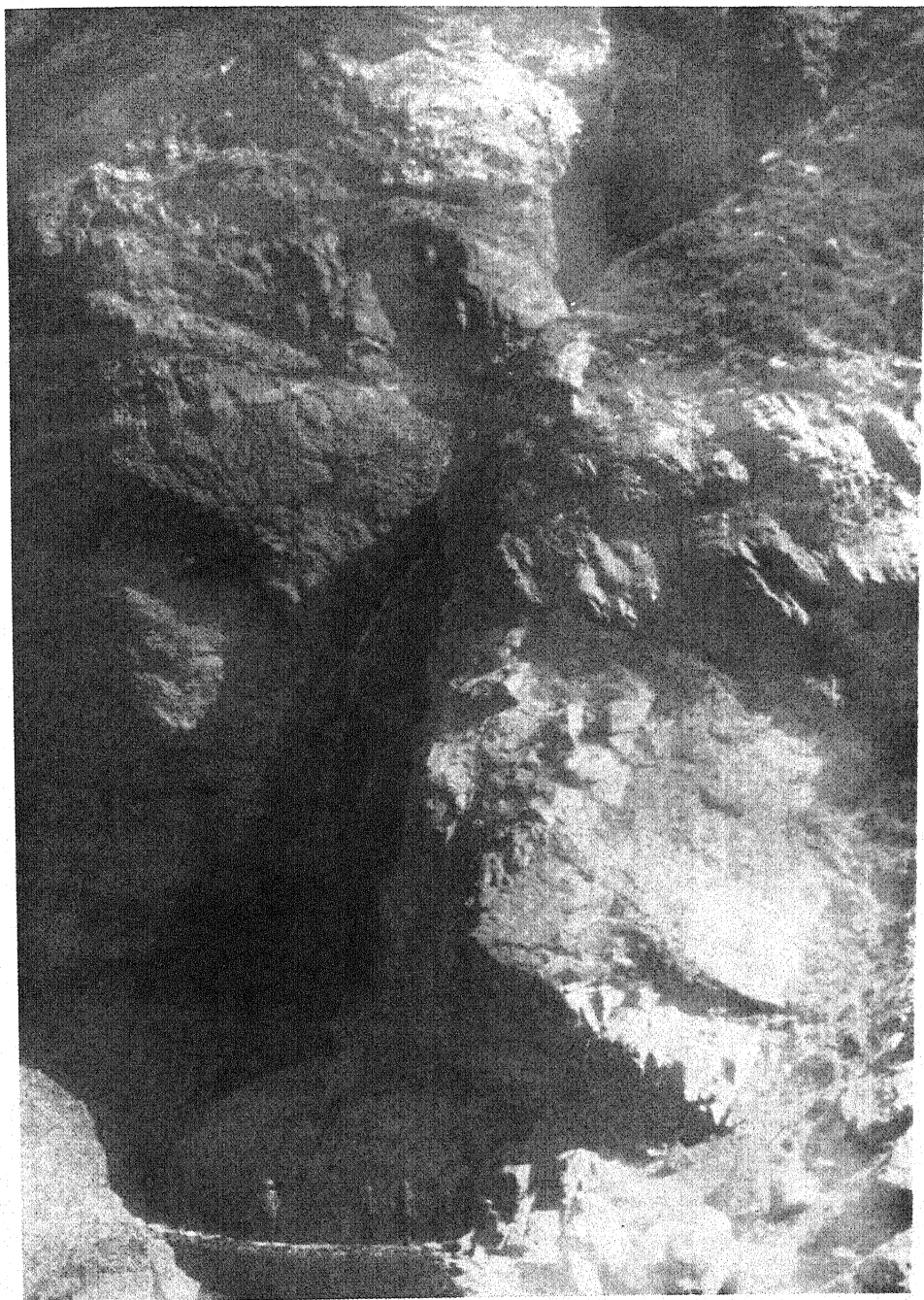
glaciers farther west, leading to the old traditional Johar Pass. It has a Post Office in the summer, which is closed when the village is abandoned at the beginning of October, with a postmaster of an exceptional kind (which indeed would be necessary in such a station), who regulates the village, and facilitates arrangements for the rare European traveller when he desires to go farther, when the means of transport must be changed. Captain Bain-Smith, while greatly appreciating the work of the postmaster, whom he admires for his efficiency in general, has suggested to me that the village postman of Milam deserves also to be regarded as something out of the ordinary, since he has on occasion crossed what is ordinarily regarded as a difficult mountaineer's pass to deliver an unstamped postcard.

The glacier is contained by the north-eastern spur of the Nanda Devi massif which, always high on the western side of the glacier, with peaks of 21,772 and 22,940 feet, rises to 23,220 towards the north. Here it bends round to the south-east, rising to 22,400 before it falls gradually to about 15,000 feet above Milam itself. The main glacier flows for eleven miles from the slopes of 23,220 to the snout, two miles above Milam, fed by five large glaciers from the Nanda Devi side, and by at least three from the east. The moraines are steep and shaly; baral are to be found on them and on the hills about Milam; and the sportsman in search of game, and any traveller whose time is limited, may well make Milam his base, lest time which might be more profitably spent should be taken in merely travelling from one camp to the next.

The glacier affords large opportunities of exploration to the mountaineer who may seek to find a pass to the north, or a route to the Nanda Devi basin by one of the tributary glaciers of the right bank. Dr. Kurt Boeckh attempted vainly to ascend one of the tributary glaciers, in the hope of entering the Nanda Devi basin, and of reaching the Ganges valley on the other side after crossing it. His attempt failed at the outset, because his coolies, casually picked up as he went along, sensibly declined to follow him. Indeed, his scheme, as he conceived it, was not practicable; and the late Arnold

Mumm remarked in his *Five Months in the Himalaya*, that if they had been able to reach the summit ridge, the party might have been able to descend into the great basin surrounding Nanda Devi, but a party consisting mainly of loaded coolies would probably not have been able to get out of it again, except by the way they came.

I have mentioned how, from the first week of October until the end of April, all the villages of the Goriganga valley and its tributaries are deserted, and the planks of the bridges are removed, lest they should be swept away by avalanche or flood. Indeed, a journey up the valley at the beginning of October, is made difficult by the fact that the travellers have to go up against the exodus of the whole population, with their cattle, sheep and goats, which on that rough and narrow track, makes the upward journey hard. At Milam on the 6th of October, 1930, the solitary inhabitant was a trapper who had stayed behind to catch marmots and foxes; and a fortnight later the whole valley was deserted, except at Baugdiar, where it was apparent that somebody had stayed behind, from the newly-set traps which were lying about the paths. Traill tells us that on one occasion while he was Commissioner, Milam was plundered by a band of Tibetans during the periodical absence of its inhabitants; but ordinarily anything which the population may leave behind them during the winter is sufficiently protected by the difficulty of access to the place at that period.



Crossing the Doongnala < Goriganga > at Milam.

III.—Pāli Plate of Gôvindachandra of Kanauj 1171 V.S.

By A. C. Banerji, M.A., Calcutta.

This is a single copperplate inscribed on one side, measuring 1' 5" by 1' 1" containing eighteen lines of writing. At the bottom of the plate there is a hole for the seal; but both the seal and the concluding portion of the grant are missing. The record therefore abruptly ends with the words *Bhādrapadē māsi*.

This copperplate comes from the village of Pāli in the pargana Dhuriarpur of the Gorakhpur district in the United Provinces. It was presented to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, by Mr. Hoey, then Magistrate of Gorakhpur.¹ It was noticed for the first time by the late Prof. Kielhorn²; it has also been noticed by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in his *Lists of Inscriptions of Northern India* (No. 186). Two copies of impressions of this plate were found together with those of Don Buzurg plates of the same king, among the papers of my father (the late R. D. Banerji), and it is being edited from them.

This is a land grant of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Gôvindachandradēva* of Kanauj. It records the grant of the village of Pāli and others in the *Saruvārāṇavala pathaka* of *Sirasī pattala*, to certain person (the name of the donee and the concluding portion of the gift are lost).

The characters of the inscription are North Indian script of the early Mediæval period commonly known as the Nāgari script. The language is pure Sanskrit, and the extant portion is written partly in prose and partly in verse. As regards orthography we might note that *śa* is always expressed by *sa*. Another characteristic of this grant is that certain portions which occur in other charters are omitted here. Thus in line 13 of this inscription, after the imperial epithets of the

¹ *Catalogue of Archaeological Exhibits, Provincial Museum, Lucknow*, Pt. I, p. 113, No. E. 15.

² *E.I.*, V, p. 114, fn. 4.

donor and before his name the words *aśvapati gajapati* *vāchaspati* which occur for example in the Kamauli grants are omitted here.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that this is the earliest grant of Gôvindachandradêva (as king) so far known. Three other grants, dated in 1161, 1162, 1166, were issued during the reign of his father Madanapâladêva, and Gôvindachandra is distinctly mentioned there as *Mahārājaputra*.¹ Up till now the Kamauli grant of the same year issued in *Kārttikamāsa* was considered the earliest²; but this record, issued as it was in the month of *Bhādrapada*, antedates the former by a month. The village granted is to be identified with the village of the same name in the Gorakhpur district, but the other place names cannot be identified.

A historical outline of Gôvindachandra's reign will not be out of place here. Mahārājādhirāja Gôvindachandradêva was undoubtedly the greatest monarch of his dynasty. Quite a large number of his land grants has been discovered. While still a crown prince he is credited with having defeated the Turushkas many times, and in one of which he was able to save the sacred city of Benares from the vandalism of the barbarians. The Maner, Lār, and Saheth-Maheth copperplates prove that in the east Gôvindachandra's dominions extended up to Magadha if not to parts of Bengal proper. The Maner plates of V.S. 1183 record the grant of the villages of Guṇāve and Padali in the Maniārapattala to a Brāhmaṇa named Gaṇēśvaraśarmaṇ.³ While the Lār plates show that in V.S. 1202 his empire extended up to Munghyr.⁴ The Saheth-Maheth plates not only confirm our supposition that Magadha was included within Gāhaḍavāla dominions, but have also enabled the scholars to correctly identify the position of the ancient city of Śrāvastī. The extension of the dominion of Kanauj kings over Magadha does not seem to be improbable if we remember the political condition of eastern India at this time. The empire of the Pālas, like many other empires of Indian history,

¹ *I.A.*, XIV, p. 103; *E.I.*, II, p. 359; *I.A.*, XVIII, p. 15.

² *E.I.*, IV, pp. 101 ff. b.

³ *J.A.S.B.*, XVIII (N.S.), pp. 81-4.

⁴ *E.I.*, VII, pp. 98 ff.

had disappeared after a short revival by Rāmapāla; and in the first quarter of the twelfth century, when the Senas were trying to establish themselves in lower Bengal, and the Pāla *roi faineants* trying to maintain their lost glory, the neighbouring province of Magadha lay at the mercy of any ambitious North Indian sovereign who chose to lead a few thousand men into it. Such was the degeneration of a country, whose conquering legions had once defeated the proud Greeks under Seleukosh and established an empire from the foothills of the Hindukush to the Krishna on south. No Pushyamitra, no Samudragupta, arose once more to revive the fallen fortunes of Imperial Magadha. A half-finished inscription (probably of the time of Gôvindachandra) found in *Gaṅgāikōṇḍachôlapuram* proves some sort of intercourse between Kanauj and the distant southern capital. What is exactly the import of the record we do not know, therefore it is rash to arrive at any new conclusion like Mr. Sur.¹ The remarks of late Mr. Venkkaya who drew our attention to this inscription for the first time are quoted below. "Before closing the section dealing with the Gāhaḍvālas, it is necessary to refer to a damaged and incomplete inscription of the dynasty found as far south as *Gaṅgāikōṇḍachôlapuram* the ancient Chôla capital, in the Trichinapalli district of the Madras Presidency. The inscription forms a part of the record of the forty-first year of the reign of the Chôla Emperor Kulôttuṅga I, corresponding to 1110-11 A.D.; and thus belongs to the interval between the latest known date of Madanapāla and the earliest of Gôvindachandra. For some reason or other the proposed grant was not made, or was not engraved in full on the stone. But what is actually found on the stone may be taken to show that some sort of relationship or connection existed between the Gāhaḍvālas of Kanauj and the Chôlas of Tanjore. There is also some reason to suppose that the Gāhaḍvālas might have introduced the worship of the Sun into the Chôla country."²

¹ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1930, pp. 56 ff.

² *A.R.A.S.I.*, 1907-8, p. 228. A short transcription of it appeared in *Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 175.

It is not in war alone that Gôvindachandra distinguished himself. Religion, charity, and learning found an ideal patron in him. In many of his records he is described as *vividha-vichāra-vidyā-vāchaspati*. Lakshmīdhara the famous author of *Vyavahāra-kalpataru* was his *Sāndhivigrahika*. On his death Gôvindachandra was succeeded by Vijayachandra.

TEXT.

1. Ōm¹ svasti || ^(a)Akuṇṭhōtkanṭha-vaikuṇṭha-kanṭha-piṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ | samrambhaḥ surat-ārambhē sa sriyaḥ śrē-yasē=stu vaḥ || ^(b)Āsīd=asita²-dyuti-vansa³jā-

2. ta-kshmāpāla-mālāsu divaṇ=gatāsu⁴ | sākshād=viva-svān=iva bhūri-dhāmnā nāmnā Yasôvighrahaity=udāraḥ || ^(a)Ta-t-sutô=bhūn Mahichandraś=chandra-dhāma-

3. nibhamnijam | yēn=āpāram=akupārapārē vyāpāritam yasaḥ⁵ || ^(c)Tasy=ābhut=tanayô nay-āika-rasikaḥ krānta-dvishan-maṇḍalô vidhvast-ôddhata-dhita(ra)-yô-

4. -dha-timirāḥ Śrī-Chandradēvô nripaḥ | yēn=ôdāratara-pratāpa-samit-āsēsha-prajôpadravam śrīmad-Gādhīpur-ādhirājyam=asaman=dôr-vvikramēṇ=ārjjitam ||

5. ^(d)Tirthāni-kāsi-kusik-ôttarakôsal-Ēndrasthāniya-kāni paripālayat=ābhigamyā | hemātma-tulyam-anisan dadatā dvijēbhyo yēn=ānki-

6. tā vasumatī satasas=tulābhiḥ || Tasy-ātma-jô Madanapāla iti-kshitindra-chuḍāmaṇir-vvijayatē nija-gôtra chandraḥ | yasy-ābhishe[ka]-kalasô-lla-

7. sitaiḥ payôbhiḥ prakshālitam kali-rajah-pāṭalam dharityāḥ || ^(c)Yasy-āsīd-vijaya-prayāṇa-samayē tuṅgāchal-ôch-chais-chalan-mādyat kumbhi-pada-kramāsama-bhara bhra-

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

^(a) Metre : Anuṣṭubha.

^(b) Metre : Indravajra.

² Read *asita*.

⁴ Read *divam-gatāsu*.

^(c) Metre : Śārdulavikṛīḍitam.

^(d) Metre : Vasantatilakā.

³ Read *varṇsa*.

⁵ Read *yasaḥ*.

8. syan=mahī maṇḍalē | chūḍāratna-vibhinna-tālugalita-styān-asrig-udbhāsitaḥ Sēshaḥ pēsha-chusād¹=iva kshanam-asau krôḍē-nilin-ānanaḥ || (e) Tasmād=ajā-

9. yata nij-āyata-vāhuvalli vaṁddh-āvaruddha nava-rājya-gaja-narēndrah | sandr-āmṛita-dravamucham prabhavô gāvam yô Gôvindachandra-iti-chandra iv=āmbu rāsēḥ ||

10. Na (f)katham-apy=ālabhanta raṇa-kshamāms=tisri-shu dikshu gajān-atha Vajrinaḥ | kakubhi cha bhramur-Abhramuvallabha²-pratibhaṭā-iva yasya ghaṭā-gajāḥ || Sô=yam sa-

11. masta rāja-chakra saṁsēvita charaṇaḥ sa cha parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēsvara-paramamāhēsvara-nijabhujôpārjita-Śrī Kanyaku-³

12. bjādhipatyā-Śrī Chamṁradēva pādānudhyāta parama-bhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja-paramēsvara paramamāhēsvara Śrīmad-Madanapāladēva-pādānudhyā-

13. ta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēsvaram-paramamāhēsvara Śrīmad-Gôvindachandradēvô vijayī || Saruvārāṇavala pathaka Si-

14. rasi pattal-āyām Pāligrāma-prabhṛitigrāmēshu dattaḥ parinishṭh-āya mayā.... bdi hala-trimsad⁴=aṅkē hala 30 tad-ētēshu grāmēshu

15. nivāsina-nikhila-janapadān-upagatān=api-cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-mantri-purôhita-pratihāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍā-g-ārik-āksha-

16. paṭalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntaḥpurika-dūta-kari-tu-raga-paṭṭanākarasthānagôkulādhikāri-purushān sam-ājñāpaya-ti-bôdhayaty=ādisa-

¹ Read *vasād*.

(e) Metre: Vasantatilakā.

(f) Metre: Drutavilambitam.

² Read *bhramar=abhramavallabha*.

³ Read *Kānyakubja*.

The other inscriptions have *āsvapati gajapati*, *vāchaspati* before *Śrīmad*, cf. *E.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 101 ff.

⁴ Read *trimsad*.

17. ti¹ cha yathā-viditam=astu bhavatām yath-ōparili-
khita-grāma sa-jala-sthala sa-loha-lavaṇ-ākara sa-madhūka-
chūta-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-tṛṇa-yū-

18. ti-gochara-paryanta sa-sīma-paryanta chatur-āghaṭa-
visuddha² sa-gartt-ōshara ēka-saptaty=ādhika-sat-aikā-dasa³-
saṁvatsarē Bhādrapadē māsi.....

¹ Read *ādisati*.

² Read *visuddhaḥ*.

³ Read *sat-aikā-dasa*.

18

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's office on Sunday, November 6th, 1932.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (Vice-President).
Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.
Mr. Sham Bahadur.
Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.
Mr. G. E. Fawcus.
Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on April 24th, 1932.

2. Passed the monthly accounts for the months April to September, 1932.

Resolved that to enable the Society to settle arrears incurred in connexion with the printing of its Journal the Hon'ble the Minister of Education be requested to assist the Society with the sum of Rs. 1,000 from his discretionary grant.

3. Resolved that the following periodicals be put on the Society's exchange list:—

Orientalia-Pontificio Instituto Biblico, Roma.

Hindustani Academy, Allahabad.

The Journal of the University of Bombay.

Resolved further that the Editors of 'Weiner Beitrage' be requested to send specimen copies of their periodical for consideration.

Resolved further that the Council regrets that it is unable to place the following periodicals on its exchange list:—

Federated India, Madras.

The Assam Research Society.

Rajwade Sansodhak Mandal, Dhulia.

Saqui, Secunderabad.

4. Elected the following new members:—

Vasudeva Sharan Agarwala, Esq., M.A., LL.B., Curator,
Curzon Museum, Muttra.

Sri Ram Sharma, Esq., M.A., Professor of History, D.A.V.
College, Lahore.

Motishanker S. Desai, Esq., Honorary Secretary, Watson
Museum, Rajkot.

Hira Lal, Esq., Digtha Kothi, Patna.

Vidyasagar Sadasiva Bakhle, Esq., M.A., LL.B., Advocate,
Satara City.

Sivanandana Thakur, Esq., M.A., Head Pandit, Patna
High School, Patna.

Ram Shankar Tripathi, Esq., M.A., Ph.D. (London),
Benares Hindu University, Benares.

5. Wrote off the arrears of subscription due from the
following members who are now dead:—

Phanindranath Bose, Esq., Nalanda	..	Rs. 24.
Jagannath Das, Esq., Benares	..	Rs. 10.
Siveswara Dayal, Esq., Patna	..	Rs. 12.
Sahadevanarain Pandey, Bhagalpur	..	Rs. 60.

6. Resolved that the following bills for the June issue
and that the bills for the September–December issue of the
Journal be paid:—

Bill No.		Date.		Amount.	
				Rs. A. P.	
3572	..	12-7-32	..	822	6 6
3573	..	"	..	76	0 0
3574	..	"	..	6	4 0
3575	..	"	..	14	4 0
3576	..	"	..	8	4 0
3577	..	"	..	8	4 0
3578	..	"	..	2	4 0
3579	..	"	..	2	4 0
3580	..	"	..	12	4 0
3581	..	"	..	74	12 0
3582	..	"	..	10	4 0
3583	..	"	..	3	0 0
TOTAL				1,040	2 6

7. Read a letter, dated November 5th, 1932, from the Local Secretary of the Indian Science Congress requesting permission to use materials published in the Society's Journal for the preparation of the Congress' handbook.

Resolved that permission be granted.

8. Resolved that Mr. K. P. Jayaswal be granted permission to take at his own cost extra reprints of his article 'The History of India from 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.'

J. L. HILL,

9th November, 1932.

Honorary General Secretary.

**Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the
Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in
the Society's office on Sunday, the 5th of
February, 1933.**

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (in the Chair).

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council, held on November 6th, 1932.

2. Passed the monthly accounts from October to December, 1932.

Resolved on a motion of the Chair that the thanks of the Council be conveyed to Babu Hira Lal for his generous donation of Rs. 320.

Resolved further that this amount be appropriated to the uses of the Society's Journal.

3. Considered the advisability of placing Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara and Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala Quarterly on the Society's exchange list.

Resolved that the former be put on the exchange list, but that the Council regretted its inability to place the latter on its exchange list.

4. Elected the following new members :—

Mr. Lakshmi Narayana Singh, Patna.

Mr. S. Banerji, Fyzabad.

Prof. A. S. Altekar, Benares.

5. Read and considered the following letters :—

(1) Letter No. 26 R.S./1, dated the 30th October, 1932, from the United Press, Patna.

(2) Letter, dated the 9th November, 1932, from the Patna Publishing and Agency Co., Patna.

(3) Letter, dated the 9th January, 1933, from the Calcutta Oriental Press.

6. Resolved that, subject to the convenience of His Excellency the President, the Annual General Meeting of the Society be held on March 23rd, 1933.

Resolved further that Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahani, Director-General of Archæology, be requested to deliver the address at the Annual General Meeting.

7. Resolved that bills Nos. 6918 and 6851 from the Indian Photo Engraving Co., Calcutta, be paid.

8. Wrote off arrears of subscription due from Mr. A. B. Petter.

7th February, 1933.

J. L. HILL,
Honorary General Secretary.

**Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the
Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held
on Sunday the 19th March, 1933, at
8-30 a.m.**

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (in the Chair).

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council, held on the 5th February, 1933.

2. Passed the monthly accounts for January and February, 1933.

Resolved that the Rs. 1,890-3-3 placed on fixed deposit and now falling due be reinvested.

Resolved that the Rs. 1,000 placed on fixed deposit and now falling due be deposited in the Current Account.

3. Elected the following new members :—

Mr. Ganga Shankar Mishra, M.A., Benares.

Rai Bahadur Ambujaksha Sarkar, B.L., Purulia.

4. Considered arrangements for the Annual General Meeting.

5. Passed the Agenda paper for the Annual General Meeting.

Resolved that Mr. P. C. Manuk be asked to propose the following names for election as office-bearers and Council members for the year 1933-34 :—

President—His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K.C.S.I.,
K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James,
M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Secretary—Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A.

Joint-Secretary—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer—Mr. Sham Bahadur, Barrister-at-Law.

Librarian—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Editorial Board :—

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A.,
Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President,
Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian, who are *ex-officio*
members) :—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A.,
Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. P. C. Manuk, Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D.Litt.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

Mr. H. Lambert, M.A.

6. Read Circular letter of the VII Indian Oriental
Conference.

21st March, 1933.

J. L. HILL,
Honorary General Secretary.

**Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of
the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held
on the 23rd March, 1933, in the Patna
University Library Hall, the President of
the Society, His Excellency Sir James
David Sifton, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S.,
presiding.**

1. On the motion of Mr. P. C. Manuk, the following were
elected officers and members of the Council for the year
1933-34 :—

President—His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K.C.S.I.,
K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James,
M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Secretary—Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A.

Joint Secretary—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer—Mr. Sham Bahadur, Barrister-at-Law.

Librarian—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Editorial Board :—

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Barrister-
at-Law.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President,
Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian, who are *ex-officio*
members) :—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Barrister-
at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. P. C. Manuk, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D.Litt.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

Mr. H. Lambert, M.A.

2. Mr. Sham Bahadur, Honorary Treasurer, presented the annual statement of accounts for 1932-33, which was taken as read.

3. The Vice-President, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, reviewed the work of the Society during the past year.

4. His Excellency, the President, introduced Professor Pour-E-Daud of Santiniketan, Bengal, who delivered a very interesting lecture on the subject :—

‘The Mithra Cult’.

5. Mr. G. E. Fawcus proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.

24th March, 1933.

J. L. HILL,
Honorary General Secretary.

Annual Report for 1932-33 of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

I. MEMBERSHIP.

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Journal on the 31st December, 1931, was 171. In the course of the ensuing twelve months the Society lost six of its ordinary members by death and one by resignation. It also lost three subscribers to the Journal. On the other hand the names of seven new members to the Journal were enrolled. The total number of members and subscribers on the roll on the 31st December, 1932, was accordingly 168. Among the life members the name of a new member was added. Among the honorary members there were two deaths. Thus the number of honorary members and life members on the roll on the 31st December, 1932, was 10 and 16 respectively, making a grand total of 194.

The grant made annually to the Society has been considerably reduced with the consequence that fewer books have been purchased for the Library. The Society's Journal has also felt this loss to its income though its effects have been fortunately lessened by the generous donations of Babu Hira Lal and Khan Bahadur Syed Muhammad Ismail. The Minister of Education also assisted the Society with Rs. 250 from his discretionary grant.

II. JOURNAL.

During the period under review Volume XVIII (Parts 1, 2, and 3-4) of the Society's Journal was published, containing 399 pages, 22 plates, and one map.

Parts 1-2 of Volume XIX are in the Baptist Mission Press. The Editorial Board is the same as that of the year 1932.

III. MEETINGS.

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 17th March, 1932, in the Council room of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, President of the Society, presided. After the

transaction of the formal business, the Vice-President, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. The meeting was followed by a Garden Party, at which the Society was at home to its visitors in the Museum grounds.

Meetings of the Council, elected at the last Annual General Meeting, were held on the 24th April and 6th November, 1932, and 5th February, 1933.

IV. LIBRARY.

During the year 282 books (371 volumes), of which 17 were Sanskrit, 2 Pali, 20 Hindi, 8 Urdu, and 7 Bengali works, were added to the Library. Of this total 80 were presented, while 173 were obtained by exchange and 129 by purchase. On the 31st December, 1932, the Library contained 6,126 volumes as compared with 5,755 volumes at the end of the previous year. Out of the Mayurbhanj donation to the Library the sum of Rs. 282-10-7 was spent on books during the financial year up to February, 1933.

V. SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS.

The search for manuscripts proceeded steadily throughout the year under the supervision of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri. Pandit Vishnu Lal Sastri was employed in the Darbhanga district and catalogued 561 manuscripts from March, 1932 to January, 1933. He was on privilege leave from 10th June to the 27th August, 1932. From 15th April to 4th June, 1932, he was employed at Headquarters to help the Editor in writing out Introduction to Vol. II of the Catalogue of Mithila Manuscripts. The Oriya Pandit's services terminated on the 10th March, 1932.

VI. GENERAL.

The following were added to our exchange list :—

- 'Bombay University Magazine', Bombay.
- 'The Hindustani Academy', Allahabad.
- 'Pontificio Instituto Biblico', Rome.
- 'Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara', Madras.
- 'Government Epigraphist for India', Ootacamond.

VII. ACCOUNTS.

The Annual Statement of Accounts is being presented by the Honorary Treasurer.

7th March, 1933.

J. L. HILL,
Honorary General Secretary.

**Statement of Accounts from April, 1932, to
February, 1933, of the Bihar and Orissa
Research Society.**

A. The actuals for 1931-32 showed a closing balance of Rs. 1,961-5-5 with the amount transferred to fixed deposit, *viz.*, Rs. 8,872-7-3 the total balance to the credit of the Society was Rs. 10,833-12-8 at the end of 1931-32.

B. As regards the actuals up to the 28th February, 1933, the current account closing balance was Rs. 1,749-8-1. To this must be added the amount on fixed deposit, *viz.*, Rs. 5,861-15-1 which gives a total of Rs. 7,611-7-2.

C. The chief sources of income are the Government grant, subscriptions, sale-proceeds of the Society's Journal and interest on fixed deposits. The subscriptions realised up to the 28th February, 1933, amounted to Rs. 1,800-4-0, up to the 29th February, 1932, the realised amount was Rs. 1,282-1-0. The estimate for the whole financial year was Rs. 1,600.

Our realisations from the sale-proceeds of published literature amounted to Rs. 691-9-0 up to the end of February, 1933. For the same period last year, the amount was Rs. 1,405-0-1.

The interest on fixed deposits amounted to Rs. 124-12-3 up to February, 1933.

20th March, 1933.

S. BAHADUR,
Honorary Treasurer.

Actuals up to February 28, 1933.

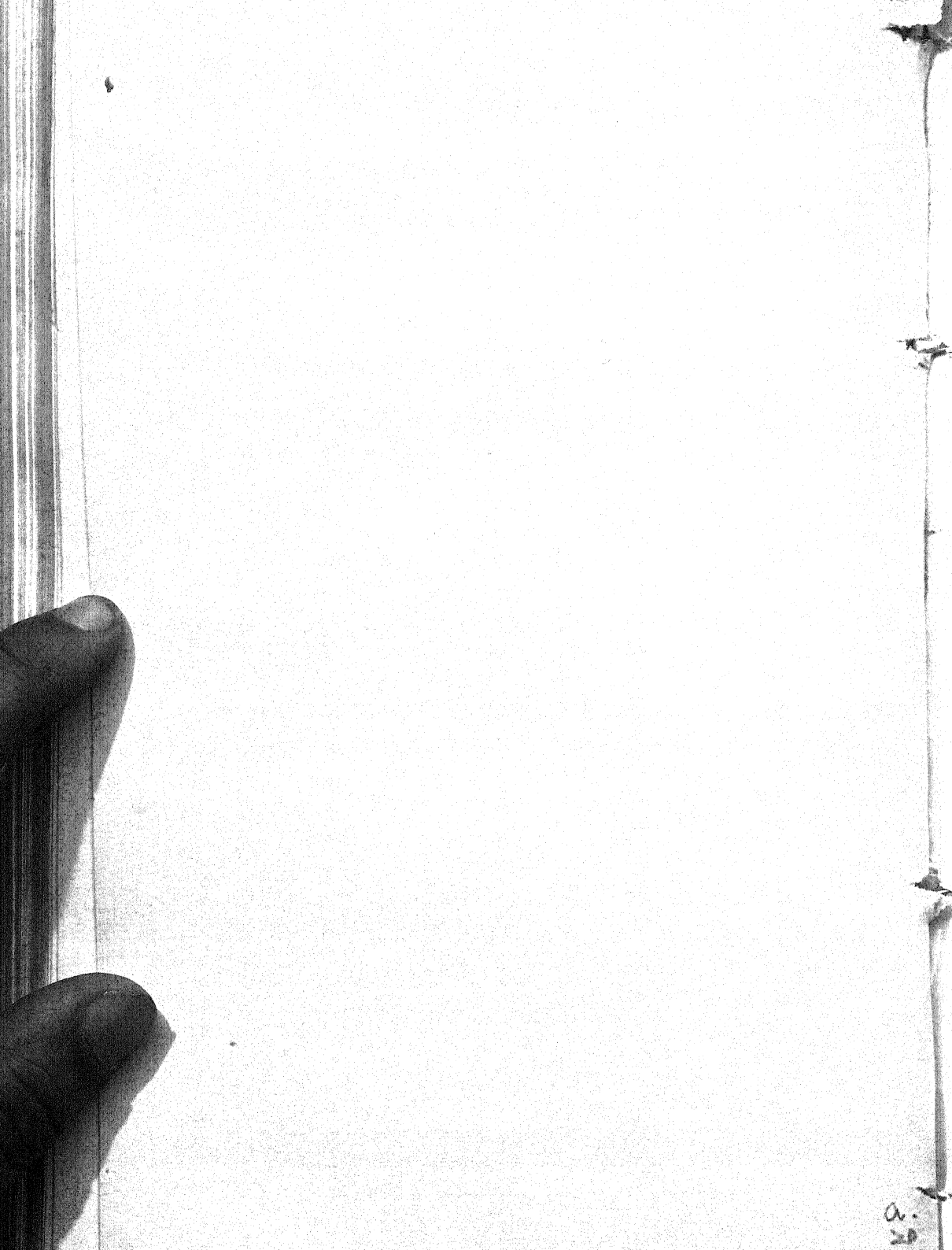
INCOME.			EXPENDITURE.		
	Actuals.	Revised Budget.		Actuals.	Revised Budget.
Subscriptions	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Establishment	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Sale of Journal	1,800 4 0	1,600 0 0	Mithila Pandit	1,120 9 0	1,248 0 0
Miscellaneous (a)	691 9 0	800 0 0			56 4 0
Postage Recovered	6,480 1 3	....		1,138 13 5	1,423 8 0
Sale of Catalogue of Mithila Manuscript	8 11 0	20 0 0	Oriya Pandit	24 15 4	67 0 0
Sale of Buchanan Purnea Report	....	25 0 0	Telephone	225 0 0	25 6 1
Government Grant..	4,803 0 0	4,553 0 0	Printing Charges	7,211 12 3	6,609 6 0
			Postage	241 10 3	370 0 0
			Stationery	46 11 0	70 0 0
			Library	509 7 5	509 7 5
			Electrical Charges	79 7 0	....
Hathwa Fund	463 0 1	1,651 6 11½	Out of Hathwa Fund	....	....
Darbhanga Fund	74 3 11½	3,452 7 10	Out of Darbhanga Fund	....	2,025 0 0
Mayurbhanj Fund	434 2 5½	1,632 14 8½	Out of Mayurbhanj Fund	283 2 7	1,000 0 0
General Balance	939 14 11	4,096 15 2	Furniture	....	....
Interest on F.D.	....	100 0 0	Miscellaneous (a)	3,113 5 4	200 0 0
			TOTAL	13,995 13 7	13,978 15 6
			Closing Balance (b)	1,749 8 1	4,002 13 2
			GRAND TOTAL	15,745 5 8	17,981 12 8
GRAND TOTAL	15,745 5 8	17,981 12 8			
(a) This includes Rs. 6,107-0-3 received from Allahabad Bank (Fixed Deposit realised with interest).			(a) This includes Rs. 2,971-7-10 sent to Allahabad Bank in Fixed Deposit.		
(b) Closing Balance Current Account :—			(b) Closing Balance Current Account :—		
			Hathwa Fund	..	Rs. A. P.
			Darbhanga Fund	..	....
			Mayurbhanj Fund	..	715 12 1½
			General Balance	..	1,033 11 11½
			GRAND TOTAL	..	1,749 8 1
			Fixed Deposit	..	5,861 15 1
			GRAND TOTAL	..	7,611 7 2

S. BAHADUR, Honorary Treasurer.

20th March, 1933.

Transliteration of the Devanāgarī Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

Devanāgarī.	Roman.	Devanāgarī.	Roman.
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ध	dh
उ	u	न	n
ऊ	ū	प	p
ऋ	ṛ or ṛi	फ	ph
ॠ	ṝ or ṝi	ब	b
ऌ	ḷ	भ	bh
ॡ	ḹ	म	m
ए	e	य	y
ऐ	ai	र	r
ओ	o	ल	l
औ	au	व	v
क	k	श	ś
ख	kh	ष	ṣ or sh
ग	g	स	s
घ	gh	ह	h
ङ	ṅ	ळ	ḷ
च	ch	◌ (Anusvāra)	m̐
छ	chh	◌ (Anunāsika)	m̐
ज	j	◌ (Visarga)	ḥ
झ	jh	×	ḥ
ञ	ñ	◌ (Jihvāmūlīya)	ḥ
ट	ṭ	◌ (Upadhmānīya)	ḥ
ठ	ṭh	◌ (Avagraha)	ˆ
ड	ḍ	Udātta	—
ढ	ḍh	Svarita	ˆ
ण	ṇ	Anudātta	ˆ



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1. *Sāvaya-dhamma-dohā*, edited by Mr. Hiralal Jain, Karanja.
2. *Nāya-Kumāra-cariu* of Pushpadanta, edited by Mr. Hiralal Jain, Karanja.
3. *The R̥gvedānukramaṇi* of Mādhavabhaṭṭa, edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, University of Madras.
4. *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* (collected till 1923) and outlines of Political History by Robert Sewell, edited by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, University of Madras.
5. *Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India*, by Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, University of Madras.
6. *The Mauryan Polity* by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, University of Madras.
7. *The Chronology of the Early Tamils*, by K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, University of Madras.
8. *Brahmanical Gods in Burma*, by Nihar Ranjan Ray, Calcutta.
9. *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, by Dr. Hemachandra Raychaudhuri, Calcutta University.
10. *Trivandrum Plays of Bhāsa* translated into English, by Dr. A. C. Woolner and Dr. Lakshman Sarup, Panjab University.
11. *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, by Dr. Binoytosh Bhattacharya, Oxford University Press.
12. *A Primer of Indian Logic*, by MM. S. Kuppeśwami Sastri, I.E.S., Varadachari & Co., Madras.
13. *Vibhramaviveka* of Maṇḍana Miśra, edited by T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
14. *India's Outlook on Life*, by J. C. Chatterji, Kailasa Press, New York.
15. *Inscriptions in the C.P. and Berar*, by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, Central Provinces Government.
16. *Canons of Orissan Architecture*, by Nirmal Kumar Bose, Calcutta.

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[PART III.]

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—Mithra-Cult.

By Professor Poure-Davoud.

DERIVATION OF THE WORD MITHRA.

In Avesta, the Zoroastrian scriptures and in the inscriptions of the Achæmenian Kings in Fourth Century B.C., Meher occurs as Mithra, and in Sanskrit as Mitra. In Pahlavi the language before the Arab invasion it became Mitr. At present in Persian language, we speak of it as Meher, and intend to convey by it various meanings, such as, promise, oath, mercy, the sun, etc.

We find many names of historic personages, and of the cities and places of ancient Persia coupled with the word Meher in the books of the Persian and Arab historians and geographers of the middle centuries. In the Old Testament, the 8th para. of the first chapter of the book of Ezra, informs us, that the treasurer of Cyrus the Great, was one Mithra-Dat. Since Mithra is one of the angels of the Zoroastrian faith, and occupies a prominent place, many of the fire-temples of the olden times were named after him.

At present also, the Zoroastrians call their place of worship Dar-e-Meher. In the dictionaries we find that Meher is a

golden ornament which is mounted on the top of an umbrella, flagstaff or tentpole. We can correctly point to all the meanings and we can trace the source of every one of them in Avesta and history. In medical science also Mithradatisme is popular. It is to be taken in small doses at first which is to be increased gradually, so that the body may get accustomed to it and the system may be immunized against poison. The description current in the European medical science reminds us of the Mithra of the Persians. It is related that the powerful rival of Rome Meherdad the Great of Pontus (on the shores of the Black Sea), who reigned from 123 to 63 B.C., used to take 'Mithradatisme' in small doses in order to be immunized against the effects of poison which might be administered to him through the intrigues of his enemies. Most of the orientalisists have defined the original meaning of Mithra as envoy or mediator.

The word Maëthanyā which is much used in Avesta means home. The modern Persian word میهن Mayhan is identical with the above. The word میهمان Maehman of میهمان Mehman is also derived from this root, the Avesta form of which is Maëthman. The German scholar, Justi, taking Mithra to mean envoy considers it as the means and agency of the originator of light or the eternal light. In other words, Mithra is the agent between the Creator and the creatures. In Gathas which are the oldest portion of Avesta, the word Mithra is used only once. But not in the sense of an angel; rather in the sense of religious duty. In the fourth chapter of Vandidad, which fully treats of sanctity of a given promise, the duty of sticking to it and the sin and the consequent punishment of breaking it, the word Mithra has invariably been used in the sense of a promise. In the tenth Yesht, the Meher Yesht of Avesta which is appropriated to this angel, often the word Mithra is used for promise or agreement. Mithro-druj, which means in slang speech a liar unto Mithra, usually signifies breach of promise. None of these meanings is contrary to one another. The meaning of the root of the word Mithra, is, to connect, and, to be a medium. The other meanings have arisen owing to the position and the work

of this angel. Some of the orientalists have adopted its ancient and original meaning, friendship and love.

MITHRA AMONGST THE BRAHMANS.

In Sanskrit also Mitra means friend. And in the Vedas, as in Avesta, it means the Lord of Light and Splendour. In the holy books of the Hindus also a group of deities, who number seven, is hinted at. But the names of all of them are not known. These seven deities of the Hindus are named Aditya, that is, sons of Adity. From these seven brothers, the names of Varuna and Mitra are generally repeated; and sometimes Airyaman also is referred to as a brother. In the Vedas, Mitra, like Mithra of Avesta, is the guardian of truth and promise. In both the books he is the opponent of falsehood and sin. But in the holy songs of the Hindus, there is only a concise and ambiguous, but brief stanza concerning Mitra, who is always spoken of in company with Varuna. Although, the Vedic and Avestan philosophies differ from each other, still on investigation, we find them close and similar to each other to such an extent that we can safely say that they are two branches of the same Aryan tree, and at one time the Iranians and the Hindus worshipped Mithra together.

Although in the Vedas, Mitra occupies a high position, yet compared with the other Gods of light like Indra, its importance is inferior. Under the circumstances, we may identify the Mithra of Avesta with the Varuna of the Vedas, because they closely resemble each other in their peculiarities and attributes.

ANTIQUITY OF MITHRA.

Thus, we have seen that Mithra is mentioned even in the Vedas which is said to be the oldest religious book in the world. And from the subject matter also we know that the belief in this angel of truth and victory is likewise very ancient. Moreover, the cuneiform inscription which was found in Cappadocia (a kingdom of Asia-Minor) proves that a Hitite tribe living in Mitani, in the north of the present Iraq, used to worship the Indo-Iranian gods, Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and

Nāsatya. These gods of the Aryan period and the Zoroastrian yazata were known together everywhere in Persia and are as old as nations themselves. Even now the followers of the religion of Zoroaster propitiate him on the day of the feast of Mehergan (a description of which will be given).

MITHRA IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ACHÆMENIANS.

The name of Mithra having found a place in the Achæmenian inscription from the Fourth Century B.C., has been repeated only five times. Firstly in the inscription of Artaxerxes II, who reigned from the year 404 to 359 B.C. In the part of the inscription found in the ruins of Susa it is stated: 'This palace was built by my ancestor Darius I, later, in the regime of my grandfather Artaxerxes I, it was destroyed by fire. By the grace of Ahuramazda, Anahita, and Mithra, I have reconstructed this palace. May Ahuramazda, Anahita, and Mithra guard me against all enemies and may no calamity nor destruction befall the palace I have built.' Again the same king repeats his desire in exactly similar terms on the base of a column found at Hamadan and removed to England.

An inscription in the ruins of Persepolis in the Province of Fars, engraved by Artaxerxes III, the son and successor of the above King, who reigned from 359 to 338 B.C., runs thus:—

'May Ahuramazda and Mithra protect me, this kingdom and all things made through my instrumentality.' It must be noticed, Mithra and Anahita appear for the first time in the above inscriptions whereas in the last instance, Anahita has not been referred to.

THE FEAST OF MEHERGAN.

The sixteenth day of every month is dedicated to this angel of splendour and it is named Meher. This is a festive day. Particularly the said day in the month of Meher is a very important holiday. Accordingly to the Pahlavi Book Bundeish Mashia and Mashiana (Adam and Eve) were born on such a day. In ancient times this festival was called Mithra Kana; that is relating to Mithra, later it became Mehergan. This

great holiday is observed for six days. It begins from the sixteenth day and ends on the twenty-first day. In ancient Persia, there were only two seasons; firstly, summer (Hama) and after that winter (Zayana). In the whole of Avesta, mention has been made of the same two seasons. Nauroz is the feast of the beginning of summer. And Mehergan the feast of the commencement of winter.

The feast of Mehergan is particularly observed with great pleasure and merriment. Ctesias, the Greek writer of Fourth Century B.C., writes that the Achæmenian King was not supposed to be intoxicated at any time, but on the day of the feast of Mehergan, he dressed himself in a purple robe and gave his company to the party of wine-drinkers. Another historian, Doris, writes that during this feast, the King danced. According to Strabo, the geographer of the First Century B.C., the Satrap of Armenia used to send as a present, twenty thousand colts to the court of the Achæmenian Emperor, on the occasion of Mehergan. Ardeshir Babekan and Nowshirvan, the Sassanian Kings, used to present deserving men with new apparel on this day. This festival was so greatly esteemed by the Iranians, that even the Arab conquest was not able to abolish it altogether. It is evident that in the reign of Sultan Masud Gaznavi, whose coronation took place in the year 1030 A.D., the feast of Mehergan was celebrated in his court with all its ancient pomp and splendour. In the whole of Iran and Asia-Minor also the feast of Mehergan was common, and thence it found its way into Europe along with Mithra-worship, the description of which will be given later. It is strange that in all the mass of information available in Europe regarding the Cult of Mithra, no mention is made of this important and great holiday of Mehergan.

The Belgian savant, Cumont, in his precious book entitled 'The Cult of Mithra', says: 'The feast of Mehergan, which during the Roman Empire was as the day of the appearance of the sun, and was called "Sol Natalis invicti", i.e. the day of the birth of the invincible sun, was dragged to the 25th of the month of December. After the propagation of Christianity into Europe, it was fixed as the birthday of Christ.'

MITHRA IN THE BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORIANS.

On the subject of Mithra, we have not received much intelligence from the ancient Greek and Roman writers who flourished before the propagation of Christianity into Europe. On the other hand, we possess ample information regarding this Persian angel from writers who flourished in the early centuries of Christ, when the Cult of Mithra prevailed throughout the extensive Roman Empire. But most of it is mainly derived from the Christian spiritual fathers who aimed at proving the futility of the Mithra-Cult and propriety of their own faith. Thus, for the critical study of the history of religion, this extremely prejudiced information becomes useless, and it is repugnant to the Persian sense of nationalism.

The book which was written specially about the religion of Mithra, and which would possibly have been a very good source of information on the history and religion of ancient Persia, vanished owing to the bigotry of the new Converts to Christianity in the same way as the fanaticism and oppression of the Mahomedans destroyed the Zoroastrian religious literature.

Most of the Greek writers have given the names of their own gods to the angels of the Zoroastrians, according to the resemblance of the position and the work allotted to them. For example, to the Persian Anahita they gave the name of their Greek goddess Artemis. But the name of Mithra was not changed; he was called Mithres. This is a proof of the popularity and greatness of Mithra. Xenophon in Fourth Century B.C. writes in his 'Cyropedia' that the Achæmenian Kings used to take oaths in the name of Mithra. In his turn, Plutarch in First Century A.C. also writes that when Darius deputed one of his nobles to some important mission, he exhorted him to speak the truth and to beware of Mithra. From these two reports, it is evident that from ancient times, Mithra was considered as the angel who watched the true or false word of men and meted out condign punishment to liars. Curtius writes that Darius (Codomanus) prayed for Mithra's assistance in the battle of Arbela against Alexander. This is

in keeping with the spirit of Avesta which says that Mithra is an angel whose aid is sought for specially in battle-fields. Strabo says that the Persians worshipped the sun in the name of Mitres. From this information, we can ascertain that in the First Century B.C. Mithra was mistaken for Sun, and these two were considered as one and the same. The most reliable information which has reached us is from Plutarch who writes that Zoroaster taught that in the spiritual world, Hormozes resembles light and splendour and Armeinios resembles darkness. Betwixt these two, Mitres is appointed. For this reason, the Persians know him as the medium and intermediary. This news from Plutarch points to the original meaning of the word Mithra, as referred above. We must also note that the belief of the Persians in the intermediary character of Mithra is much remoter than the time of Plutarch, who flourished in the First Century A.C. For, as he himself admits, that the information given by him with regard to the religion of Persia has been taken from the work called 'Philippina'. This book is unavailable at present. Theopompos, the author of the book was a contemporary of Philip, the father of Alexander, and flourished in the Fourth Century B.C.

Herodotus, who is one of the prominent historians from the view-point of more ancient times, does not write anything essential referring to Mithra; he only mentions certain proper names in the course of his history from which we learn that Mithra was well known, and that the name was used as auspicious prefix by the Persians to form a part of the names of individuals. Herodotus takes the name of Mithra also in his first book, para. 131. But undoubtedly he has made a mistake in describing this name. He says: 'The Persians used to offer sacrifices also to the sun, the moon, the earth, the fire, water, and wind, besides Zeus which to them is the name of all the heavens. Having learnt the worship of Urania from the Assyrians and the Arabs, they incorporated it in their own prayers. The Assyrians called Urania Myllita, and the Arabs Alitta, while the Persian name was Mitra.' In this place, Herodotus must have intended Anahita. But since he did not recollect this female angel, Mitra, who was more famous,

must have occurred to him at once and consequently he used the name in place of the Assyrian and the Semitic goddess.

MITHRA IN AVESTA.

In the Gathas, the name of Mithra with the signification of light and splendour has not been referred to therein, but the rest of the portions of the holy book are full of his glory. The longest Yesht-Meher is devoted to him. Like all other great Yeshts, it is very old and abundantly interesting. Meher Yesht is written in a poetic form. The versification is not of such nature as to enable us to ascertain the meter as in the case of the five Gathas, and unless we analyse the verses and write a separate note on each of them, we cannot fix a general rule for the number of the syllables.

Meher Yesht reminds us of the Aryan times, and also the reformation brought about by Zoroaster can be clearly seen in it. From Meher Yesht we can extract two good morals which can be termed the foundation of sound character: firstly Truth and secondly Boldness. This Yesht may also be considered as the mainspring of the Truth and the Valour of the Persians, for which they were renowned throughout the ancient world and even their life-long enemies, the Greeks, could not deny this. Mithra is ever vigilant and he remains fully armed to help the truthful and to search out and overthrow liars and promise-breakers. In the 2nd para. of the Meher Yesht where the subject of Mithra is introduced, Ahuramazda speaks to Zoroaster thus:—

‘I have created Mithra worthy of praise and eulogy like Myself, O Spitama, he who lieth unto Mithra and breaketh promise and knoweth not the condition of fidelity, verily he is a desolator of the land and the murderer of truth. O Spitama, thou shalt not break promise given by thee, whether it be to a Mazdayasna or to a Daevayasna. For, a promise to whomsoever given, should be considered proper and worthy of performance.’

As we have pointed out, Mithra, according to the beginning of the Yesht, is counted amongst the creations of Ahuramazda and he is entrusted with the guardianship of promise and oath

of men. On this account he is also considered the angel of splendour and light, so that nothing may remain hidden from him. Truth and falsehood going on throughout the world, and, promise performed or broken are all known to him. In order to enable him to perform properly his duties as the guardian of promises, Ahuramazda has bestowed upon him one thousand ears and ten thousand eyes. In the Pahlavi commentary of this Yesht, it occurs that these ears and eyes are separate angels who are appointed by Mithra, so that they may inform him of all that they see and hear of the actions and words of men. In the history of Persia, we read that portions of the soldiers of the ancient emperors were named the eyes and ears of the empire; undoubtedly, Meher Yesht is the source of the idea and the institution. In addition to these, he has the services of ten thousand guards who continuously patrol in the world and keep him informed of all the events and happenings.

The abode of Mithra is on the top of the mount Hara, in a place where there is neither day nor night nor darkness, neither the cold wind nor draught, neither disease nor filth. From there he watches the countries. This place of his rest is as wide as the orb of the earth, i.e. Mithra is present everywhere. Any one who carries his complaint to Mithra for having been deprived of his right, however feeble his voice, yet the wailing cry catches hold of the entire world, and reaches the region above, and Mithra, becoming aware of it, rushes to his aid. A great citadel is also reserved for Mithra, where he always stands alert like a watchman, and is ready for service. Mithra is always vigilant, and is the opponent of the demon of slumber. His arms are strong and so long that they reach the entire world and he can catch hold of the liar, wherever he may be, whether in the east of India or west, or in the centre of the earth. Boldness, vast vision, and exemption from being duped are the appropriate attributes of Mithra. All the qualifications necessary for the discharge of his duty are given to him. Similarly, he possesses all the equipments for his work as the great guard. Like the heroes of Shahnameh, Mithra puts on a golden armour with a silver shield on the shoulder, and holds a

heavy mace in his hand. He drives in a celestially made golden chariot which has huge glittering wheels. Four white horses take him round the world nimbly and speedily. In Mithra's chariot, there are a thousand golden-pointed arrows, a thousand spears, a thousand steel axes, a thousand swords, a thousand iron maces, and slings. Verethragna, the angel of victory; Sraosha, the angel of obedience; Rashnu, the angel of justice; Arshtat, the angel of propriety; Parendi, the angel of good fortune and plenty; and Ashi, the angel of riches and wealth, keep galloping on the front, rear, right, and left of Mithra. As the Zoroastrian religion is a practical one, Mithra also punishes liars and promise-breakers in this very world. He makes them perplexed, distressed, and destroys their chattles and belongings. In the battle-fields he renders their arms useless and of no effect. He casts them into oblivion, disgraced, and dishonoured. Similarly, he rewards the righteous and the men of good actions with wealth, health, happiness, prosperity, rule, and affluence, and he makes them victorious in battle-fields. It is owing to the strength and power of Mithra that the kings of the ancient times have paid especial attention to him. In Yesht tenth, itself, it frequently occurs that Mithra is the bestower of sovereignty. For this reason, the noble and the warrior classes used to pay more homage to him than any other angels.

That Mithra is not the sun, but the angel of light and splendour is quite apparent from the tenth Yesht itself. In paras. 13th and 95th of the same Yesht, mention is made of the appearance of Mithra before sunrise and his rounds after sunset. In para. 145th of the same Yesht, it occurs: 'We praise the stars, the moon, the sun and Mithra, the king of all countries.' Besides, Meher Yesht, in all the portions of Avesta, difference is made between the sun and Mithra. Amongst such, Vandidad Fargard 19, para. 28, refers to the appearance of Mithra before the rising of the sun. In the books of the latter writers also this difference exists. There is no doubt that Mithra and the sun are separate (not one); nor is there any doubt that from very ancient times these two have been confounded and have been taken as one. Strabo referring

to the above, writes that the Persians praise the Sun with the name of Mithra. Five centuries after him, Elische, the Armenian historian of the Fifth Century A.C., imitates the Zoroastrian preachers and says: 'Since the sun illuminates the world by its rays and matures by its heat he (the Sun) on account of his uniform charity and impartiality in justice is called Mithra.'

According to the injunction of the tenth Yesht those who are not familiar with the tenets of religion, and those who are not fit for the post of leaders ought not to become the supervisors of the ceremonials and observances of Mithra-Cult. At the time of executing it, one must be clean, he must have taken a bath. The origin of the baptismal bath of the Christians can probably be traced to such rituals, that had later on spread in Europe, along with the Mithra-Cult.

From what has been seen, we can say that Mithra is the angel of light and battle.

MITHRA-WORSHIP IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

THE FAME OF MITHRA IN PERSIA AND THE NEIGHBOURING KINGDOMS.

Since the kings of Persia devoted special attention to Mithra and since all the warriors expected their victory and triumph through his aid, Mithra-worship spread in the entire land of Persia. In all places help and protection was sought of Mithra. His influence having penetrated beyond the boundaries of Persia, had reached all the countries under the sway of the Emperors. In Babylon, which was one of the capitals of Persia and the winter residence of the kings, Mithra was considered one with the local god 'Shamsh', on account of the resemblance of their nature. Just as the Babylonians considered the Persian Anahita equal to their own goddess 'Ishtar' and adored her, the worship of Mithra too, was not held by them as foreign. From Babylon the Mithra-Cult spread throughout Asia-Minor. In the countries speaking Greek language also Mithra was made identical with the Greek sun-god, Helios. In short, wherever he went, Mithra was taken as identical with the local sun-god, and he became the object of attention and

love. Except that, the Aryan origin of Mithra remained, all the non-Aryan tribes invested him with the attributes and practices of their own gods as it suited their taste. Such local convenience was the means of the extension of Mithra-worship, up to the borders of the Black Sea and the Greek Aegean Sea on the west, and to the Sind, i.e. India on the east, the very Aryan country where Mitra was considered the god of light and strength from very ancient times. It may be said that the greatness and splendour of Mithra was maintained in all these extensive countries of Asia from the time of the Achæmenians up to several centuries after Christ. The old tree of Mithra-worship was not shaken by the victory of Alexander of Macedon. For, after his death and the distribution of his empire amongst his commanders, the worship of this angel of light re-asserted itself with all its vigour of bygone days, throughout the said countries. Eastwards, a kingdom was founded at Bactria which later on extended to the north-western India and came to be known as the Indo-Scythian Empire. Here were struck the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka (of the Turuska dynasty of the First and Second Centuries A.D.), bearing the rays and the halo or the glory of Mithra. Moreover, the names of Mitro and Athro (fire) were engraved thereon in Greek script.

Likewise, the rulers of all the independent kingdoms established in Asia-Minor after the death of Alexander considered themselves as belonging to the Achæmenian family. Whether they were actually of Persian descent or not, they took pride in being considered as related to the mighty ancient emperors, and they persevered in reviving the practices of their ancestors. Quite a number from father to son adopted the name of Mithridates, i.e. Meherdad or given by Meher. Antiochus I, king of Komnagene (69 to 44 B.C.) considered himself related to the Achæmenians from his father's side and issued orders to erect large temples for the glorification of his ancestral God and angels. Also he ordered the religious leaders to dress themselves like the Magians. Amongst the temples, he constructed one for Mitra. An engraving found at 'Nimrod-dagh' he is shown standing face to face with Mithra.

In the reign of the Parthians, the place of Mithra was safe, and the names of three of the kings of Parthia were Meherdad. In the engravings of Taque Bustan situated to the north-west of the city of Kirmanshah, three human forms are to be seen. The middle one is of the Sassanian Ardeshir II who ruled from 379 to 384 A.D. On his right-hand side there is Hormazd, and on his left, the one who holds a torch in his hand is Mithra, and not Zoroaster, as some have conjectured.

THE BEGINNING OF THE DISSEMINATION OF THE MITHRA-CULT FROM ASIA-MINOR TO THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

From the foregoing discourse, it is not surprising to note that the Mithra-Cult entered the land of Greece from Asia-Minor; though we generally do know that the Greek-speaking regions had come to a small extent under the influence of Mithra. Plutarch writes that from ancient times the pirates of Cilicia (the present city of Tarsus) performed mystic rites and offered sacrifices to Mithra on mount Olympia, i.e. in the very place, which has always been the headquarter of the Greek gods. According to the same writer, a Zoroastrian, i.e. Mithra-worshipping sect was during his own time (49 to 125 A.D.) well known in Europe.

Under any circumstance, however, the number of the followers of Mithra was not great at this time, but in the middle of the First Century A.D. Mithra occupied a lofty position. For, according to Dio Cassus, a Roman historian, when Tirdad, the king of Armenia and the brother of the Ashkanian King Vologeses I came to Rome to be crowned by the hand of Emperor Nero, he is reported to have addressed the Emperor during the coronation-feast, and to have said: 'I have come before you so that I may praise you like Mithra'. Plutarch also writes that in the triumvirate of Pompey the Great, in the year 67 B.C., when the Romans had defeated the pirates of Cilicia, they became acquainted with Mithra-worship, which had spread in the whole of Asia-Minor. In fact, by the said victory, only a few places on the coasts of Cilicia fell into the hands of the Romans, and it was after two centuries later that the whole country was subjugated. Consequently, about the

year 102 A.D. it began to be counted as a Roman dominion. Although, the day of the commencement of Mithra-Cult in Europe is so antique, yet it was not until the close of the First Century A.D. that it came to be widely disseminated. The invasions by the Roman legion and their successes in Asia-Minor and Iraq gradually brought Europe under the influence of Mithraism. In the reign of Cæsar Tiberius who ruled from 14 to 38 A.D., Cappadocia (in Asia-Minor) was conquered, and became a part of the Roman Empire. During the reign of Nero, whose rule lasted from 54 to 68 A.D. the western portion of Pontus, or the coasts of the Black Sea fell into the hands of the Romans. In the reign of Vespasian who was emperor of Rome from 69 to 79 A.D., Lesser-Armenia and Kommagene, the very countries where Mithra was particularly worshipped, were conquered, and from there the Roman soldiers brought the worship of Mithra to Europe as a reward or booty. Thenceforward the great invasions of the Roman Cæsars like Trajan (98 to 117 A.D.), Lucius Verus (161 to 169), and Septimius Severus (193 to 211), against Asia and the conquest of Iraq brought more and more influx of Mithraism, till it rose into high flood in the western world. After this, the governors and the legionaries of Rome (Legion 15) on their return from Asia-Minor to Carnuntum near to Vienna built a temple of Mithra in the Danubian territory.

THE SPREAD OF MITHRAISM AND THE PERIOD OF ITS PROSPERITY.

These Roman legionaries who were religiously minded, became good disseminators of Mithraism. In Europe also Mithra was at first the favourite deity of warriors, and it occupied the same position in the Roman countries as it did during its sway in the territories under Persia.

Apart from the soldiers, the prisoners of war, who were transported from Asia to Europe, became instruments of its spread. Moreover, commercial relations and economical problems and the interchange of the western and eastern thoughts contributed to the propagation of Mithraism throughout the entire length and breadth of the countries under the sway of

ancient Rome. In the year 148, it extended its influence amongst the brave German soldiers. In the time of Emperor Commodus, who ruled from 180 to 192 A.D., and who was devoted to Mithra, there was no place without some influence of Mithraism. In short, on the continent of Europe, the sphere of influence of Mithra extended from the shores of the Black Sea to Ecosse. In Africa, it reached the borders of Sahara. Looking at the map of the ancient Roman Empire, and the expanse of the land of Asia, with the exception of the countries of the yellow race, we can say that in no country any god or angel or prophet equalled Mithra in fame. According to Renan (1823-1892) the famous French philosopher and historian 'had a pestilence or calamity broken out and retarded the progress of Christianity, the religion of the world to-day would have been Mithraism'. The religions of Christ and Mithra both entered Europe simultaneously from Asia. At the end of the second century both had following in the remotest countries of the Roman Empire. Relying on the numerous existing memoirs of the times of Emperor Sever (208-235) we can conjecture that the followers of Mithra were more than those of Christ. True that we do not possess any antique book which can serve as an evidence of the majesty of Mithra, the fanaticism of the Christians of that time did not leave any traces of their powerful rival, Mithra. But through historians, we know that numerous books existed especially treating of the principles of Mithra-Cult, its prayers, benedictions, the methods of prayer and the customs and usages. Amongst such was the great work of the Roman writer Pallas, whose mere name exists; but the ruins of the temple of Mithra and the engravings which are found in all the countries of Europe are to a certain extent proofs of his ancient majesty and glory and indicate some of the customs and practices of that Cult. The initial benedictions and prayers were in Greek, and the latter part in Latin. For invigorating the words and for making the language impressive, some Persian words had been inserted. The attribute which was always associated with Mithra was the word Nabarz, the very word the present Persian form of which is Nabard or Nabarde signifying valiant and bold.

In Avesta also, the attribute which is always used for Mithra is the word Sura, which means valorous. The priests of Mithraism used to take pride that they worshipped their god according to the customs of ancient Persia the country in which Zoroaster had brought the religion. And they endeavoured not to allow its principles and Persian origin to be mixed up with foreign elements. In consequence of his having been worshipped for centuries in Asia-Minor and Mesopotamia, Mithra was attributed with some of the traits of the foreign local sun-gods, yet at no time could he be completely metamorphosed so as to lose his own Persian colour and character. In Europe, the splendour and majesty of Mithra was especially due to the fact that the emperors, nobles, and the legionaries were his supporters and they used to order the persecution of the Christians.

The persecution of the Christians by the Emperor Decius, in the year 250 A.D. is well known in Roman history. In the year 274, the Emperor Aurelian ordered a big temple to be erected to Mithra, for he attributed his success against Zenobea, the Queen of Pamir, to the benevolence of Mithra, the god of victory. Diocletian, who reigned from 284 to 305, imitated the fashion of the Court of his Sassanian contemporaries and took great delight in the propagation of Mithra-Cult. In the year 303 he ordered a general persecution of the Christians. After him Emperor Galerius (306 to 311) persecuted the Christians with the greatest severity. In the third century of the Christian era, Mithra-Cult reached the highest point of its prosperity in the Roman Empire and it appeared that it would take the entire world under its influence. The tide turned only with the victory of Constantine over Licibus in 324 A.D. The latter fought under the banners of Mithra, the god of victory, against Constantine of the Christian side who was, like Gushtasp, the supporter of Zarathushtra. In this defeat of Licibus was also the defeat of the Sun (the symbol of Mithra) by the Cross.

مهر بپوشید رو ریخت ز مَغ آبرو نرسا چون شب پره دیدۀ بینا گرفت
 لاف زد و هر زه گفت مهر خدائی نهفت زبان گُستاخ چون رنگ کلیسا گرفت

Mithra, the Sun hid its face, and the honour of the Magian was gone ;

The monk, like the bat at night, opened his sight.

He took to boasting and vain talk, and thereby hid the Love (Mithra) of God ;

Like the church-bell he began to waggle his impudent tongue.

THE PERIOD OF THE DECLINE OF MITHRAISM.

After the success of Constantine, the followers of Christ became impudent. Not only did they laugh at the customs and practices of the worshippers of Mithra and wrote of them as low, but they also craved to destroy all their temples, and this desire was fulfilled. Mamert, a rabbi of Vienna, who passed away in the year 474, writes that during the time of Constantine, nobody dared to look at the sun either at the time of rising or of setting. The peasants and the sea-farers too dared not glance at the stars. Shuddering with the fear of losing their lives, they used to keep their eyes fixed towards the land.

In the year 337 Constantine took sacrament and died in the very year. The worshippers of Mithra were overwhelmed with troubles for a period of thirty-six years, until Julianus came to the throne in the year 361 A.D. This philosophic emperor had from childhood a liking for the religion of Mithra notwithstanding the fact that he was brought up as a Christian and had taken baptism. He thought himself a representative of the Sun and he considered himself as the spiritual son of the Sun. Immediately after ascending the throne he re-established the worship of Mithra in Constantinople, and erected a temple in his own palace. After the ascension of such an emperor, the worshippers of Mithra naturally got new life. So much so, that in his reign, when Georgios, patriarch of Alexandria, desired to erect a church on the ruins of the temple of Mithra, the people became enraged and arrested him and threw him into prison. On the 24th of the month of December, 361 A.D., i.e. one day prior to the day of the annual feast of Mithra, they killed him with the utmost cruelty. As Julianus considered himself to be under the patronage of the god of victory and

triumph, he was very bold. Like Alexander the Great, he desired to annex all Persia, the very kingdom which was the fountain-head of his religion. He marched with a large army towards Persia, and reached opposite Ctesiphon. But Mithra, the angel of Victory, did not wish to ruin and degrade his own native country. In the field of battle a fatal arrow struck Julianus. It is said the emperor filled his palm with the blood of his wound and he sprinkled it towards the sky, and said: 'O, Galilee (Jesus Christ), thou hast defeated me.' At the time of his death, he attributed the fault to Christ and not to Mithra. After the expiry of the short reign of Julianus, the worshippers of Mithra became the objects of suspicion in Europe, just like the Christians in Persia. Once again, the followers of Mithra were left without a supporter and a number of them was massacred in the year 371. The emperors carried on an unremitting warfare against them. In most of the provinces, they were liable to attacks by the Christian nobles. Their temples were plundered and burnt. Even now the remnants of temples which are being excavated, give testimony to the persecution and arson carried on by the enemy. Just as Mahmud Gaznavi desired to exhibit his religiousness by breaking and scattering the images of the Hindu deities in India, the Christians also persisted in devastating the temples of Mithra and breaking the images in order to show their great love for the son of the Holy Ghost! Mostly, the leaders of Mithraism, in order to preserve the remaining images, used to keep the entrance of their subterranean temples hidden in wall. They used to hide the holy symbols as much as was possible for them. For they confidently believed that the sway of the Christians was temporary. On the other hand, in order to extirpate Mithraism thoroughly and to render the places of worship unsuited for use even for the future, the Christians assassinated the high priests in the temples themselves and threw them below the niches and the walls and left the corpses there. For, they knew that according to the terms of Zoroastrianism the ground which became polluted with a corpse and a carcass, would for ever be considered desecrated. Thus, the religion of Mithra disappeared sooner than the rest of the religions,

which existed in the Roman Empire. For, even the government authorities were specially inimical to it. In the city of Rome itself, Mithraism could hold its own for a longer time, for, the patricians were able through their influence and wealth to repel attacks. They were especially bound to remain faithful to the religion of their ancestors and forefathers for the reason that they had, from generation to generation, added to the offerings and the gifts to the temples. Even after the death of Julianus, some hope was once again entertained for the revival of Mithra-worship and the amelioration of its followers. Particularly in the year 392 when Eugenius took the title of emperor, these hopes were increased. But two years after this, he was killed by Theodosius and this incident of the year 394 marks the final disappointment of the worshippers of Mithra and of the extirpation of Mithra-Cult. Theodosius studiously endeavoured to spread the religion of Christ. There was no more chance for the worshippers of Mithra, except in the distant places in the fastnesses of the Alps and the Vosages, where the Cult existed up to the Fifth Century A.D.

THE TRACES OF MITHRAISM IN CHRISTIANITY.

The religion of Mithra existed in Roman Empire for more than three hundred years, and a good many of its principles and usages have remained in the religion of Christ, e.g. offerings, supplication, the day of Judgment, the belief about the bridge across the infernal fire, purgatory, heaven, hell, account, and proportion of good and bad actions and the future retribution of virtue and vice. In addition to these many of the ceremonies and customs of the religion of Mithra have been adopted in the form of feasts and usages by the Christian nations. We do not possess ancient books on Mithra-worship to enable us to ascertain as to what extent have its fundamental maxims influenced Christianity. Although the principles of these two religions differ from each other, the engravings and relics found in the ruins of the temple of Mithra, and a series of information supplied by the historians, enable us to say that almost whole of the customary and ceremonial part pertaining to Mithraism has been transplanted into the religion of Christ. These appro-

priations and usurpations had taken place prior to the exit of the Mithra-Cult from Europe. And there existed some mutual relation between the two great religions. The philosophers of the Second Century A.D. had compared them and given the prominence and superiority to Mithra. Later on, the bigoted scholars and leaders of the first few centuries once again compared these two religions and they said that the worshippers of Mithra have made devilish imitation from the holy religion of Christ. Had the fanaticism of these writers permitted any book on Mithraism to reach us, we should have undoubtedly read in it that worshippers of Christ have made devilish imitation from the holy religion of Mithra.

The customs, the tenets, and the ceremonies of Mithraism are very ancient ; many of them were common in Persia. The antiquity of some of them reaches as far back as the Aryan period. When the religion of Christ came into Europe, it found itself face to face with a long-standing religion which, by virtue of centuries old civilized customs, had grown into a fine tree adorned with leaves and fruit and firmly fixed in the soil. Its apparent form was eminently suited to the taste of the people of the times, and was the object of great attraction and homage. The new-born religion did not possess under any form the rites or ceremonies or a book, even from its own founder Christ. Consequently, it could not but copy the foreign ceremonies and the usages or in other words, it had to borrow and appropriate to itself at least the apparent forms of its rival. As a result, the followers of each religion called their co-religionists 'Brothers'. Both the groups used to take the holy bath at the time of initiation. Both used to sprinkle holy water on persons of their own group. Both used to give moral sermons and to emphasize the retribution of the judgment day. Both observed a holiday in a week. Each group considered that the ceremonies and observances had arisen out of its own religion. Undoubtedly the tendency of the majority was at first in favour of Mithra. But later on, as a result of the sinking into oblivion of the true origins of the ceremonies and observances, and on account of the lapse of centuries, the Christian claim to originality found general belief. It is very

interesting to note that the Mithra-Cult spread so far and wide in the Roman Empire, that in most of the lands under Roman suzerainty, the Mithra-Temples were built in a very large number. Even to-day a large number of the ruins of such Mithra-Temples are to be seen in the whole of Europe, Africa, and Asia and specially on the side of river Rhine. A very good example of such a ruined Mithra-Temple we find to-day in Rome itself.

THE TEMPLE OF MITHRA AND THE DESCRIPTION OF ITS APPEARANCE.

The temples of Mithra, which were named Mithraüm or Mithraea, are constructed in vaults underground or in a cave, because the eternal bull was sacrificed by the hands of Mithra in a cave. Generally, the statue of Mithra is seen there, throwing the bull beneath his feet and sacrificing it. On each of his right and left (Cautes, Cautopates), a boy is standing with a torch. The torch on the right-hand side is held up, while the one on the left is upside down. This is symbolical of the rising and the setting of the sun. Under the front and hind legs of the bull a snake and a scorpion are seen. In front of the statue, there is a fireplace, in which the holy fire must always burn like the fire of the Zoroastrians. The carvings and figures of the temple are not limited to these; a variety of different forms are present, and every one of them carries a meaning. A description of all these would prolong this discourse. Taking the images and carvings as the basis, the Belgian savant, Cumont, has given us a description of Mithra, which accords with the belief of the Romans, as also with the description found in the Pahlavi book, Bundahishna, and says: 'Mithra is supposed to have been born out of hard stone. On his head is a helmet of Phrygian (the present city of Konia) style while his dress is of Iranian style.' In one hand there is a dagger, and in the other a torch, to remove darkness. The shepherds who witnessed the miracle of his birth, prayed unto him, and they offered him their newly-born lambs and calves and other fresh tributes. As Mithra was a young bold man, and was nude, during the occurrence of a fierce wind-storm he hid himself behind the branches of a fig tree. He cut the fruit

with his knife and fed on it, and out of its leaves he prepared his dress. The first god against whom Mithra tried his strength was the sun. On this account, the Sun understood the eminent position of Mithra, and bestowed the rays of light round his head. Since this day onwards Mithra and the Sun have joined hands, and support each other in every action. The fight of Mithra with the bull above alluded to, points to this meaning. The bull who was the first creation of Jupiter Oromazdes, used to graze freely on the top of the mountain. Mithra's attention was drawn towards this, and holding his horn, he wished to ride him. The excited animal bolted. Mithra fell to the ground but he did not give up. He hung himself on to his horns and was consequently dragged to some distance until the bull was tired and submitted. Then Mithra caught hold of the hoofs of his two legs, and pulled him on to his shoulders, and with great difficulty, he carried him down to his home in the cave. This description is but an allegory of the endeavours and troubles of man in this world. Again, Mithra freed the bull and he freely wandered on the face of the earth. Then Sun sent his messenger, a raven, to Mithra and commanded that he should catch the bull and sacrifice him. However, Mithra was not willing to abide by such an order and he pitied the animal. Yet, there was no other remedy but to obey the heavenly command. He had to chase the bull unwillingly with the aid of his dog, and soon captured him, for he had sought shelter in a cave. With one hand Mithra held the nostrils of the bull and with his dagger in the other, he pierced his abdomen. At that instant, the dying body of the animal produced a miracle. Healing plants grew up, in such a way that the whole land became green. From bits of the back of its skull, grains grew up, and from its blood, creepers like grapes, which gave wine to the holy, at the time of the performance of the religious ceremonies. The evil principle (Ahriman), in the hope of benefiting by the opportunity, sent forthwith his filthy creations like the serpent, scorpion, and ant, towards the dying animal, so that they may poison the source of its life and may devour the elements of creation and progeny of the beneficial animal and drink its blood. But the effort

was fruitless. They were not able, on the day, to withhold the miracles. The moon purified the seed of the bull and preserved it. Several kinds of useful animals were born from it. The soul of the one, which was preserved through the faithful dog of Mithra, ascended to the heavens, and there it became the guardian of the herd and flock, in the name of Silvanus. Through this sacrifice unto the court of God, Mithra renewed the life of the world. The famous picture of Michael Angelo 'The Last Supper' is exactly the same like one we find in Mithra Temple and Michael Angelo seems to have taken his inspiration from there.

THE ELEMENTS OF MITHRA-CULT APPROPRIATED BY
CHRISTIANITY.

There were seven stages of holiness in the Mithra-Cult. For being admitted into each of the stages, special baths were necessary, and this is the very source of the baptismal wash of the Christians. On each day of the week, thanks were offered from a certain place in the temple to the star connected with that day. Sunday, which belonged to the Sun Mithra, was considered sacred. The greatest feast of Mithra was on the 25th of December, this corresponds to the famous Mehergan feast of Iranians, which was conceived to be the birthday of Mithra, i.e. the shortest day of the year was the festival of Mithra. During these times, the Phoenicians also used to celebrate the feast of their God Melkart. Apparently, they held special feasts in particular seasons of the year. In the spring about the month of Farvardin or Ardibehisht, on the same occasion when at present the Christians celebrate the Crucifixion and the Ascension of Christ, a holiday was customary with the worshippers of Mithra. The women did not participate in the religious assembly honouring Mithra. Instead, they joined in the gathering honouring Magna-mater, who had taken the place of Anahita, the goddess of water, and her feast was incorporated as an additional custom of Mithra-worship. Undoubtedly, Magna-mater represented the Mother Earth. Her believers called themselves sisters, just like the brethren of the faith of Mithra.

On the occasion of the praise and the singing of the hymns of Mithra, the playing of music was also necessary, and on particular occasions, bells were rung. For instance, after performing the ceremony, when they desired to exhibit Mithra's face by lifting up the veil, the bells chimed in order to prepare the believers. Even now, a bell is hung in the fire-temples, and it is struck on particular occasions. Also kneeling posture during the prayer was common. In the Zoroastrian religion, the priests used to consecrate bread and water, mix it with Haoma, Sanskrit Soma, and used to eat it during certain religious ceremonies. Also this ancient custom of the Persians accompanied Mithra into Europe. But as there was no Haoma plant in Europe, so that a particular extract could be squeezed out of it, the extracted juice of the fresh twigs of vine was used. A few round loaves of bread and a cup of water were also kept ready at the time of ceremonies. On these, the priests pronounced grace. Gradually, the juice of the fruit of vine, i.e. wine was substituted for the pressed juice of the twigs of the vine-tree. Even now, Haoma is common among the Zoroastrians, and it is used in the religious ceremonies with the said sacred water and bread. In Avesta, this water is named Zaotkra, and this day, it is called 'Zor'. The round loaves of breads, which were used in the religion of Mithra, just as it is common amongst the present Zoroastrians, was either four or six in number. The Avestan word for the bread is Draona, and its present form is 'Darun'. All these ceremonies were transferred from Mithraism to Christianity, and they still remain therein. The holy water is one of the most important adjuncts of the Christian church. The Christian term 'Eucharist' means the wine and bread used in the ceremonies and considered as the blood and flesh and the soul of Christ. They are the very Hom and Darun of Mithra, and merely the names are changed. Similarly, while performing the religious rites, the Mithra worshippers used to hold 'Barsum', i.e. twigs of a tree used in ceremonials in their hands, like the Persians, just as it is customary with the Zoroastrians. Of course, the first priests of the religion of Mithra were the Magis. Later, they were called *Sacerdos*. They used to dress themselves like the Magis

and to say their prayers thrice every day: in the morning, noon, and evening. During morning prayer, they turned to the east, during noon towards south, and in the evening towards the west. From the smallest things, just like bells, to the highest beliefs, such as Christ sacrificed his life for the sake of the salvation of mankind—all these are taken from the Mithra-Cult. From the remnants of the engravings of Mithra we can generally observe that he turns his face towards the sky at the time of sacrificing the pristine bull and performs the sacrifice unwillingly and with difficulty. But the salvation of the world is in this sacrifice, which Mithra on account of this reason supports and performs this difficult task.

The appropriation by Christianity of the customs and ceremonies of Mithraism which prevailed for centuries and had become deeply rooted in the life of the people of the Roman Empire was considered quite expedient. By this method, the new religion was made suitable to the ways of the people of the time. Christianity had to resort to such engraftings. The people clung to their holiday on Sunday which was appropriated to the sun (Mithra) and the 25th December which was the feast of his appearance. Till, at last, the 25th December had to be declared the birthday of Christ as late as nearly four centuries after him. In some of the paintings in the churches of the Catholic Christians, belonging to the life, birth, and ascension of Christ, we see a close resemblance with the engravings and ruins of the temples of Mithra. They tell us about the appearance and work of Mithra. Besides, the Christians consider Sunday as the day of Resurrection of Christ and his Ascension to the heavens; likewise with the worshippers of Mithra also this was considered as the day peculiarly special to Mithra. It is not my object to reckon all the customs and rites of the religion of Christ, as those of Mithraism. For, firstly the intolerance, above referred to, regarding the traces of Mithra-Cult has not as yet vanished so as to enable us to consider side by side all the principles and rites of the two faiths together. Secondly, the comparison is likely to lengthen unnecessarily this discourse. From a few paras. described above, we can realize that many of the rites and customs of the

Christian nations remind us of the exactly similar rites of Mithraism. This applies especially to the Christians of Asia-Minor and Armenia, the very places where Mithra had been worshipped from very ancient times. Even during this twentieth century, some of the bigoted Christian scholars persistently labour, like the Christians of the third and fourth centuries, to conceal the truth. But some of the learned and impartial authors, who consider all knowledge and science as sacred, and to whom all knowledge is esteemable, as any prophet of angel, have not hesitated from telling the truth. They openly write that some of the principles, and most of the formal rites of the faith of Christ, are derived from Mithraism. In the fourth century, when the Cult of the sun-god in the West was on the wane, another religion arose in Persia. It contained the principles of Zoroastrianism especially those of Mithraism. It spread into Europe, rivalled with the religion of Christ, and nearly shook its foundations. That religion was Manichism, which had come into existence in the time of Shapoor in Third Century A.D.

Till the Thirteenth Century A.D. its followers in Europe were engaged in sanguinary struggles against the Christians, the old foes of the Mithra worshippers.

II.—The Skirts of Nanda Devi—(*Continued*).

By the Vice-President.

V. *The Untadhura Pass.*

For travelling north of Milam, a change of transport is ordinarily made by the substitution of the half-bred yak, the hardy jhibu, for the laden coolie. The change is effected without difficulty, since there are ordinarily plenty of jhibus available at Milam; and for the drivers, of whom one is needed for each pair of jhibus, tents are also to be found there. As a beast of burden in high places, the jhibu must be hard to beat. Unaffected by exposure, amenable and imperturbable, he will quietly follow the correct route in a blizzard as severe as the 'tourmentes' of Highest Savoy. On a bitter night, with no covering and a temperature below zero F., he quietly dozes or nuzzles the snow away and grazes, undisturbed by storm or cold. Mr. Hugh Rose in the early autumn of 1931, finding rinderpest among the jhibus, travelled with mules, which were found to be much less satisfactory, and ultimately involved him in a very long detour in order to return to the Indian side of the Himalaya. He and his party deserve great credit for getting their mules back safely; but they had to go a long way to do it; and although their ultimate success may show that this bastard animal of another parentage is also able to display remarkable endurance, the mule is not to be recommended as a beast of burden in the high Himalaya.

If anybody desires to make the 'Tour of Nanda Devi,' to descend the Girthi valley and go straight to Joshimath, he must not hope to take laden animals down the Girthi valley. The tour would be interesting, and free from any real difficulty, if the assistance of jhibus were taken from Milam to Topidunga; but coolies ought not to be asked to carry heavy loads over the high pass. Dr. Kurt Boeckh crossed the pass with coolies, making very short marches; but Arnold Mumm was mistaken in thinking that after Dr. Boeckh had once reached

the other side, his passage of the Girthi valley was a specially remarkable feat. This is a regularly travelled route; but owing to the steepness of the gorge, it is not a route for laden animals. Starting from Milam, an easy march of about ten miles, by the banks of the stripling Goriganga, leads to the exiguous camping ground at Doong. Opposite Shillong, half-way to Doong, a comparatively broad valley opens out on the east, with a beautiful pyramidal snowy peak at the head of it, which is a good valley for baral. *Doong* (13,720) is at the parting of the ways, where the small stream, following the course hitherto taken, leads to the old traditional pass, while the route to Untadhura turns towards the NNW. The place-name given on the map marks no permanent human habitation of any kind; here and henceforth on this side of Tibet the names merely mark places where nomads have an opportunity to halt on their march. These place-names, whether they are followed by the letters E.G. or not, merely indicate a comparatively flat spot, about the size of a drawing-room carpet, on which small tents may be pitched.

The more easterly branch of the Goriganga, which leads to the Lessar Sira watershed, marks the route to the Johar Pass of tradition, perhaps the route to which Traill referred, which the Raja made passable at fabulous expense. The route by the Untadhura Pass is much travelled; but it is certainly difficult, being long and fatiguing, involving the crossing of two more high passes, of 19,340 and 18,300 feet, before Tibet is reached. When Traill said that the Johar Pass was the most difficult, he may possibly have been referring to the old pass, as well on to the stage of being a mere mountaineer's pass; but he may on the other hand have been referring to the route by the Untadhura. Mr. Hugh Rose set out from Doong last year to discover the old traditional pass, accompanied by Mr. G. Chaldecott, and reached an altitude of 18,000 feet; but he was finally stopped by deep crevasses and dangerous snow, for which his party was not equipped, though he thought that he had seen a practicable pass over the ridge at about 20,000 feet.¹

¹ H. J., IV, 123.

From Doong a journey of about ten miles, over ice and glacier debris, leads to the Untadhura Pass. The ascent is gentle; but much of the going is hard, like walking on a pebbly beach, where the pebbles are fairly large, but all rounded and slippery. I think that it is probable that the surprise of the Schlagintweits at discovering to what degree exhaustion could supervene after 16,500 feet when the effects of diminished pressure were aggravated by fatigue was felt on the Untadhura Pass, where the ascent from Doong is so gentle as for most of the way to be practically imperceptible to anybody who has been climbing and descending for weeks; but the going is bad and tiring, with occasional climbs over steep moraine, followed by steep descents; and the fact that on this bad going the traveller has ascended about four thousand feet will probably be brought to his notice before he reaches the top of the final slope which leads to Untadhura. The pass is under snow for something over eleven months of the year; but in the summer, when the snow below is firm, there is no special difficulty on account of it, nor in the monsoon, though fresh snow may often then be found, which may be troublesome; but the air is comparatively warm, and the days are long. For a brief period, from near the end of September until the middle of October, the pass is completely clear of snow; and the snow-level on the northern side is high, the slopes being clear for the most part up to about 19,000 feet.

On the northern side of the Himalaya, the traveller enters an area where the air is surprisingly dry and bracing, where if he may have felt trouble over crossing Untadhura, he will feel none in ascending to nineteen thousand feet or higher. But although the air is so dry, and remains so dry, there is some danger of storms, which must not be disregarded. The slight snow-storm, of two or three hours' duration in the evening, is not a source of danger. The snow vanishes, as if by magic, without first melting on the ground, leaving the ground as dry as it was before the snow fell, which is not in accordance with our ordinary experience in the matter of the disappearance of snow. Eighty years ago, Hooker, observing this phenomenon in the same area, but farther east, remarked that the humidity

was something under one per cent. and that the snow was merely evaporated into the excessively dry air. But when a really heavy fall occurs, the snow will not disappear in this manner: the pass is likely to become more and more difficult to cross, and must be crossed quickly. A heavy snow-storm, which near the head of Untadhura on the northern side is like the dreaded tourmentes of Mont Blanc, is comparatively mild a thousand feet below; and on the Indian side of the pass, fifty or even twenty feet down, the thing becomes nothing more than an ordinary snow-storm.

We re-crossed Untadhura in such a 'tourmente' in the October of 1930. We were running to avoid the obvious wrath to come, because the jhibu drivers were in a panic (not unreasonably): we were overtaken by it very quickly; but halting about six hundred feet below the pass there appeared to be nothing in particular to trouble us. Snow was falling very heavily, and the temperature was 10° F., slightly lower than that to which it ordinarily falls there when on a bright day the sun is obscured by an obstructing peak, not dangerously cold. But as the approach to the pass was mounted, it grew colder and colder, and the storm grew fiercer, so much so that near the top of the pass conditions looked quite dangerous, comparatively low though the altitude might be. The change on crossing to the Indian side was remarkable; snow was still falling heavily twenty feet below the crossing, but the driving gale was no longer felt, and the air by comparison seemed warm. A storm at 17,600 feet in an exposed position in the autumn is not to be treated lightly, and we were fortunate to get through with no casualties.

On the descent to the Girthi river from the Untadhura Pass, there is a view of startling beauty, of glaciers coming down from 22,400, headed by two great towers, apparently of pure ice. The glaciers are short and steep, and very heavily crevassed; but the moraine on the western side affords the easiest possible going up to about 18,500 feet. Farther west is the beautiful glacier whose scanty outfall leads down to the spot which in the survey map bears the name of Girthi.

The Topidunga camping ground (14,830) is situated im-

mediately below the glaciers with their great ice pinnacles; but a better camping ground, a little higher, is found by going about two miles farther on, and crossing the Girthi torrent. It is cold here in the early autumn; the Girthi torrent is frozen every night, and the temperature touches zero F. by 7-30 P.M.: but the curiously dry air is remarkably exhilarating. Baral abound on the hills to the north, whose pursuit is less fatiguing than might be expected from the altitude: and the elusive snowleopard will be wandering round the camp at night. The dry cold air induces hunger, and a craving for fatty foods: the frozen butter becomes the most important part of a meal: and a tin of butter does not go far. Climbing is pure joy (I can only speak of it up to 19,000 feet); unless one should be going down the valley, it is not possible to move at all without climbing, but no trouble from shortness of breath need be feared, nor any consciousness of the fact that the air is rarified, except when rapid movement may be made in pursuit of game.

I mentioned in the first of these articles how the early travellers in the Himalaya suffered from the effects of altitude at heights which we should now consider moderately low; how the reviewers ridiculed Colebrooke's suggestion that Dwalagiri was over 26,000 feet because at that height the air could not support clouds; and how James Baillie Fraser realized that neither he nor Moorcroft could have actually been over sixteen thousand feet, because he knew that at that altitude the rarified air could not expand the lungs. Humboldt had long before climbed higher; his exploits were apparently doubted. Mr. F. S. Smythe, in his account of the ascent of Kamet, gives some interesting comments on what he calls the bogey of altitude, the bogey to which he himself has given such damaging thrusts. He is probably correct in attributing the strength of the bogey in early years to the fact that the ascent of Mont Blanc was in those days the great mountaineering feat. The course was by the Grands Mulets, a fatiguing journey always: but in those days to reach the summit of Mont Blanc was something like arriving at the North Pole; those who reached it attributed their natural fatigue exclusively to the effect of altitude; and it was assumed that

in doing it they had touched the utmost limit of human exertion in high places. To the Schagintweits, visiting the Himalaya many years later under the auspices of Humboldt in his old age, the height of Mont Blanc could not have been a bogey, because they knew that Humboldt had climbed higher half a century before. Their curt remark in their official report, that for the generality of men the influence of height begins to be felt at 16,500 feet, ought to have pushed the bogey higher up the mountain. The trouble from 16,500 to 20,000 feet was only felt as aggravating fatigue: they felt some trouble above 20,000 feet, attributing it to deficiency of oxygen in the atmosphere. Mr. Smythe now puts the second stage, at which all climbing becomes fatiguing, at something over 23,000 feet.

I would say that nobody who has been accustomed to active exercise on his legs ought to expect trouble short of 20,000 feet. Our personal servants, men of the plains from Bettiah, past their first youth, but well-built, slim, healthy and fit, found no discomfort from altitude in 1930, except on the last five hundred feet of Untadhura, approaching it from the south, the natural result of a fatiguing journey. Re-crossing it from the northern side, they perceived no lessened power at all.

In India, where traditions die hard, the bogey of altitude still haunts the hill-stations, where the ordinary fatiguing effect of heat is still attributed to height. The human body is very adaptable; there may possibly be at 7,000 feet some reduction of capacity for exertion; but in a healthy man the practical effect is negligible. The Schagintweits' distinction between the cause of aggravated fatigue at over 16,500 feet and the cause of shortness of breath at over 20,000 was probably fallacious; the main cause of each experience was probably deficiency of oxygen in the atmosphere, whatever may be contributed by the possible deficiency or excess of its other elements. The work of the blood, in carrying to the tissues oxygen to replace that which has been consumed by muscular exertion, must necessarily become more difficult as the quantity of oxygen in the atmosphere decreases; and adequate rest is

necessary at high altitudes if that work is to be properly performed. We reach a stage where rest is actually needed between steps taken; and that stage may be reached as low as 17,000 feet in a person tired by long exertion: but at that low altitude the effect is only temporary, and it will pass away after normal rest, giving the blood time to repair the waste.

However that may be, 'altitude deterioration' need not be feared at these comparatively low levels; where recuperation follows normally on sufficient rest. For the jaded denizen of the plains of India, who fortified in spirit and rendered capable of making full use of his bodily powers by joy of the mountains, enters into the delectable region on the northern side, the reward is great. Whether he comes as a devout Hindu, traversing the Holy Land of Kumaon in order to approach the Abode of the Gods, or whether he is merely seeking a remedy for the enervating effects of a semi-tropical climate, he will not traverse this region without acquiring a deeper understanding of the springs of the real Hindu religion, whose founts are in Kumaon and in the land to the north where are Kailas and Manasarowar. He will also be renewing the springs of life at their founts, perhaps incidentally, like the sick man of the story, set by his doctor to search for the healing herb in the mountains, and recovering health and strength in the process. The beautiful verse from the Vulgate, the cry of pilgrims to high places in another holy land, may well be echoed by all who enter the inner region of this part of the Himalaya.

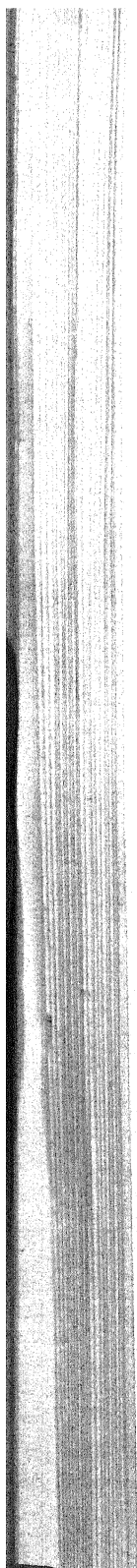
I have lifted up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help.

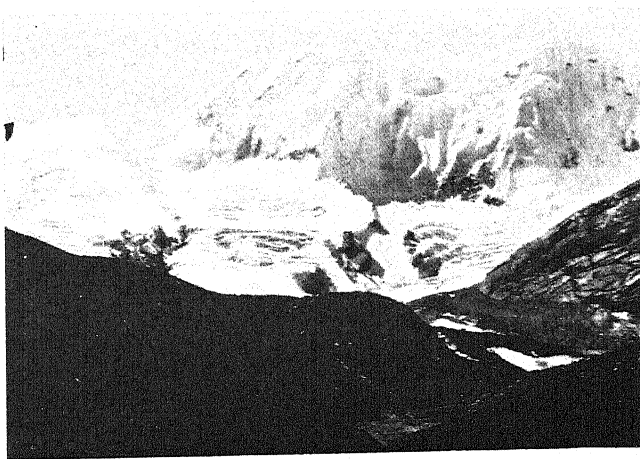
Note.—In the map of routes to Phurkiya and Untadhura, for the preparation of which I am indebted to Mr. J. H. Williams, Deputy Director of Surveys, B. and O., the altitudes given are based on the latest calculations made in the Geodetic Branch of the Survey of India. Some slight alterations from those hitherto accepted will be observed: Nanda Devi is 25,645: Trisul is reduced from 23,406 to 23,360: Trisul East from 22,360 to 22,320: and Nanda Kot from 22,530 to 22,510.



Topidunga, on the bank of the Girthi river
at 14,800 ft.

J. B. O. R. S., 1933.





Glaciers near Topidunga, and 22,400.

J. B. O. R. S., 1933.

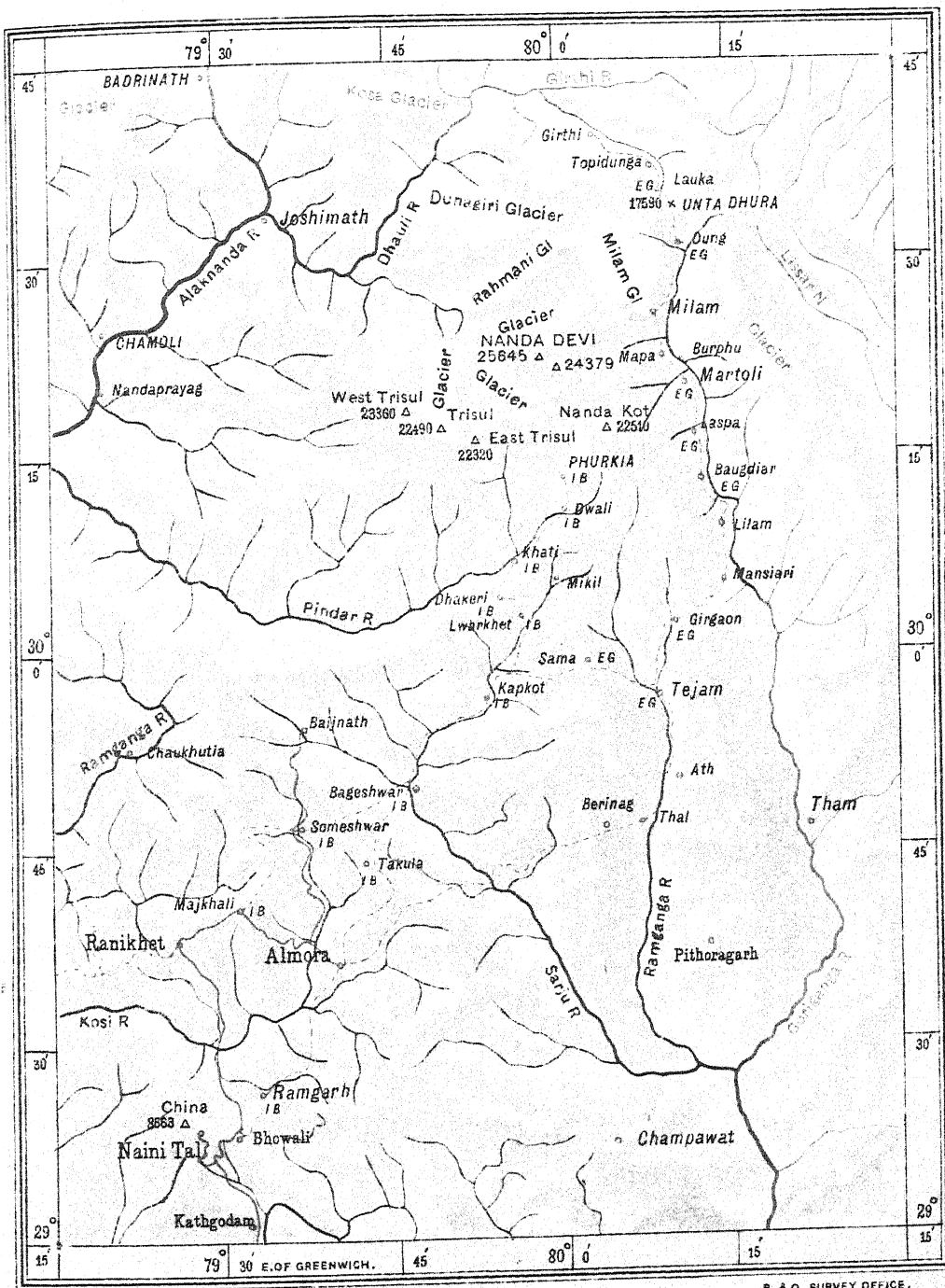


The Girthi Glacier, and 23,220.

Sketch map

of

The routes to Phurkia and Unta Dhura from Almora.



Res. No. 79-33-450

Scale 1 Inch to 16 Miles

MILES 10 5 0 10 20 30 MILES

REFERENCES

Metalled road.
Bridle path.

**III. APPENDICES TO HISTORY OF INDIA,
150 A.D. to 350 A.D.**

By K. P. Jayaswal.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Read at p. 34, l. 4, Nāgabhaṭṭa *instead of* Nāgadatta.

Add to f.n. 1 at p. 51: See plate in Banerji's *History of Orissa*, i. 113, of coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, which were found, 112 in number, in a hoard along with 170 Puri Kushan coins, in Mayurbhanj, Orissa.

Statement about 'Meghas' at p. 87, l. 25, has been corrected in App. D; and that at p. 113, §111, and f.n. 3, about the 'first Gupta King' has been modified in App. F.

Read at p. 142, l. 11, with the family of Nāgabhaṭṭa *instead of* with the Nāgadatta.

„ p. 206, l. 31, Ayodhyā *instead of* Ajodhyā.

„ p. 210, l. 20, Guptas „ Gupta.

APPENDIX D.

Bhīṭā Excavations on the Hindu War on the Kushans and On Vākāṭaka Seals and Inscriptions.

I.

Kushans at Bhīṭā.

Bhīṭā as exposed by the spade¹ offers itself as an epitomé of Indian history for at least sixteen centuries, if not more. The site had been occupied from about the Tenth Century B.C. to the Tenth Century A.D. In these two millennia, we are here concerned with the remains of the Kushan-to-Gupta Period. Sir John Marshall found that the site discloses two military attacks on it, both of which fall within our period. To quote his words: (regarding the fourth stratum)

Two attacks on the
city.

(a) 'That the house was hurriedly deserted, owing to some catastrophe, in the Kushana period, and afterwards suffered to fall to ruin, seems manifest from the coins and other articles left lying on the floors, and by the subsequent accumulation of débris in the rooms and court, but how long the edifice had been standing when this happened, it is impossible to determine with any degree of certainty.'

(b) [Regarding the fifth stratum] 'This second evacuation, which took place in the early Gupta epoch, seems to have been as precipitate as the first and to have resulted from some hostile attack on the city; for many missiles, such as catapult and sling balls, were found in the houses and lanes and most of the houses themselves were burnt, while in the house which I am describing, even the sacred images of the gods were abandoned to their fate'²

¹ 'Excavations at Bhīṭā' by Sir John Marshall, A.S.R., 1911-12, pp. 29 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 34. Cf., p. 37, 'Like the houses of Nāgadeva and Jayavasuda, this one must also have been deserted hastily in the Kushana times, as indicated by the minor objects found on the floors' [re-Building No. 23].

The exact period of the first attack is indicated by the finds on the original floor of the house of the fourth stratum which is to be distinguished from the débris above reaching the fifth stratum. Seventeen copper coins of Kanishka and Huviska were found on the floor of the fourth stratum and three clay sealings [Nos. 19, 20, and 73], the characters of which are in the early Kushan script. The débris were three feet deep when a new building thereon was constructed. Sir John has given the date of this construction as the end of the Third Century A.D. We can be certain that this new construction was done a short time after the date of the seal of Nāgadeva (No. 5), which Sir John Marshall has described as having late Kushan script. This was found two feet above the floor of the fourth stratum (p. 48). The débris, according to Sir John, had accumulated in the natural course (p. 34). A further and still more positive datum is afforded by the fact that in the excavations although no Kushan coins later than those of Huviska were found, a mould (No. 35, p. 65) for minting gold coin of Vāsudeva was discovered. This shows that the sack must refer to the early years of Vāsudeva, not a single coin of whose reign has been found there. We might note here that seventeen coins of his predecessor, Huviska, seven coins of Kanishka, and three coins of Kadphises II were found in different parts of the excavations. In the period after the sack, we have such names as Nāgadeva [about 200 A.D.] and Amātya Nāgadāma [No. 40, *cir.* 200 A.D.]. A large number of 'anonymous Kosam' coins were recovered but they have not been published. They may include coins of the Bhāraśivas. The seal of *Amātya Nāgadāma* closely agrees in script with that of the Bhāraśiva coins. The title *Amātya*, which is on several seals of the period, denotes a reversion [by the Bhāraśivas] to the old Hindu system of government. It seems that in the Bhāraśiva period the town was under their *Amātyas*.

The second military operation against the city in the early Gupta epoch must refer to the first Āryāvarta War of Samudra Gupta in the first few years of

Rudrasena who has got one coin only (No. 100) to his credit in the excavations.¹

Bhītā is 10 miles S.S.W. from Allahabad.² It is on the southern bank of the Jumna. The City stood at the gate of the Chedi country. We find it fortified before the Maurya time, according to the excavations. The name of the place was *Sahajāti*, which is found in a terra-cotta seal matrix in the house called by Sir John Marshall the '*House of Guild*'. It is seal No. 1 which is the oldest record found at Bhītā. It is in Māgadhi and reads *Śahajātiye nigamaśa*. Every letter of the seal is at least a century older (if not earlier still) than Aśoka's letters. Sir John's reading (*Śahijitiye*) is incorrect. The town of Sahajāti is mentioned in the Vinaya Piṭaka (Chullavagga, Chap. XII) where at the time of the Second Council (about 100 years after the Buddha's death) the Venerable Revata is approached by the brethren of Vaiśālī who reach it by a boat.³ Sahajāti was in the Chedi country and it was so in the time of the Buddha's disciple Chuṇḍa.⁴ Numerous seals, found in the house of the President of the City Corporation, from Government Civil Officials and Military Officers and a Vākāṭaka prince [see below] prove that it was probably a military station in the Bhāraśīva and the Vākāṭaka period, as it evidently had been before. The seals would have been attached to government orders and also probably to orders for drawing money from the President who acted also as the State bank. The seals cover several generations. The city had grown as a commercial station, being situated almost at the terminus of the Jumna,

¹ His son Prithivishena has also only one (No. 73).

² Cunningham, Vol. III, p. 46.

³ Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana, *Buddhacharyā*, pp. 559 and 561, where the identification has been suggested.

There is no warrant for Sir John's supposition that the old name of Bhītā was *Vichīgrāma* of which a sealing (not seal-matrix) was discovered in the excavations. A matrix (No. 11) with the personal (man's) name *Vichī* found in another place proves only this that a man of the name of *Vriśchī* lived there.

⁴ Āṅguttara Nikāya, VI, 5, 4, 5; X, 1, 3, 4; X, 2, 4, 5.

and serving as the internal port for transport between the Doab and Central India via the ancient Deccan Road.¹

II.

Vākātaka Seals at Bhīṭā.

The period of peace after the overthrow of the Kushan power is a gradation from 150/200 A.D. Importance of Sahajāti [the period of the Amātya administration] grows. to the next century which is marked by a different class of officers under the Vākātakas to whom the Empire passed from the Bhāraśivas. Documents from princes of the blood, governors, generals, and the emperor come into evidence, showing that Sahajāti had risen into importance and that it was then in close touch with the then imperial capital of the Vākātakas.

In a script of about 250 A.D., '*in northern characters of the 2nd or 3rd Century A.D.*'—(Marshall, p. 52), we have a most important seal. Mahārājādhirāja's Seal.

The letters of this seal, No. 29, are not Kushan and are distinctly pre-Guptan. They are a class by themselves. They read: '*..ṭaka mahārājādhirāja*'.² The '*ja*' is just like the Kushan letter, and '*ra*' with a small seriph is still straight, while '*ka*' has a straight cross-bar. The '*ha*' assumes a form approaching that at Jaggayapetta and it is yet distant from the Allahabad pillar form. It is thus, on the whole, a writing of the latter half of the Third Century A.D., marking a period of transition. A distinct character, however, is given to it by the first letter *ṭa* which, curiously enough, has

¹ Bhadanta Sāṅkṛityāyana has drawn my attention to the other two towns in the Chedi country occurring in the Pāli Canon, namely, *Bhaddavatikā* and *Sahan-čanikā*. Bhaddavatikā is Ptolemy's *Badraotis* which falls in Chedi. Is *Sahan-čanikā* the same as *Chanakā* of the Purāṇas?

² Sir John Marshall's reading '*..raka Mahārājādhirāja*' is inaccurate with regard to the first letter, which can never be '*ra*' in any period of Indian palaeography. The vertical which he took to be a '*ra*' turns with a loop towards the cross-bar of the next letter '*ka*' which it almost touches [below the left end of the bar], and there is a box-head like a '*ṭa*' attached to the top of the letter.

a box-head. It is the earliest specimen of the box-headed Vākātaka writing. The beginning of the legend is broken. Considering the shape of the seal, there seem to have been two more letters as Sir John Marshall has assumed. The first two missing letters, in my opinion, were *Vākā* (and not *Bhaṭṭa*—as suggested by Sir John Marshall). The whole legend gave '[*Vākā*]taka-Mahārājādhirāja'. '*Mahārājādhirāja*'—a new title—appears here for the first time. It was a Hindu rendering and adaptation of the '*Shāhānushāhi*' title of the Kushans which denoted their imperial position. Pravarasena I alone could be the Vākātaka sovereign to assume this title, which after his four *asvamedhas* expanded into that of *Samrāṭ*. The seal, like the coins of Pravarasena, is dated. It bears numerals of a type which must have become archaic in his time: 30, 7 (=37). Like the other records of this king we have to take it to be in the era counted from the foundation of the family, i.e. his father's coronation, 248 A.D. We have already seen (*ante* p. 79) that the reign of Vindhyaśakti covers 36 years, and the seal being dated in the 37th year, it must refer to the second year of Pravarasena's reign. The second face of the sealing bears the bull figure which becomes the chief emblem of the dynasty and is stamped on all the seals of high State-officials and generals of the period [see below] and on the Pallava documents. It becomes the crest of the Vākātaka Government. This seal was found 18" (eighteen inches) above the Kushan level and eleven feet below from the top, which works out to be the level of the Third Century A.D.

The next important document is the seal of Gautami-putra (No. 25) which was discovered in the débris below the floor built in the Fourth Century A.D. The seal of Gautami-putra is artistically the best seal of Hindu India and Sir John Marshall rightly observes: '*In respect of execution the seal excels any object of this class which has yet been discovered in India*' (p. 51). On account of the title Gautami-putra, Sir John Marshall thought that the ruler in the seal was an Āndhra king. But it is not correct. The system of being described by the mother's name

was prominent in Brahmin and Kshatriya families (more prominent in the former), e.g. in the inscriptions of the Śunga time (at Ayodhyā, Pabhosā, etc.). The Āndhra Sātavāhanas who were Brahmins similarly followed the custom. The Vākātakas, who were Brahmins originally and assumed their Kshatriya rôle under the imperial influence of the Nāgas and on account of marriages into their family, would naturally observe that custom. That Gautamīputra Vākātaka assumed it as his official name is a fact attested by the Vākātaka inscriptions. His name stands out with the implicit claim that he was from a Brahmin mother. There are several facts which establish the identity of the Gautamīputra of the seal with the Gautamīputra of the Vākātaka inscriptions. The Āndhras never employ Sanskrit while all the known Vākātaka inscriptions, like the seal, are in Sanskrit. The Āndhras were not *vrishadvaja* ('having in their banner Śiva's bull'). The dynasty of the Gautamīputra of the seal is different from that of the Sātavāhanas. He is called here 'The Increaser of Śrī Vindhya [*Śrī-Vindhyabardhana-Mahārājasya*¹ 'the *Mahārāja* who is the increaser (of the family) of *Śrī Vindhya*, which may be compared with *Chetirājā-Va(m)sa=vadhanasa* of the Hathigumphā inscription]. It means that he belonged to the family of *Śrī Vindhya*, i.e. of King Vindhyaśakti, the founder of the Vākātaka family and grandfather of Gautamīputra. On the coins of Rudrasena and Prithivishena the same hill symbol appears which is to be found in the middle of this seal and which from the later seals of the Śivalinga of Kālāñjara (No. 15) is to be identified as the *Vindhya Hill*. The Vākātaka coins have got the *Vṛisha* of Śiva on which Śiva is seated in Rudrasena's coin. That corresponds with the '*Vṛishadvaja*' of this seal. The Vākātakas, according to the inscriptions, were Śaiva, and in the seal the prince claims that his royalty had been dedicated to Maheśvara (i.e. Lord Śiva) and his son Mahāsena. Probably the original *Ishtadevatā* of

¹ The whole text of the seal (running round the margin) is: *Śrī Vindhyabardhana-Mahārājasya Maheśvara-Mahāsenātīśrīṣṭa-rājyasya vrishadvajasya Gautamīputrasya*. It is slightly misread by Sir John Marshall as *Śrī Vindhyabedhana*°. There is neither any horizontal e mark, nor any room between the ligature *ndhya* and *ba* for such a mark.

Vindhyaśakti was the famous Śiva *Kālañjara*¹ who is apparently the same as *Kāleśvara* appearing in a later seal (No. 14). The Āndhras never had Śiva as their Ishtadevatā, nor had they the title of *Mahārāja* which the owner of this seal bears.

According to the Vākāṭaka inscriptions, Gautamīputra was the son of Pravarasena I and father of Rudrasena I, and in the Vākāṭaka plates he bears the same appellation Gautamīputra (without any personal name) as here. He seems to have been a *Mahārāja* (governor) under his father who was *Mahārājādhirāja*. The letters are consciously moulded with the aim of perfect symmetry, and the forms adopted are all square which makes the scribe adopt some archaic forms (e.g. of *ha* and *ma*). They are slightly later than the letters of the seal No. 29 in their general tendency in spite of the older forms.²

In this seal (No. 25) we find not only a document of Gautamīputra but also the name of the first king of the family [Śrī Vindhya].

Seal No. 27 gives the name of Bhīmasena. It was found among the débris accumulated above the Kushan floor (pp. 32 and 51) and Sir John Marshall rightly assigns it to the Second or Third Century A.D. This Śrī Bhīmasena is identical with the Śrī Bhīmasena of the Ginja inscription discussed above (*ante* p. 108), of the year 52 of the Vākāṭaka era, from which his date is fixed (300 A.D.). It has a standing Nandi-bull and the figure of Gaṅgā (compare it with the more distinct figure in seal No. 26, discussed below).³ The writing closely resembles the writing at Ginja (E.I., Vol. III, pl., p. 305). The bow-and-arrow mark which is on the seal is not an exclusive Southern Indian

¹ The god Kālañjara has two later seals, discovered at Bhītā (viz. 15, 16). Both *Kālañjara* and *Kāleśvara* probably signify the same deity.

² See the *i-mātrā* on *m* in *Gautamī*°.

³ Where on Vākāṭaka seals or coins, e.g. on Rudrasena's coin or Bhīmasena's seal, the Vṛisha or Gaṅgā or both face or point towards the standard, it means that the standard is Vṛishadhvaṇa and that it bears these symbols on it. The device is obvious, for it would be too cumbersome to depict these figures inside a banner on such small objects as seals and coins.

device. It is also found in seal No. 73 which bears Kushan characters. Bhīmasena was the actual governor of the area in the year 300 A.D. which is conclusively proved by the neighbouring Ginja record. In the seal his mother's name is also given, he being called *Vāsishthīputtra*, not *Vasasuputra* as read by Sir John Marshall. The whole legend reads: *Rājño¹ Vāsishthī-puttrasya Śrī-Bhīmasena[sya]*. He is called *mahārāja* at Ginja. It seems that he also was a son of Pravarasena I, from another wife who belonged to the Vāsishthī gotra.

Seal No. 26 belongs to another Vākāṭaka governor and was recovered from the same stratum as the seal numbered 27. The legend is in similar characters but slightly later in date: '*Mahārāja Gautamiputrasya Śrī Śiva-māghasya*'. It has the same crest of the Nandi bull and the Ganges as on the seal of Bhīmasena, and the title *Mahārāja*. The figure of the Ganges standing on a *makara* is clear here. Her left hand is on the hip in both the figures and the right hand points to a standard. *Mahārāja Śivamāgha²* is known from a stone inscription at Kosam inscribed during his rule (E.I., Vol. XVIII, p. 159, pl. No. ii). He was actually the Governor of Kauśāmbi in the beginning of the Fourth Century A.D. He seems to have been dead or transferred by the Vākāṭaka year 86³ (334 A.D. which falls within the reign of Pravarasena I) when another governor *Mahārāja Śrī Bhadrāma* .. was ruling at Kauśāmbi.

Thus we have these further records of the time of Pravarasena I:—

Vākāṭaka-Mahārājādhirāja (Seal No. 29) [Year 37=285 A.D.]

Mahārāja Gautamiputra (Seal No. 25).

¹ It was read by Sir John Marshall as '*Rājña*'.

² Sir John Marshall was doubtful about the vowel-force to *ma* and he has read doubtfully *m[e]gha*. But *mā* is clear both here and in the Kosam inscription. I take this opportunity to correct the statement, *ante* page 87, § 76, where I assumed the reading of Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahani (*Śiva-m[e]gha*) and his view, that they were Gupta governors, to be correct.

³ E.I., XVIII, 160, pl. No. 3. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahani read the date as 88.

Rājā Bhimasena (Seal No. 27) [at Ginja, 'Mahārāja', year 52=300 A.D.].

Mahārāja Śivamāgha (Seal No. 26).

Mahārāja Bhadrana.. (Year 86=334 A.D.).

Seal No. 30, of *Mahādevī* Rudramatī, with Nandi bull (couchant), is the latest royal document of the Vākāṭakas. We do not yet know whose queen she was. We have nothing

later here than the time of Prithivīsheṇa. It has letters of the Fourth Century A.D. and was found in the pre-Guptan level.

These seals and other Vākāṭaka seals of officials (to be discussed presently) prove the universal employment of Sanskrit in the Vākāṭaka Court from the very beginning, and the existence of a high stage of art and culture which is in no way inferior to that evidenced by the Gupta coins.

We have quite a number of sealings of officials belonging to the period. They are clearly distinguishable on account of the distinctive royal Vākāṭaka emblems on them.

Seal No. 33 is of *Jayanta*, a cavalry officer (*aśva-pati*).

It has the Vākāṭaka wheel-mark. Seal Officers' Seals. No. 36 belongs to *Amātya Īśvarachandra*.

This also has the Vākāṭaka wheel-mark. Seals Nos. 37 and 38 of *Amātya Dharmadeva* may or may not belong to the class as the Vākāṭaka royal marks are absent thereon. Seal No. 44 is distinctly Vākāṭakan in script and symbols. It has the Nandi bull and a wheel. The owner was a general—*Danḍanāyaka Śrī Śaṅkaradatta*. Similarly seal No. 45 has a (couchant) bull and also probably a wheel and is from *Danḍanāyaka Grāmabala*. Seal No. 46 is similar to seal No. 45 and is from *Danḍanāyaka La*... Seal No. 48 (not reproduced) appears to be similar to the above seals and is from *Danḍanāyaka Yajña-vī*.... Seal No. 49 has a couchant bull; '*Danḍanā [yaka] Umasya*'. No. 51 is exactly similar to No. 44: a standing bull with a mark of the sun between the horns, similar to the figure on No. 44: *Danḍanāyaka Va*. No. 52 of *Pratihāra*.. *Viśākha Rudradāma*. It has the couchant bull as in No. 45 but more artistically done. No. 54 is similar where the name is *Gaṅgadeva*. No. 57 has a powerful representation of the bull

facing the figure of Gaṅgā which stands between the bull and the standard of Śiva's trident-and-battleaxe (*cf.* seal No. 14 of Kālañjara). No. 78 has a couchant bull with *Rudrasimha* in characters of the fourth century (a little later than those described above).

The bull-figures may be compared with those on the Vākātaka coins and the Pallava seals. Majority of the bull figures on the seals exhibit great art and so does their lettering.

APPENDIX E.

Paikuli Sassanian Inscription (293/4 A.D.) and its bearing on the Vākāṭaka Period of Indian History.

The (Kurdistan) Paikuli Inscription, edited by Prof. ERNST HERZFELD in *Forschungen Zur Islamischen Kunst* (Series No. III) under the title *PAIKULI MONUMENT AND INSCRIPTION OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE SASSANIAN EMPIRE* (in two volumes), Berlin, 1924, has a bearing on the period of Indian History discussed above. It refers to the Ābhīras, the lord of Avanti, 'Satraps', and the Kúshán king.

The inscription was discovered by Sir Henry Rawlinson who made an eye-copy of it in 1836. It was edited by Thomas in his '*Early Sassanian Inscriptions, Seals and Coins*' (JRAS., 1868). Prof. Herzfeld undertook several journeys to Paikuli and recognized that it was a bilingual record. His work could only be published by the generosity of Sir Dorabji Tata and through the kind interest of Prof. Browne of Cambridge. Out of gratitude to them the German scholar has published his work in English.

The inscription was engraved by the order of King Narseh, and the subject is the war between him and Varhrán III.

Pápak, son or descendant of Sásán, flourished as a vassal chief near Shíráz whose son Ardashír became the founder of an empire and assumed the title of *Sháhánsháh i Erán* (emperor of Erán) on April 28th, 224 A.D., on the defeat of the Arsacidan suzerain Ardaván. On the eastern side of his empire he included therein Khorásán, with the result that the *Kúshán Sháh*, the next neighbour, amongst others, sent his envoy to declare his allegiance. This account is taken from Tabarí, which stands confirmed by the coins of Pápak and his son Sháhpuhr, elder brother of Ardashír I, and of Ardashír I (originally published by Thomas and Cunningham; *Paikuli*, i, 36). Ardashír's son, Sháhpuhr I, ruled in 241-272, who called

himself '*Emperor (King of kings) of Érán and non-Érán (anérán)*'. The next sovereigns Hormizd I (272-273) and Varhrán I (273-276) were short-lived. Varhrán II (276-293) was greatly harassed (283 A.D.) by the Roman Emperor (M. Aur. Carus) and by the rebellion of his own brother Hormizd in the east (289 A.D.). On the death of Varhrán II a dynastic war broke out (293 A.D.) between Varhrán III (son of Varhrán II) and his grand-uncle, Narseh. Narseh proved successful and reigned from 293 to 302 A.D. in which year he was succeeded by his son Hormizd II (302-309 A.D.).¹ The Paikuli Inscription relates to this dynastic struggle of 293 A.D.

In this civil war the 'lord of Avanti' [*Avandikán xvatávya*] took the side of Varhrán III. And according to the inscription, 'all kinds of Satraps' (*Sátrap gónak gónak*) congratulated the new king (Narseh) on his victory. So also congratulated him 'the king of the Ābhīras' [*Ābīrán Šáh*].

It is noteworthy that these princes are 'all enumerated as independent princes' (Herzfeld, p. 43). Prof. Herzfeld's surmise that they had been subject to the Sassanian throne up to the war is not supported by the inscription. Had they been subject, they would not have been treated as independent by the victorious emperor. The Avantikas had aided as mere allies Varhrán III who had been governor and ruler of Sistān. The German scholar has been influenced by the unproved theory of Dr. Vincent Smith of a supposed 'unrecorded' Sassanian invasion of India [Sindh, the Punjab, etc.].

I cite below the passages having bearing on India from the Paikuli Inscription. The text is bilingual—Pársík and Pahlavík; where the original text is given the language is indicated by (*Pr.*) or (*Ph.*) In line 24 we read:

'straight to the country of Asúristán they do not
'come.....with that army come together.....own.....'

¹ After him the succession is:

Sháhpuhr II (309-379);
Ardashir II (379-383);
Sháhpuhr III (383-388);
Varhrán IV (388-399).

‘Sakánsháh (i.e. the rival of Narseh), and Vahunám
 ‘until....TANDY, and by (?) them (25) the lord of
 ‘Avanti [Avandik(á)n xvat(á)vya, (Ph.)¹ the Sakán-
 ‘sháh, and Vahunám.....TRAN I arrive’ (pp. 105,
 ‘107).

It is thus clear that the lord of the Avandikán was a chief ally of Varhrán (III) the Sakánsháh. Line 29 says that Vahunám was captured and bound and was brought on a donkey (after being paraded) to the royal Porte.

Lines 44 to 47 enumerate the kings and rulers who recognized the new king (pp. 117, 119) after the victory—an event which may be dated in or about 294 A.D., the year following the battle. The text is as follows:

‘And the king of the Kúshán [*Kuš(á)n ŠĀH*-(Ph.)], ‘and to us the Cæsar [*Késare*-(Pr.)], and the Roman [*hróme*-(Pr.)]²...

‘(45).....(42) and the king of Khwárizm, and Zámásp the...pat of the Kúshdán, and Dígambak(?) [the..., and Sayyidí, the Shaikh of the Arabs [*Harvánik* (Pr.), *Arvánik* (Pl.)], and Pak, the eunuch, and Bérúvân, son of (?) Spandorát, and the king of the Páradán, and Varáčgurt the king, and the king of Žand-Afrík, and the king of Makúrán, and X. the king of....., and Tírdát the king, and ‘Amru, the descendant of the Abgars,..... and the king of Ábhíra [*Ābírán ŠĀH*-(Pr.)], and Síká.....

‘(46).....(43’).....—ŮRYN YPPT that their BYTAK.....—satraps of all kind, (Vará)zgirde, the lord [*Xvatáy* (Pr.) *xvatávya* (Pl.)] of the Sakhúričán, and Khvarasmán, the lord of the Mókán, and Bagdát, the lord of the Zúrádián, and MitrÁLasén, the [lord of the] Bóraspičín, and Bátí, the lord of the Zúradatčín, and X. the lord of the [Ap]rěsumičán, and Márwak [the lord of] the Ishtakvín, and..... the lord of the Térakhčín,...

‘(47)..... the lord [of the...], and the other princesour instruction they become, and the whole Empire

¹ The Pársík text has decayed here.

² Read ‘the Roman Cæsar’s’: ‘and’ in the text is wrong.

anew (?) I wish (?) (or: they congratulated me) and some came personally to our Porte, others envoys PAKR, and by(?) him the Empire, and the place, and to our service they come he holds, on him [they] say End.'

The Kúshán Sháh who is put on par with the Roman Kesar (Cæsar) was the Kushan king. The word KÚSHÁN in the inscription has been treated as a territorial unit; evidently the dynastic name (after the name of the first king *Kushana*) gave the territorial designation of *Kúshán* to the Balkh-Badakshan region. The Kúshán Sháh here must be the Kushan emperor, to be mentioned even before the Roman emperor. The group of kings headed by these two emperors (lines 44-45 of the Pársik text, and lines 41-42 of the Pahlavik text) are undoubtedly independent kings.

It is noteworthy that the *Ābhirán Šáh* or the king of the Ābhīra country is in that list of kings. We know that the first Ābhīra king—Īśvarasena—founded the Ābhīra kingdom about 240 A.D. (§164 above). The Ābhīras before him were republican (§164). They appear again as republican in 350 A.D. in Samudra Gupta's time. The Ābhīra king in 293-294 A.D. was thus one of the descendants of Īśvarasena whose records are dated in his own royal years and not in the Śaka era. The Ābhīra king up to 294 A.D. was an independent sovereign ruling over a part of Aparānta (insc. at Nāsik) and the neighbourhood. He must have sent his envoy to Narseh like other kings (line 48). In the reign of Pravarasena I (284-344 A.D.) who is followed by Samudra Gupta, the Ābhīra kingdom must have been suppressed, evidently soon after 294 A.D.

The king of the Pāradán is the king of the Pāradas of Sanskrit or Pāladas of Aśoka. I have shown elsewhere¹ that these Pāradas were a northern nation, in north Afghanistan, and their modern representatives are the Bārad-zái. The existence of a king of the Pāradas in 293-294 A.D. proves that the community ceased to be republican which they had been in the days of Aśoka, and that the Pārada king was independent

¹ IA, 1933, p. 121, ('Places and Peoples in Aśoka's Inscriptions').

and not under the Kúshán Sháh, who thus does not seem to have had the whole of Afghanistan under him.

The second group of 'all sorts of Satraps' is taken by Prof. Herzfeld to be an Indian group. He identifies them ('twelve') as Indo-Scythians. He is mostly influenced by V. Smith's view that Kathiawād and the territories upwards were under the Śakas up to the reign of Chandra Gupta II. He also identifies the lord of Avanti as a Śaka Satrap. When Prof. Herzfeld counts 12 Śaka Satraps, he evidently includes in them the lord of Avanti and the king of the Ābhīras, for the 'Satraps of all kind' text has only 10 rulers. The view that the group of the Satraps is all Indian is not accurate; nor can the Ābhīra king come under the Indo-Scythian class. But a few of them are certainly Indian.

The lord of Zúrádián is certainly the lord of the Surāshṭras, as pointed out by Prof. Herzfeld (p. 43). The Surāshṭras had been republican in the time of Kauṭilya. Soon they came under the imperial rule of Chandra Gupta Maurya and Aśoka. Then they came under Rudradāman who was elected by them their king about 150 A.D. In 293-94 A.D. they are under a ruler (*xv atá vya*, not necessarily a 'Satrap') whose name BAGDÁT may be identified as BHAGADATTA or BHAGADĀTA. Now we know all the Kshatrapa names from 150 A.D. to 332 A.D.—in practically an unbroken succession (Rapson, C. A. D., cliv-clvii), and no name having the slightest approach to Bhagadatta is found in that list. Prof. Rapson has pointed out in connection with the name ĪŚVARADATTA, that the DATTA-ending is foreign to the Kshatrapa family (p. cxxxiii). Surāshṭra had been the seat of the Western Satraps. The appearance of Bhagadatta in Surāshṭra in 294 A.D. confirms the conclusion already advanced in our History (§§81, 164) that Surāshṭra had been won back from the Western Satraps before the Gupta time. Bhagadatta seems to belong to the confederacy of the Ābhīras, cf. the name 'Ābhīra Śivadatta'. The Saurāshṭras are described as a republican community at the rise of Samudra Gupta by the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, that is, they had been so in the time of the VAKĀTAKAS also (§82). It is likely that this Bhagadatta was a republican chief, which is

evidently suggested by the Paikuli term 'all sorts of Satraps'. If they had been only of the class of 'Śaka' Satraps such a description was not needed. The description is constitutional; several constitutional classes of independent, though small, rulers are intended.

Prof. Herzfeld identifies Mókán as the district around Quetta. Its lord was Khvarasmán. The learned scholar thinks that MitrĀśén (the lord of Bóraspičín) was a Śaka Satrap. But the Śaka Satrap at the time was *Mahākshatrapa* Bhartrīdāman (289-295 A.D.) with his *Kshatrapa* Viśvasena (294-304) and his predecessor was Viśva Simha (Rapson, p. clvi). We have a total absence of the Mahākshatrapa's family in the Paikuli list. It is thus evident that they were not free to have diplomatic dealings and they must have been represented by the Kúshán Sháh. The independent Indian sovereigns mentioned in the list were Hindu rulers, who at the time existed, according to the Purāṇic data, in Avanti, Ābhira, and Surāshṭra (§§ 73A, 74, 81, 145 ff.), probably forming a confederacy. MitrĀśén may be a leader of 'the Three Mitra' Republics (Pushyimitra, Paṭumitra, and Padmamitra), and Bóraspičín is probably from *Vāravatī*, capital of the *Vāravatyā* Yādavas who were near Valabhī, and whose rulers bore the title of *Pushpa*..., according to the Mañju-Śrī-Mūlakalpa (ch. 53, p. 625).¹ It is not possible to identify any of the other names as Indian, except perhaps MĀRWAK as MĀLAVAKA, which is discounted by the unknown *Ishtakvīn*.

The data of Paikuli admirably confirm the Purāṇic data for 293-294 A.D. The date falls within the first ten years of the Vākātaka imperial time under Pravarasena I. We have noted above (p. 87) that the province of Malwā, where these free communities of the Āvantyas and the Mitras had been ruling, seems to have been acquired about 300-310 A.D. by the

¹ Pushpa-nāmo tato proktā Vāravatyāṃ purodbhavaḥ |
Valabhyāṃ * * * *

anantā nripatayo proktā Yādavānāṃ kulodbhavāḥ |
Cf. ĀMMK., p. 604 where *Vāray(v)atyāḥ* are *Yāu(d)avāḥ*.

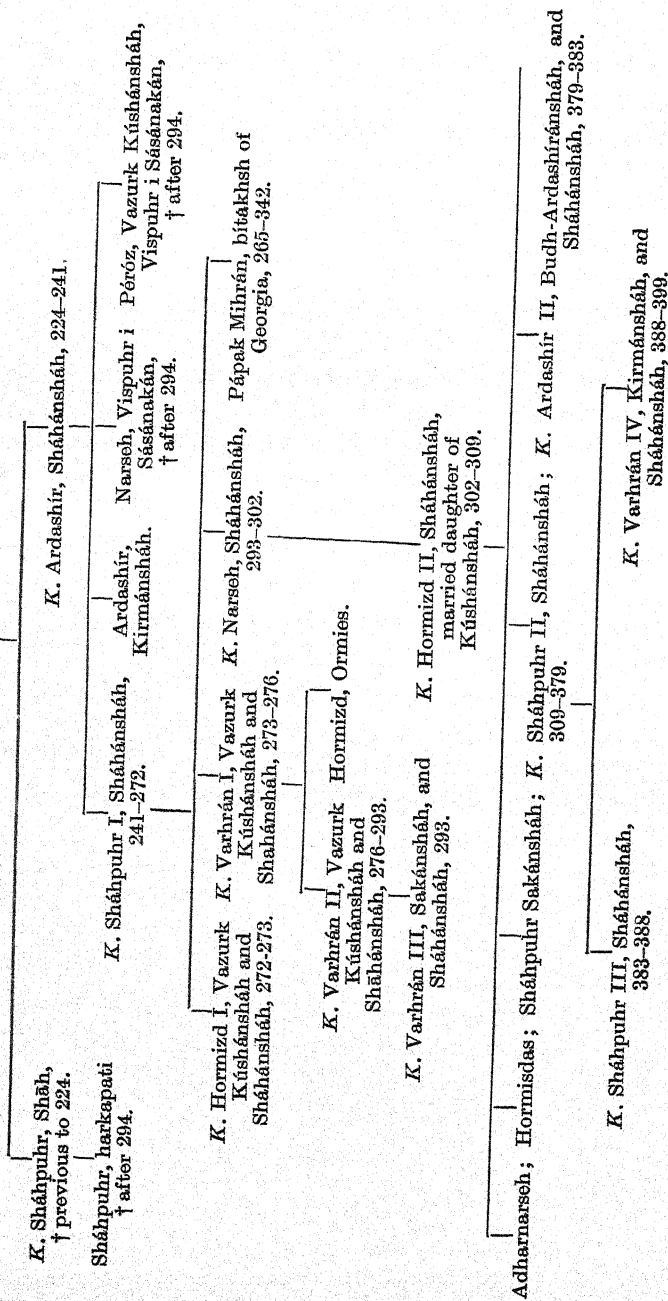
Vākāṭakas as their over-lord. Just before that they appear to be absolutely independent. It must have been they and the Saurāshṭras who drove the Śaka Satrap out of that part of the country. The Purāṇic history of the Ābhīra kingdom (rise about 248 A.D., §164, p. 170 above) stands confirmed by Paikuli which records the Ābīrān Śāh as an important sovereign in 293-294. Their appearance in the time of Samudra Gupta (350 A.D.) as a republic shows that under Pravarasena I the Ābhīra monarchy came to an end, about 300-310 A.D., when the Province of Malwa came under the Vākāṭaka House. Their individuality was preserved in the form of their republican government. This history leaves no room for a Śaka Satrap in Koṅkaṇa, Kathiawāḍ, Gujarat, and Malwā in 293-300 A.D. The Śaka had been pushed out to Cutch-Sindh before 293 A.D.

THE KUSHANS AND THE SASSANIAN EMPIRE.

Certain Sassanian coin-legends, and titles, noted by Muhammadan historians, throw light on the condition of the Kushan emperors in the Bhāraṣīva-Vākāṭaka period. The former were already available from Cunningham and other numismatists, and the latter have been collected from literary sources by Prof. Herzfeld, who has prepared the following chart exhibiting the titles (I have inserted *K.* before the names of kings):

[From the Paikuli Inscription, p. 51.]

Pāpak Shāh, about 200-220.



The rise of Ardashīr, the first Sassanian king (224-241), falls in the Bhāraśiva period. Before his rise the Bhāraśivas had already driven the Kushans from the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab, that is, Ardashīr found the Kushan emperor weakened and he took advantage of it. According to Tabarī, Ardashīr took away Khorāsān but according to the Armenian historian whom Nöldeke prefers, his empire did not include Balkh. In any case, he did reach the borders of the Kushan home-province and exercised some sort of superiority over it. He seems to have threatened to invade the Indian dominions of Junāh who opened negotiations from Sirhind (§38, p. 50). But it is not until the time of Hormizd I (272-275) that the Sassanian king calls himself GREAT (*Vazurk*) KŪSHĀNSHĀH in addition to SHĀHĀNSHĀH, which is repeated by Varhrān I (273-276) and Varhrān II (276-293). This title is given up by Narseh (293-302), though temporarily revived by Péróz some time after 294 A.D. The title denoted over-lordship on the Kushans. In 302-309 A.D., Hormizd II married the daughter of the Kushan king (Kábul Sháh) and the Kushan position improved.

Thus from 272 up to 292, for 20 years, the Kushans got the protection of the Sassanian king and assumed the position of a vassal king. In that period the Bhāraśivas and after them Pravarasena I would have operated against the Kushans in India. After 293 A.D. they must have been more pressed by Pravarasena, who may be regarded to have broken their power in India, whereon the Kúshānsháh shifted himself into Kabul. The Sassanians were hard-pressed by the Romans and could not be of assistance to the Kushans. The final suppression of the Kushans, who revived in 302-309, is to the credit of Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II. There does not seem to be any room in history for a conquest of the Sassanians over North-West or Western India. That the Sassanian rule extended over Sistān is proved by their title SAKĀNSHĀH and is confirmed by Kālidāsa who places the Pārasikas next to Sindh in the invasion of Raghu: *sthala-varitmnā*, through the Bolān Pass, as opposed to the sea-route from Aparānta to East Persia.

APPENDIX F.

Vākāṭaka Emperor and Gupta Family.

Prabhāvatī Guptā on the constitutional status of Early Guptas.

A Vākāṭaka document—the Riddhapur plates now in the possession of the Mahant of Rithpur, Amraoti, Berar, and published by Mr. Gupte in J.A.S.B., 1924, 53¹—gives a piece of information which contradicts the statement of the Gupta inscriptions regarding the beginning of the Gupta family. Mahādevī Prabhāvatī-Guptā, the authoress of the record and mother of Mahārāja Damodarasena-Pravarasena, who issued the grant from Rāmāgiri (Ramtek, near Nagpur) in the 19th year of Mahārāja Pravarasena II, was at the time probably the oldest living member of the Gupta family.² She says that Mahārāja Ghaṭotkacha was the first king of the Gupta dynasty (*Guptānāmādirājo Mahārāja-Śrī-Ghaṭotkachaḥ*).³ This statement contradicts that of her grandfather Samudra Gupta on the Allahabad pillar that Śrī Gupta was [the first] *Mahārāja*. This claim is not accepted by the Vākāṭaka family. It seems that the first prince

¹ Plates reproduced are unfortunately in the negative. They have to be read with the help of a mirror.

² The translation and reading of line 11 [J.A.S.B., XX, 58, 60] need correction: in 'sāgra-varshaśatadivaputra-potrā', one anusvāra on *di* is missed; *diṁva*=*dīnva*. *Sāgra-varshaśata* has no reference to the Queen who has been taken to have been 100 years old by the editor of the plate; it refers to the 'son and grandson' [or sons and grandsons]—'whose son and grandson are men (endowed) with fully centennial happiness'. Such a wish was appropriate especially when she had already lost her eldest son prematurely.

³ The same import is to be found in the other grant of this queen (E.I., XV, 42) in 'Guptādirājo' qualifying [*Mahārāja*]=*Ghaṭotkachaḥ*, where its bearing could not be clear owing to the uncertain reading before *Ghaṭotkachaḥ*. [My footnote 4 at p. 113 *ante* has to be modified according to the Riddhapur plate.]

recognized by them was Ghaṭotkacha, who must have been a contemporary of Pravarasena I. In this contradiction between the statements of the grandfather and granddaughter there is a contradiction between the two dynasties, which discloses historical hostility.

Historical hostility and constitutional claims. The titles of her paternal ancestors are given by her thus :

1. *Mahārāja Śrī Ghaṭotkacha* (E.I., XV, 41 ; J.A.S.B., 1924, p. 58).
2. *Mahārāja Śrī Chandra Gupta* (I) (both plates).
3. *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Samudra Gupta* (E.I., XV ; in J.A.S.B., 1924, ' *Mahārāja* ').
4. *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandra Gupta* II (both plates).

Against this we have Samudra Gupta giving the following titles to his forefathers and himself :

Mahārāja Śrī Gupta.

Mahārāja Śrī Ghaṭotkacha.

Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandra Gupta.

Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Samudra Gupta.

In the 13th year of her first son Divākarasena she gave her grandfather the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, but about 40 years later, when her father was gone, she called Samudra Gupta only ' *Mahārāja* ' and recognized her father only as the *Mahārājādhirāja*. All this connotes the historical constitutional position of each Gupta ruler in the eyes of the Vākāṭaka House. The latter (1) did not recognize Gupta to have been a ruler at all, (2) and did not recognize Samudra Gupta as a rightful *Mahārājādhirāja*, as he had begun life as a Vākāṭaka subordinate and as a *Mahārāja*, and it was only as a rebel that he killed Rudrasena I, while Chandra Gupta II was the first recognized *Mahārājādhirāja* over the Mahārājas of the Vākāṭaka House. The Vākāṭaka House (3) never recognized Chandra Gupta I as a *Mahārājādhirāja*; in the time of Pravarasena I such a claim was unthinkable, and Chandra Gupta's assumption of such dignity would have been then and always considered by the Vākāṭakas as an act of sedition.

APPENDIX G.

On Further India and Insulindia, 150 A.D.-350 A.D.

The subject of Further India and Indian Archipelago has been touched upon in pp. 154-158, *ante*. Here it is proposed to discuss the colonial history mainly with reference to the home-land for the period 150 A.D.-350 A.D.

The State of Champā (Annam), according to Chinese authorities, was founded in 137 A.D.¹ Champā seems to have been mentioned under the name *Arigadvīpa* by the Vāyu Purāṇa [ch. 48]. The name *Champā* was adopted by sanskritizing the ethnic name of the local population *Cham*. The Kaundinyas who founded the State were, as pointed out above, the Kaundinyas brought from Northern India to the South by the Sātavāhanas. The Sātavāhanas were a naval power: they marked their coins with the figure of a ship, they were always anxious to keep the maritime provinces of the West-Coast and the East-Coast under them. The Kaundinyas were intimately connected with the Chuṭu Sātakarnis by ties of relationship. It may be assumed that their migration to Annam and foundation of a kingdom, which defied the Chinese empire and established its independence, must have been politically connected with the Sātavāhanas. *Kin-lien*, which seems to be the Chinese rendering of *Kaundinya*, successfully attacked the southernmost districts of the Chinese empire, and in 138 A.D. the Emperor contracted peace with him under which Chinese territory was evacuated by him. The Sanskrit inscription of Vō-chaṇḥ (now in the Hanoi Museum) lends confirmation to the Chinese data. It is in Sanskrit and resembles the script of Rudradāman. One of the descendants of Śrīmāra (whose name is lost in the inscription) records that in the Assembly he publicly declared that whatever moveables

¹ Chavannes, *Les religieux éminents*, p. 203; Vogel, *Yūpa Inscriptions of Mūlavarmān*, p. 188; Majumdar, *Champā*, pp. 17, 21.

and immoveables he had given (*visṛishṭa*) to his brothers and sons, etc., were to be respected as their personal properties after his death. The script of the inscription is of the Second or Third Century A.D. It seems that this king was not very far removed from Māra, the founder. The original Brahmin caste (*Brahma-Kshatriya*) and the family name *Kaunḍinya* are given in two later inscriptions of the dynasty in which dates in the Śaka era are given: *chaturshu varshaśateshu Śakānām vyatīteshu*¹ and 579 respectively.² The employment of Sanskrit points to a contemporary revival of Sanskrit in the Mother-Country of the Kaunḍinyas.

The Kaunḍinyas kept up a continuous war of aggression against the Chinese empire from 248 A.D. They seem to gather strength about that year. In 248 A.D. they made a naval attack, defeated the Chinese fleet which had been sent against them, and took the capital of Hanoi, whereupon a treaty was concluded by the Han emperor who ceded the whole of Cheo-ling. The name of the Hindu king ended in *Varmā* (Chinese *Fan*). The next king spelt by the Chinese as *Hiong* (270-280 A.D.) extended his kingdom of Champā to the north at the cost of the Chinese emperor who concluded a treaty with him in 280 A.D. His successor Yi was again a powerful king; he died in 331 or 336 A.D. He sent an embassy to the imperial court of China (284 A.D.). The next king maintained the vigour, but about 359 A.D. there was a reverse and a period of depression up to 377 A.D. Bhadravarman revived the offensive in 380-413 A.D. He and evidently his family had borne the Pallava title *Dharma-Mahārāja*.³

It will be seen that the history of the colony of Champā follows the curves of the history of the Mother-Country. The Purāṇas mark a victorious point of time with 248 A.D. which

¹ Mī'son stele. Finot, B.E.F.E.O., III (1903), 206-211; IV (1911), 264; Majumdar, *Champā*, No. 7.

² Finot, B.E.F.E.O., IV, 918, Majumdar, No. 12.

³ The Kaunḍinyas established also a kingdom in Poli. Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, compiled from Chinese sources*, Verh. v.h. Bat. Gen., xxxix, 1880, p. 81, cited by Dr. Vogel in his *Yüpa inscriptions of King Mūlavarman*, p. 194, n.

is the beginning of the offensive and successes of Champā against China. The Vākātaka-Pallava dynasty had a set-back about 350 A.D. And then there is another imperial age in India about 370 A.D. under the consolidated power of the Guptas when we find that the colonies attorn to the Gupta House. It is impossible not to perceive the effects of the changing history of the Mother-Country on Champā during the period we are concerned with.

The script of Bhadravarman's inscriptions is Pallava and his title is also Pallava. It seems that after 248 A.D. when the kings of Champā adopt the Pallava dynastic name ending in *varman* they come under the system of the Pallavas in accordance with the march of history in the main-land.

From the Sanskrit Inscriptions of King Mūlavarman, found on four Yūpa (sacrificial) posts of stone at Koetei in East Borneo, edited by Dr. Vogel,¹ we find that before 400 A.D. a dynasty was founded in Borneo, the third king of which performed the Vedic Yajña *bahusuvarṇaka*,² and gifted lands, kine, a *kalpa-vriksha* (gold-tree), and money to Brāhmaṇas in the island. His father's name was Aśvavarman and grandfather's name was Kuṇḍuṅga. Aśvavarman was the founder (*vaṇśakartā*) of the dynasty in Borneo. The verses are in *anushtubh* and *āryā* metres. The Yajña was performed at Vaprakeśvara, evidently a Śaiva sacred place in Borneo. The script of Mūlavarman is closely the Pallava script. The name *Kuṇḍuṅga* is a Southern Indian name, cf. *Kuṇḍu-kūra* in the Pikira grant. We have instances of Aryans in the South adopting Dravidian names. It is almost impossible to hold the theory advanced on the strength of this name by the Dutch Indologists that the family was probably native of Borneo and was Hinduized. To suppose that in the second generation

¹ Bids. Kon. Inst., 1918, pp. 167-232 (with plates). Cf. IA., IV, 355; Dvivedi Commemoration Volume [Hindi, Benares, 1933], p. 220 (with good plates).

² Śrī Mūlavarmma-rājendro
yashtavā bahusuvarṇakam
tasya yajñasya yūpoyam
dvijendrais samprakalpitaḥ (p. 213).

they could be so much and so rapidly Hinduized as to perform Vedic sacrifices and make such intimate Hindu gifts is a hard demand on probability. Kuṇḍuṅga does not seem to have flourished in Borneo as the founder was Aśvavarman.

The script at Koetei, after a very able and exhaustive treatment, has been dated by Dr. Vogel in the middle of the fourth century, 'a somewhat earlier date than that proposed by M. Finot who has assigned them to approximately 400 A.D.' Now a generation before 350 A.D. will bring us about 325 A.D. which is the time of the Pallava King Skandavarman II, the Conqueror ('*Vijaya*'), whose date we have ascertained to be C. 297-332 A.D. (p. 195 above). The script agrees with the script of the time of this Pallava king and his successor Simhavarman I.¹ We know that in the time of Vijaya Skandavarman Sanskrit became the language of the Pallava inscriptions. It seems that the kingdom in Borneo was founded in or about the time of Vijaya Skandavarman, who firmly got established at Kāñchī and had a long and prosperous reign. The sacrifices of the orthodox Pallava type, and no performance of an aśvamedha, and the name-ending in imitation of the Pallava designation, would lead us to infer not a peaceful local venture of an individual, but an undertaking directed by the Pallava emperor or under his ægis.

Similar is the case of the Hindu kingdom of Java. The earliest inscriptions in the island are of Pūrṇavarman, and they are in Sanskrit. They have been edited by Dr. Vogel in *Oudheidkundigen Deienst in Nederlandsch-Indië*, Deel I, 1925, pp. 15-35 (with plates) under the title "The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java". They are four in number and are all in the western part of Java, in the province of Batavia, inscribed on rocks. The Chi-Arutōn (spelt also Tiaroeten or °teun) inscription is a dedication of two foot-marks (*padadvaya*) evidently as a memorial to the dead king. The capital of the king is called Tārūma-Nagara. It reads:

(1) vikkrāntasyâvanipateh,

¹ The script should be compared with the inscriptions of Mayūraśarman on stone discussed above (pp. 167, 221).

- (2) Śrīmataḥ Pūrṇavarmanah,
- (3) Tārūmanagarendrasya,
- (4) Viṣṇoriva padadvayam.

A similar record in Śragdharā with foot-prints is at Jambu, in the middle of a stream near a confluence, which is rightly explained by Dr. Vogel as the cremation place of the king. There the inscription mentions the king as having flourished before (*purā*) at Tārūmā. The Chi-Arutōn Inscription is in my opinion a similar funeral memorial, probably at the place of his Śrāddha. The Jambu foot-prints are called *padavimba-dvayam*, which reminds us of the custom still living amongst the Bengal Hindus of taking actual foot-prints of a dead elder before cremation. The third inscription is (at Kēbon Kopi) to commemorate a favourite elephant of the king which bore the name *Jayaviśāla*. Evidently on its death the memorial was given by the king, like the memorials to noted or favourite horses in the Mughal times. The fourth record is at Tugu (Bēkasih). It is in five stanzas of anushtubh. It registers the excavation or deepening of two streams, one (*nadi*) called Chandrabhāgā which had been 'dug' first by the *Guru*, father of king Pūrṇavarman. This ancestor is called *rājādhirāja*:

- (1) *purā rājādhirājena Gurunā pīna-bāhunā, khātā khyātām purim prāpya*
- (2) *Chandrabhāgārṇavam yayau ||*

The *Rājādhirāja* had excavated the stream and brought it to the capital and thence it (the Chandrabhāgā) reached the ocean. The other stream was cut by King Pūrṇavarman in the 22nd year of his reign. Its name was Gomatī. To a length of 6,126 bows (*dhanus*), i.e. either 7 or 12 miles (Vogel, p. 33) it was cut or deepened (*khātā*) in 21 days (*dinaiḥ siddhaikaviṇśaikaiḥ*)—from the 8th Krishna Phālguna to the 13th Śukla Chaitra (i.e. in *amānta* system). This stream had destroyed the camping-ground (*śibirāvanim*) of the king's grandfather, a *rājarshi* (royal sage). The king made a gift of one thousand kine to Brāhmaṇas on the completion of the work. The inscription bears the mark of a *triśūla* on its top.

The script of the three inscriptions is exactly Pallava,

while that of Chi-Arutön is Vākāṭakan. The inscriptions have been executed with great skill, showing a practised hand in writing and a practised chisel familiar with Sanskrit lettering. In other words, they are the workmanship of Hindus. This remark equally applies to the Koetei Inscriptions and the Champā Inscriptions. Intimate affinity is noticed in the scripts of Bhadravarman (Champā), Mūlavarman (Borneo), and Pūrṇavarman (Java). They are all within a century or so amongst themselves. The system of amānta year-reckoning is South-Indian.

The title of Pūrṇavarmana's father, *rājādhirāja*, is comparable with the identical Gupta title and the Gaṅga title of *Mahādhirāja*. It is certain that the family of Java was Śaiva and had come into existence in the Pallava time, and that it knew the influence of the Guptas which is indicated by the title of the king's father and the Vākāṭaka script at Chi-Arutön which is accompanied with a shell writing—an essentially northern writing—between the big toes of the foot-prints. Taking the date of the inscription c. 450 A.D. as suggested by Dr. Vogel, the time of the grandfather of Pūrṇavarman will be about 375 A.D., and the time of the foundation of the family about the same as that of the Borneo dynasty of Āśvavarman. The names of northern rivers (Chandrabhāgā, Gomatī) should not be a matter of surprise, as the Pallavas themselves were northerners and their whole court and subordinate rulers were northerners.

Hindu Colonial States in the Archipelago and Further India were thus established facts in the Vākāṭaka-Pallava period, and they seem to have been connected politically with the Mother-Country. With the advent of Samudra Gupta as the Indian Emperor having stepped into the shoes of the Vākāṭaka Emperor, those colonies in Insulindia and Further India—as an already organized system—transfer and render their allegiance to the Gupta Emperor, who notes the easy fact.

The evidence of the Guptan influence has been already noticed. The reference to Viṣṇu (Vikrānta) at Chi-Arutön is probably another index of the new influence of the Guptas. We know the description of Sumatra from FaHien who found it almost a completely orthodox Hindu land like Guptan India.

Insulindia was thus fully connected with the political and cultural changes in the main-land.

Champā was probably the earliest colony, it being a key to the Chinese trade and the point from which the islands of Java and Borneo were easily accessible. The great naval activity and attainment in navigation by the Hindus in the Far Eastern Seas are attested by the Champā history in Chinese, by FaHien, and Champā inscriptions which mention her naval wars. The trade of the Far East seems to have been in the possession and control of Andhra, Kalinga, and Bengal (from where the *Mahānāvika*, the great sea-captain, Buddhagupta [from *Raktamrīṭtikā*, Rakta-māṭi in Bengal] marked an inscription in Malay before 400 A.D.).¹

The Vāyu Purāṇa gives a full description of Simhapura, a capital in Further India, evidently in Malaya. It notes the fact of islets of very small dimensions and mentions their groups (*anudvīpas*) as attached to bigger islands. Its detailed knowledge of the islands proves the intimate connexion of the Insulindia with Samudra Gupta's India, which is borne out by his own inscription and the inscriptions noted above.

¹ Vogel, *Yūpa Inscriptions of K. Mūlavarman*, p. 185.

IV.—Report of Anthropological Work in 1931-32: Some Interesting Aspects of Orissan Ethnology.

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

During the year I made several tours for Anthropological investigation among the tribes and castes of Chōṭā-Nāgpur Districts and the Ōrissā States, and among the Korwās and Khārīās of the Jashpur State in the Central Provinces, and the Musahars of the Patna District. I also visited the Ajanta Caves in the Nizam's Dominions and attended the First session of the Historical Congress at Bombay and presided over its ethnological section.

The Sociology of Ōrissā presents points of particular interest to the ethnologist. As regards the important aboriginal tribes whose ethnology I have been particularly investigating, separate monographs are under preparation. I shall here briefly refer to a few interesting points relating to the sociology of the Hindu castes of Ōrissā which incidentally came to my notice in the course of my investigations among the aboriginal tribes. The following notes do not pretend to be either exhaustive or of general application. I shall begin with a classified list of the castes and tribes of Ōrissā.

Like Hindus in other parts of India, the Ōṛiyā Hindus are divided primarily into four broad divisions of (1) *Brāhmaṇas*, (2) *Kshatriyas*, (3) *Vaiśyas*, and (4) *Śūdras*; and the *Śūdras*, in their turn, may be further subdivided into (a) Clean *Śūdras*, and (b) Unclean *Śūdras*. Besides these Hindu castes, there is, in Ōrissā, particularly in the States attached to it, a large number of pure aboriginal tribes of whom some are Hinduized or semi-Hinduized and others still stand outside the pale of Hinduism, although Hindu influence has more or less infiltrated even into those communities.

In the *Bengal Census Report* of 1901, Mr. (now Sir Edward) Gait grouped the Hindu castes of Ōṛissā, in the order of social precedence as follows :—

<i>Group I.—</i> Brāmhans.	1. Shāsan Brāmhans 2. Paṇḍa or Deulia Brāmhans 3. Māstān Brāmhans		
<i>Group II.—</i> Castes of Twice-born Rank. (<i>Dwija.</i>)	1. Khatri 2. Rajput 3. Karan	4. Khaṇḍāit 5. Vaiśya, Gan- dha-Baniya	6. Daita 7. Baru (Sarua?).
<i>Group III.—</i> Clean-Śudras (i.e. Śudras from whose hands the higher castes may take water and <i>pākki</i> food.)	<i>Sub-Group (a)</i> 1. Chasa 2. Māli 3. Rāju 4. Sudha	<i>Sub-Group (b)</i> 1. Guria 2. Barhi 3. Kāndra 4. Kāmār 5. Gaura 6. Pātra 7. Darji 8. Bhaṇḍāri.	
<i>Group IV.—</i> Unclean-Śudras (i.e. Śudras whose touch does not defile but from whose hands higher castes may not take water).	1. Chitrakar 2. Khitibānsi 3. Sonari 4. Sankhari 5. Kansari (Kera)	6. Thathari 7. Kharura 8. Kachra 9. Tanti 10. Thoria	11. Gola 12. Dogra 13. Kanta- budiya 14. Tulabhina.
<i>Group V.—</i> Castes whose touch defiles.	1. Teli 2. Kumhar 3. Rarhi 4. Niari	5. Kewat 6. Kaibartha 7. Kartia 8. Khodal	9. Bhāt 10. Jyotish 11. Jogi 12. Sundi (Sunṛi).
<i>Group VI.—</i> Castes that eat fowls and drink spirits.	<i>Sub-Group (a)</i> 1. Siyal 2. Chamar	<i>Sub-Group (b)</i> 1. Dhoba 2. Bauri 3. Taula 4. Ghusuria 5. Gokha 6. Girigiria 7. Khatia 8. Sanai 9. Nulia	<i>Sub-Group (c)</i> 1. Ahir (Gawar) 2. Kela 3. Kandra.

Group VII.— Beef-eaters and Scavengers.	1. Mahuria 3. Pān 2. Dom 4. Hāri.
Group VIII. Outcaste or Mixed Groups.	1. Shagirdpesha (or Sagarpesha). 2. Chhattarkhias 3. Chokars (or offspring of prostitutes).

Sir Edward Gait's grouping of Ōṛissā castes according to caste precedence, had, as we are told in his *Census Report*, 'received the unanimous approval of the caste committees who reported on the subject'. (*Bengal Census Report*, 1901, pp. 375-377.)

The aboriginal tribes of the Ōṛissā States (and there appear to be no additional aboriginal tribes in the British Districts of Ōṛissā) are classified in the order of their social precedence in the *Bengal Census Report* of 1901 (Appendix VIII, p. lxii) as follows:—

Group I.—1. Bāthuri, 2. Bhūiyā, 3. Bhumij, 4. Dharua, 5. Goṇḍ, 6. Kandh, 7. Khāria, 8. Kōl, 9. Muṇḍā, 10. Orāon, 11. Savar, 12. Sahar, 13. Santāl.

(Of this group it is noted that 'Within the group, they may be all taken as of equal rank. All these tribes are influentially connected with land in some place or other, and still hold high rank where they are strong in numbers'.)

Group II.—1. Khaira, 2. Nahura, 3. Lohar, 4. Ghanṭra, 5. Gondra, 6. Malhar, 7. Tamāria.

(Of this group it is noted that they have the 'position of artisans in Hindu Society and that these are all artisans and as such may be taken as of equal rank'.)

Group III.—1. Jhora, 2. Girgira, 3. Bauri, 4. Ghani, 5. Ghāsi.

(Of this group it is noted that they have the 'position of fishermen in Hindu Society', as 'all these castes catch fish'.)

Group IV.—1. *Juang*, 2. *Patua*,¹ 3. *Kela*.

(Of these tribes it is noted that they are 'wandering tribes without any fixed habitation and living chiefly on jungle produce' and that their 'savage condition and want of influence' make their position so low in the group.)

Group V.—*PĀN*—(It is noted that this caste 'follows the most degrading occupation of skinning dead animals and takes beef'.)

This classification would appear to be, on the whole, correct, although a few of these originally aboriginal tribes are now classed among Hindu castes.

I shall in the present paper note a few interesting points about certain Hindu castes which I incidentally jotted down while investigating the ethnology of the aboriginal tribes of the Ōṛissā States.

The *Śāsani* Brāhmaṇas are reputed to be the descendants of the one thousand Brāmhaṇs who had been brought by *Yayāti Keśari*, King of Ōṛissā (474 to 526 A.D.) from Kanouj to perform a *Yajña* (sacrificial rite) at the *Daśāśvamedha-ghāt* at Jājpur. The name '*Śāsani*' is derived from the fact that their ancestors received *Śāsans* or copperplate grants of villages from the Rājā. They have several *gotras* or clan names, such as *Bharadvāja*, *Parāśara*, *Kautsa*, *Ātreya*, *Gautama*, *Kauṇḍinya*, *Vasiṣṭha*, *Jāmadagni*. Among other *gotra* or clan names of Utkala Brāhmaṇas may be mentioned *Kāśyapa*, *Kṛishṇātreya*, *Gargiyasa*, *Bāchhasa*, *Lohityāna*, *Mudgala*, *Dallabhya*, *Saunilya*. *Bhārgava*, *Vatsa* or *Vatsasa*, *Agastya*, *Maitrāyaṇa*, and *Śāṇḍilya*.

All their *gotra* names are derived from those of Vedic Ṛishis or sages whose names they bear. But it is interesting to note that the *gotra* names of most Ōṛiyā Brāhmaṇas are also identified by them with the local names of some birds or beasts or other natural objects. Thus, *Bharadvāja* is spoken of as the name of the Blue Jay bird, *Parāśara* as the name for the pigeon, *Gārgiyasa* and *Saunilya* are also identified with different birds,

¹ It appears that '*Patua*' (leaf-wearer) is another name (applied by the Hindus) for the *Juang* tribe, and '*Sahar*' is a variant of the tribal name '*Sawar*'.

Kāśyapa is taken to stand for '*Kachchhapa*' or the tortoise, '*Bāchhasa*' for '*Bāchhā*' or a calf, *Gautama* for a cow, *Kṛishnātreyā* for the black deer, *Parāśara* for a pigeon, *Lahityāna* for the fire, *Mudgala* for a ring, *Dallabhya* for the monkey, *Kausika* for the owl, *Bhārgava* for a species of tree, *Kaundinya* or *Kowninnya* for the deer, *Agastya* for a pot, *Maitreya* for the frog, and *Śāṇḍilya* for the bull.

And with regard to these birds or beasts or natural objects most Ōṛiyā Brāhmaṇas of the respective clans observe restrictions of the nature of totemistic taboos.

As an explanation of the identification of the *gōtra* names with eponymous Ṛshis as well as with certain animals and birds, the following story is sometimes related:—*Dakṣha Prajāpati*, the father-in-law of Śiva, held a great *Yajña* or sacrificial ceremony to which he invited all the Ṛshis except his daughter *Satī* or *Pārvatī* and his son-in-law Śiva. Śiva, on being pressed by his wife *Satī* to permit her to go to her father, at last relented and let her go. But on going to her father, *Satī* was so mortified by the abuses and taunts hurled by her father at her husband that out of indignation and sorrow, she threw herself into the burning *Homa* flames and expired. When Śiva heard this he was so incensed that he rushed to the scene of *Satī*'s self-immolation and in his wrath hurled his trident all around him, and the Ṛshis fled in dismay from the *Yajña* in the disguise of different beasts and birds. And this is why the Ōṛiyā Brāhmaṇas now reverence those beasts and birds and observe taboos and other rules generally associated with totemism.

Risley referred to this in the following passage in the first volume of his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (p. 161):—"I may draw attention to the remarkable fact that among the Brāhmaṇas of this part of the country (Ōṛissā) unquestionable traces may be found of a survival of the totemistic beliefs which are common among the Dravidian and semi-Dravidian groups. Thus the Brāhmaṇas of the *Bātsasa gotra* revere the calf as their original ancestor; the *Bharadvāja* claim descent not from the Vedic Ṛshi but from a bird bearing the same name; the *Ātreya* are the offspring of a deer, and will not eat

that animal or sit upon its hide; the *Kauchhasa* trace their lineage to a tortoise; and the *Kaundinya* commemorate their descent from a tiger by refusing to sit upon a tiger skin. No attempt can be made here to account for the prevalence of these superstitions. They may be a survival of ancient Aryan totemism; they may be due to the adoption by the immigrant Brāhmanas of Dravidian beliefs and observances; or, lastly, they may show that the Brāhmanas of Ōṛissā are themselves Dravidians or have undergone a considerable infusion of Dravidian blood."

It is, however, not permissible to draw any ethnic inferences from such stray cultural coincidences or cultural loans.

Borrowing of cultural elements by communities of a higher culture from those of some neighbouring communities of lower culture and different ethnic origin is a phenomenon of frequent occurrence which we find in almost every part of India. Moreover, it may be noted that in the R̥gveda we meet with such names of families or clans as *Matsya* (fish), *Gautama* (ox), *Vatsya* (calf), *Śunaka* (dog), *Kauśika* (owl), and *Maṇḍūka* (frog). The father of Saṁvarana (the ancestor of the Kuru clan) is called a *rikṣa* or bear.²

As regards the Māstān Brāhmanas, whose status in Ōṛissā appears to resemble closely that of the Bhūinhār Brāhmanas in Bihār, the following tradition is related by some Ōṛiyās, but it is repudiated by the Māstān Brāhmanas themselves:—Mahārājā Purushottama Deva (1478–1497 A.D.) of Puri was over-lord of the principality of Kāñchi on the river Cāvery. He was to wed Padmāvati, the daughter of his Feudatory, the King of Kāñchi-Cāvery. Padmāvati was actually brought to Puri by her father to celebrate her marriage. But when he saw Mahārājā Purushottama Deva sweeping with his own hands the floors of the Jagannātha Temple, he felt shocked and changed his mind and declared he would not marry his daughter to a person who sweeps with his own hands, and returned to his own country with his daughter. Thereupon Mahārājā Purushottama attacked Kāñchi-Cāvery, defeated its ruler, captured Padmāvati and retraced his way homewards. While encamping on

² Vide, A. A. Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, p. 153.

the banks of the Godāvārī, the King of Kānchi-Cāvery suddenly appeared and attacked his troops. Finding no effectual means of resistance against this surprise attack, Purushottama Deva made all his soldiers (some of whom were real Kshatriya Khaṇḍāits and some drawn from other fighting castes) put on the sacred thread and marshalled them along with a long line of cows in front of the Kānchi-Cāvery troops. The Kānchi-Cāvery King, who was a pious Hindu, finding himself thus opposed to cows and (as he supposed) Brāhmaṇas gave up all attempts at rescuing his daughter. This is one of several traditions, sometimes reported, about the origin of the Brāhmaṇa rank of the *Māstān* Brāhmaṇas. Another tradition among the *Māstān* Brāhmaṇas is that they are descended of Balarāma, brother of Śrī Kṛishṇa. They therefore describe themselves as Balarāma *gotrī* Brāhmaṇas. This mythical origin is obviously meant as an explanation of their taking to the un-Brāhmaṇical occupation of agriculture. A third tradition asserts that the *Māstāns* were first called 'Brāhmaṇas' by a Rājā of Ōṛissā who wanted to deceive the Subadar of the Emperor of Delhi into the belief that his lands were mostly held by Brāhmaṇas and were therefore rent-free. And a fourth tradition asserts that the *Māstāns* were originally an agricultural caste and that during the great struggle for supremacy between the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇas, the Brāhmaṇas represented them to be their own caste-fellows in order to show their superiority in number over the Buddhists. These traditions may, for aught we know, have little or no historical value.

As for the *Devala* Brāhmaṇas or *Pañḍās* they are not, I am told, entitled to *namaskāra* (or bowing salutation) from *Śāsana* Brāhmaṇas, nor will a *Śāsana* Brāhmaṇa eat cooked food at the hands of such a Brāhmaṇ. Sir Edward Gait suggests that "their ancestors might have been Buddhist priests or the representatives of the earlier Brāhmaṇa settlers who mixed more freely with the people of the country than those who came later".

These *Pañḍās* or *Devala* or *Deulīā* Brāhmaṇas would appear to have been the original priestly class of Ōṛissā who officiated and still officiate as priests at the temples. It may be noted

that whereas the *Śāsana* Brāhmaṇas have such distinctive surnames as *Miśra*, *Mahāpātra*, *Raut*, *Tripāṭhi*, *Satpati*, *Sārāngi*, *Nanda*, *Tewāri*, and *Hotā*, most of the surnames of *Māstān* Brāhmaṇas, such as *Senāpati*, *Sāhu*, *Mahānti*, *Padhān*, and *Sanirā*, are common to them and to some other castes lower in the caste hierarchy.

Turning from the Brāhmaṇas to the next class of Hindu castes, we find that the Kshatriyas are divided into at least three clans or *gotras*, namely, *Kāśyapa*, *Gārga*, and *Bātsasa*; and the *Karaṇs* or writer caste have such *gotra* names as *Bharadvāja*, *Parāśara*, *Nāgasa*, and *Sankhasa*. And, like the Brāhmaṇs, the *Kshatriyas* of the *Kāśyapa* *gotra* observe, with regard to the tortoise (*Kachchhapa*), those of the *Gārga* *gotra* with regard to the *Gārgi* bird, and those of the *Bātsasa* *gotra* with regard to the calf (*vatsa*) or cow, the same taboos and customs and entertain the same feelings of reverence or religious respect as most *Ōriyā* Brāhmaṇs too do in respect of the birds or beasts which have now come to be somehow associated with their eponymous *gotra* names.

As regards the *Daita* or *Daitapati* Brāhmaṇas, the very name *Daita* appears to be a corruption of *Daitya*, probably an ancient Hindu name for the Indian aborigines generally or a section of them. Tradition traces their descent to an aboriginal *Savara*, named Bāsu Savara, who is said to have first found the Hindu god Śrī Krishna or Viṣṇu in the jungles of Nilāchala near Puri on the site of the present Jagarnāth Temple and secretly worshipped him in the form of a blue stone image. It is worth noting that the aboriginal Khārias of the Simli Pāl Hills of the Mayurbhanj State, as I found, claim descent from the said Bāsu Savara.

The *Karaṇs* (who appear to be the *Ōriyā* analogues of the *Kāyasthas* of Bengal and Upper India) also appear to attach a double significance to their *gotra* names. Thus the *Karaṇs* of the *Bharadvāj* *gotra*, whose eponym is the Rishi of that name, are to observe or at one time observed with regard to the blue Jay, those of the *Parāśara* *gotra* (whose eponym is *Parāśara Rishi*) with regard to the pigeon, those of the *Nāgasa* *gotra* (who have *Nāgasa* Rishi for their eponym) with regard to

the cobra (*Nāga*), and those of the *Śaṅkhasa gotra* (who have for their eponym a Rishi of that name) with regard to the *Konch-shell* (*Śaṅkha*), certain taboos and customs similar to those observed by totemistic communities with regard to their respective totems. Thus, the Karas of the *Nāgasa gotra*, it is said, refrain or used to refrain from beating, killing or otherwise ill-treating the cobra. It is even said that for the worship of his tutelary deity (*Iṣṭa-Devatā*) who is named *Ananta* (the king of snakes) a man of the *Nāgasa gotra* is required to use some earth from an ant-hill which is a favourite dwelling of the cobra. These taboos are now more or less disregarded.

It appears reasonable to infer that culture contact may be mainly responsible for such a custom among these higher Hindu castes of Orissā, as it has been responsible for other cultural loans among other peoples in India and elsewhere.

Turning to the third division of Hindu castes, the '*Sat Śūdras*' or 'clean Śūdras' we find that the great agricultural caste of *Choṣa* (*Chāṣa*) for example, has such *gotra* names as *Gajasa* (the elephant,) *Nāgasa* (the cobra), *Kaśyapa*, and *Sāl-Rishi*. The elephant, the cobra, the tortoise, and *sāl* fish may not be beaten, killed or otherwise ill-treated by men of their respective *gotras*. Some, it is said, bow to them when they see them, and make offerings to them of *ātap* (sun-dried) rice and water mixed with turmeric, for they are regarded as their respective tutelaries (*Iṣṭa-Devatā*). It is interesting to note in this connection that the *Chasās* or *Koltha Chasās* have also a number of *hudās* or subdivisions designated by such titles as '*Shāhu*', '*Paridā*', '*Mājhi*', '*Behārā*', '*Biswal*', '*Nāik*', '*Swāni*', and '*Pātra*'. Each of these subdivisions is further subdivided into two or more of the *gotras* or clans named above.

Similarly, the pastoral *Gour* caste in each of its different sections such as *Gopapurīa*, *Mathurāpurīa*, *Magadhā*, *Dumal*, etc. have such *gotra*-names as, the *Nāgasa* (cobra), *Bāghasa* (the tiger), *Kachchhapa* (the tortoise), *Bhadālia* (a kind of bird and also a tree), and *Sānrh* (the ox). As among totemic communities, a *Gour* may not ill-treat, beat, kill or show any disrespect to his *gotra* or clan-totem. An additional point of

interest in their totemism is that on the occasion of a marriage of a Gour of the Nāgasa clan, a handful of earth is said to be taken from an ant-hill (which is a favourite haunt of the cobra) and used for the worship of the family tutelary (*Iṣṭa-Devatā*). So also on a similar occasion and for the same purpose a Gour of the *Kachchhapa* or Tortoise clan is said to take a handful of earth from a pond (which is, or is supposed to be, the abode of the tortoise), a Gour of the Bāghasa or Tiger clan is said to take earth from a forest which is the home of the tiger, a Gour of the Sānrh or Ox clan is said to take earth preferably from a spot which oxen dig with their horns, and a Gour of the *Bhadālia* clan is said to take earth from under a *Bhadālia* tree.

With regard to the *Gour* caste it is interesting to note that although each section of the caste is divided into several clans as noted above, there is no bar against marriage within the clan, the only recognized restrictions to marriage being the bar against direct relations within three degrees both on the father's side and on the mother's side. Similarly although the *Sudha* caste owns two clan names, namely, *Nāgasa* (the cobra) and *Kachchhapa* (the tortoise), identity of clan is no bar to marriage, but only near blood-relationship is.

Some of the clean Śūdra tribes have only one clan name. Thus, the *Moira* or *Guria* (i.e. sweetmeat-maker) caste in some of the Orissā States has, so far as I have been able to find out, only one clan name, namely, *Nāgasa* or the Cobra; and the *Tānti* or weaver caste, two, has generally one, namely, *Ādisa* (lit., the original Deity, also named as *Ādīmātā* or *Durgā*) for their clan name. But in some parts, such as in the Bonai State, I have found the *Gūriās* recognizing a few other *gotra* names such as *Kāśyapa*, *Madhukula*, and *Ambasisa*. These are probably later loan-names of *gotras* borrowed from the Brāhmaṇas. As a matter of fact, in the States of Orissā I have found that several of the Śūdra castes (such as the *Lohār* or *Nuhāra* caste) recognize only one *gotra* or clan name, namely, the *Nāgasa* or Cobra; and necessarily the clan, which is co-extensive with the caste, is endogamous, and the clan name has no concern with marriage regulations. In such castes the only bar to

marriage is direct blood-relationship both on the paternal and on the maternal side up to a few generations, generally three or five.

Coming lower down the social scale we find that many *Śūdra* castes and semi-Hinduized aboriginal tribes, again, though recognizing more than one clan division, generally permit marriage within the same clan, but interdict marriage within the same family designation or *Hudā*, known also as *Samjñā*, or within families having the same title known as *Padavī* or *Padit*. Even the *Jyotish* (Astrologer) caste appears to have such clan names as *Nāgasa* (the cobra), *Pipalasa* (the pipal tree), *Kāśyapa* or *Kachchhapa* (tortoise), and *Bharadvāja* (the Blue Jay). They have also *samjñās* or family titles, such as *Nāhak* or *Nāyak*, *Pātra*, *Dās*. Besides these there are titles given by the local *Rājās* who are both territorial Chiefs and social heads. Such titles are *Parichhā*, *Mahāpātra*, *Senāpati*, *Mahārāṇa*, *Behārā*, *Pāṇigrāhi*, *Kharsudhā*, and *Āmin*. In many families these too have come to be family designations. The real exogamous limit in such castes is now not the *gotra* or clan but the *samjñā* or family designation. Thus a *Dās* may not marry a *Dās*, or a *Pātra* may not marry a *Pātra*, although their *gotra* names may be different, whereas a man may marry a woman of his own *gotra* provided their family designations are different.

In some castes the *samjñās* and the *gotras* constitute a medley. Thus, the Teli caste has such *samjñās* as *Behārā*, *Dās*, *Shāhu*, and *Khuṭiā*. The *Behārā* and *Shāhu* sections have *Nāgasa* or the *Cobra* for their totem, the *Dās* section has *Bhadālia* for their totem, and the *Khuṭiā* section has ' *Bāghasa* ' or the tiger for their totem. Now, a *Behārā* cannot marry a *Behārā* but may marry a *Shāhu* although of the same *gotra*, but a *Shāhu* may marry a *Shāhu* or at least has been found to do so without protest. But, in any case, there can be no marriage where there is direct blood-relationship within three generations, either on the father's or on the mother's side of either party.

One exception to this rule is the custom of *Bhāñjā-dān* or the bestowal of one's daughter in marriage to his sister's son (*bhāñjā*) which is in vogue in some *Ōṛiyā* castes and tribes.

The castes which practise this custom regard it as the most desirable and honourable form of marriage. In the *Bhāñjā-dān* form of marriage (which is really a form of cross-cousin marriage) the maternal uncle not only gives his daughter in marriage to his sister's son but generally also bears all the expenses of the marriage ceremonies and marriage-feast, and does not accept anything either in the form of bride-price or otherwise from the bridegroom or his people. It may be noted, however, that the other form of cross-cousin marriage, namely, the marriage of a man's son with his sister's daughter is not permissible. Another custom worthy of note in this connection is that among Ōriyā communities where *Bhāñjā-dān* is practised, the *bhāñjā* (sister's son) and *bhāñji* (sister's daughter) are held in especial ceremonial regard. Neither the maternal uncle nor his wife will permit the *bhāñjā* or the *bhāñji* to take *jūthā* or the leavings of food from their own plates, nor will they even sit close to their *bhāñjā* and *bhāñji* when taking their meals together lest their *jūthā* (or particles of food from their plates) touch their *bhāñjā* or *bhāñji*'s plate.

To return to the social divisions of Ōriyā castes and tribes. We have so far noticed that the Ōriyā Hindu castes have, besides the Brāhmanical *gotra* names (and, in the case of some of the higher castes also *Pravara* names), totemistic clan names and practices, as well as certain family-titles or *Samjñās* indicative of social rank. Each clan has also its own clan tutelary or *Iṣṭa-Devatā*.

Besides these distinctive labels by which different sections of each caste and tribe are marked out from one another, we find in Ōrissā another system of distinctive insignia of each different caste and tribe. This is called the *Santak*. This word would appear to be a corruption by metathesis of the Sanskrit word *Sankeṭa* or '*Sāṅketika*', meaning 'sign' or 'symbol'. Another, but less probable, derivation noted in the Census Report of 1901, is from the Ōriyā word '*Santha*' (meaning 'lesson') 'which might formerly have meant writing'.

It may be noted that the Feudatory Chiefs of Ōrissā though literate, did not formerly put their signatures to any document but had their *Santaks* or sign-manuals inscribed on them.

Thus the Chiefs of Mayurbhañja, Keonjhar, Daspalla, and Baud States have each the figure of a peacock for their *Santak*; the Chief of Dhenkanal uses the drawing of '*minaketana*'—a fish and a flag—for his *Santak*, the Chief of Bonai uses that of a *Kadamba* (*Nauclea Parvifolia*) flower, the Chief of Narsingpur uses that of a scorpion, and the Chief of Kālāhāñdi that of the Cobra as his *Santak* or sign-manual.

Whereas in most other parts of India, illiterate persons affix in lieu of signature a mark in the shape of either a dash or a cross or a circle or some other mark common to the illiterate of all castes and tribes in that particular Province or District, we find in Ōṛissā almost every caste and tribe having its own distinctive *Santak* generally indicative of the special occupation of the community, and, in the case of the illiterate, these *Santak* marks are drawn and affixed to documents as substitutes for signatures.

Thus the priestly caste of Brāhmaṇas has the *Kuśabatu* (ring made of the sacred *Kuśa* grass which must be worn by the priest at certain religious ceremonies) and the military castes of the *Khaṇḍait*, the *Rājput*, and the *Khetri* have the dagger (*kāṭāri*) for their respective *Santaks*; some *Khaṇḍaits* also use the sword (*Khaṇḍā*, *Saveph*) or the bow (*tīr*), or the bow and arrow (*dhanurbān*), and some have now adopted the *Lekhan* or stylo, for their *Santaks*.

The trading castes of *Baniyā* (trader), *Gandhavanik* (spice-seller), and *Sonāri* (goldsmith) have the scales or *nitti* for their *Santak* and the *Kāchrā* (glass-bangle-seller) has the *Narāju* or the weighing beam and scale with a single pan, and the *Kansari* (brazier) has the weighing yard or *balance* as their respective *Santaks*. The *Karaṇ* or writer caste of Ōṛissā has the iron stylo (*lekhan*) for its *Santak*. The religious-minded *Vaishṇava* has the finger-bead (*kara-mālā*) and sometimes the *Asabāri* (the peculiar stick used by a *Vaishṇava*) for his *Santak*. The *Barhi* or carpenter has the hammer (*mūgūr*) for his *Santak*, the agriculturist *Chasā* has the harrow (*mahi*) for his *Santak*; the cultivating *Gōlā* has the *damlā* or packing-needle for his *Santak*; the painter or *Chitrakāra* caste has the painting brush (*tuli*) for its *Santak*; the tailor caste or the *Darji* has the scissors

(*kātūri* or *kainchi*) for its *Santak*; the pastoral and milkman Gour caste has the goad-stick (*naun*) or the rope with which a cow's hindlegs are tied during milking (*chhedā*) and also the milk-churner (*khua*) for its *Santaks*; the *Pātra* who sells silk-cloth has for his *Santak* the *Patrāṅkura* or *Patscuna* which is an iron hook for weaving ties and stringing necklaces; the village-schoolmaster caste of *Khitibansa* has both the chalk (*khari*) and the cane (*gouri-bet*) for its *Santaks*; the potter or *Kumhār* has the potter's wheel (*chāk*) for his *Santak*; the *Gūriā* or sweetmeat-maker and vendor has for his *Santaks*—the *Chālu* or wooden-ladle as also the *jhūmkā* or iron-ring which has a number of smaller rings inserted into it to make a jingling sound to attract customers; the *Jyotish* or astrologer caste has for its *Santak* the palm-leaf *Panji* or almanac which the *Jyotish* carries in his arm-pit; the begging caste of *Jōgi* has a bottle-goured bowl (*thālā*) for its *Santak*; the *Kāmār* or blacksmith has the hammer (*hāturi*) for his *Santak*; the professional musician caste of *Mahūria* has the musical instrument called *mahūri* for its *Santak*; the *Rārhi* whose profession is to parch rice into *chirā* and sell it has for his *Santak* the *Dhenki-muṇḍa* or the hammer-end of the rice-pounder; and the *Teli* who grows turmeric has the turmeric bulb (*haldi-muṇḍa*) for his *Santak*.

Of the so-called depressed castes, the *Mōchi* or cobbler has for his *Santak* the *Chāmdātā* or a knife for cutting up leather; the *Pān* who is a professional drummer has the drum-stick (*Chop-kāṭhi*) for his *Santak* and in Angul also the arrow (*Kaṇḍa*); the weaving caste of *Tānti* has the weaving shuttle (*māku* or *nob*) for its *Santak*; the *Hārī* who is by occupation both a sweeper and village musician has for his *Santaks* the *jhāru* or broom-stick as also the *chōpkāṭi* or small drum-stick; the basket-making *Ōriyā Chāmār* has for his *Santak* the *Bindhāni* or *Phōdāni* which is the awl used in making and repairing basketry; the *Ḍom* who makes bamboo-baskets and mats uses a bamboo-cutting knife (*kāṭi*) for his *Santak*; the *Dhōbā* or washerman who is also employed in wood-splitting has for his *Santaks* the axe (*Kurhārī*) and also the Y-shaped wooden instrument called *parkhāna* which is used in washing

clothes; the *Gōkha* fishermen has the fishing spears known as *Tentā* and *Gagar* as his *Santaks*; the *Tiyar* fisherman has the fish-trap (*bājākāthi*) for his *Santak*; the fishing castes of *Tiyar*, *Baghuti*, and *Gōkhā* also use the fish-trap known as *salua* for their respective *Santaks*; the fishing caste of *Kewaṭ* has for its *Santak* the *saringā* which is a shuttle for weaving fishing-nets and in some places also the *Bentuā* which is a wooden vessel used in washing boats; the *Bhaṇḍāri* or barber has the nail-parer (*nahurani*) and in some cases the *Darpaṇa* or looking-glass for his *Santaks*; the bird-catching *Kela* has for his *Santak* the gummed rod known as *nal-kāthi* used in catching birds; the *Tānti* has the shuttle (*kaṇḍa-kāthi*) for his *Santak*; the *Kāṇḍrā* who is generally employed as a village Chowkidar and a day-labourer and is probably a semi-aboriginal has the arrow (*khaṇḍa*) as well as the stick (*bāri*) for his *Santaks*; the *Ghāsi* field-labourer has the scythe (*dā*) for his *Santak*; the *Gōlā* has the *dāmphā* or packing-needle for his *Santak*; the *Nuliā* sea-fisherman has the *ahūlā* or oar for his *Santak*; the *Tulā-bhinā* or cotton-carder has the *bhinā-kāthi* or the carding bow for his *Santak*; the toddy-drawing *Siyāl* has the *kāṭha-bāri* for his *Santak*; the wandering *Kelā* has for his *Santak* either the *Peri* or a bamboo-box in which snakes are kept or the wind instrument called *nageswar* or a mattock (*gāinṭā*) or a *nala* or bamboo-tube for catching fish.

The females of all castes, both Hindus and Musalmāns, generally use the bracelet (*Kaṅkaṇā*) for their *Santak*. Some low class Hindu females have also the *mūdi* or finger-ring for their *Santak*. Some *Kewaṭ* women in the Puri District have for their *Santak* either a kind of broom used in frying rice (*Bhājubhaji Kharika*) or the pedal for cleansing rice (*Chura-khuṭā dheṅki*). A *Vaiṣṇava* female uses the finger-bead or *kara-mālā* for her *Santak*. It is also interesting to note that the *Ōriyā* Musalmān generally uses the dagger (*kātāri*) for his *Santak*. These Musalmāns, it may be noted, trace their descent to the Paṭhān soldiers who came to the country in the army of the Musalmān invaders a few centuries ago, and still call themselves Paṭhāns.

It is interesting to note that some castes, particularly the artisan castes, actually pay divine honours to the tool or weapon which constitutes their respective *Santaks*.

The affixing of the *Santak* mark to a document is deemed to be as binding as a special oath or swearing by one's occupation.

Turning, last of all, to the aboriginal tribes of Ōṛissā, we find that, just as among the Brāhmanical castes eponymous *gotras* now exist in conjunction with totemic clan names, so too some of these tribes have in conjunction with, and partly in supersession of, the older social totemic clan divisions, have now come to recognize other modes of differentiation of social groups evidently under the influence of their Hindu neighbours and Hindu Rājās. Such a borrowed social division is that into *saṁjñā* (lit., designations) of aggregates of families bearing the same title. These *saṁjñā* divisions have now in some tribes supplanted the function of the *kili* or *gotra* or clan divisions in relation to exogamy. The term '*Pāris*' is also sometimes employed for '*gotra*', and '*huda*' for '*Samjñā*'.

A Hinduized aboriginal of the Tortoise clan or the Cobra clan or any other *gotra*, may, in many of these Ōṛissā tribes, now freely marry in his own *gotra* or clan, and the former taboo against endogamy within the clan group has now been transferred to endogamy within the *saṁjñā* group. In a few aboriginal tribes quite a medley of such modes of group-differentiation has arisen. Thus among the *Bāthudi* or *Bāthuri* tribe in the State of Mayurbhanj I found that they now recognize three modes of grouping of the families. Each *Bāthudi* family has what it calls its *Pāris* or '*gotra*' (the Hindu word for a clan), its *khili* (probably a corruption of the Muṇḍā word '*kili*' also meaning totemic clan, though the Bathudi has for his *khili* name that of some totem different from that of the *gotra*), and it has also its *saṁjñā* or title or honorific designation; and either each *saṁjñā* group or each clan group has its own *Iṣṭa-devatā* or tutelary, and the tribe has its own tribal *Santak*.

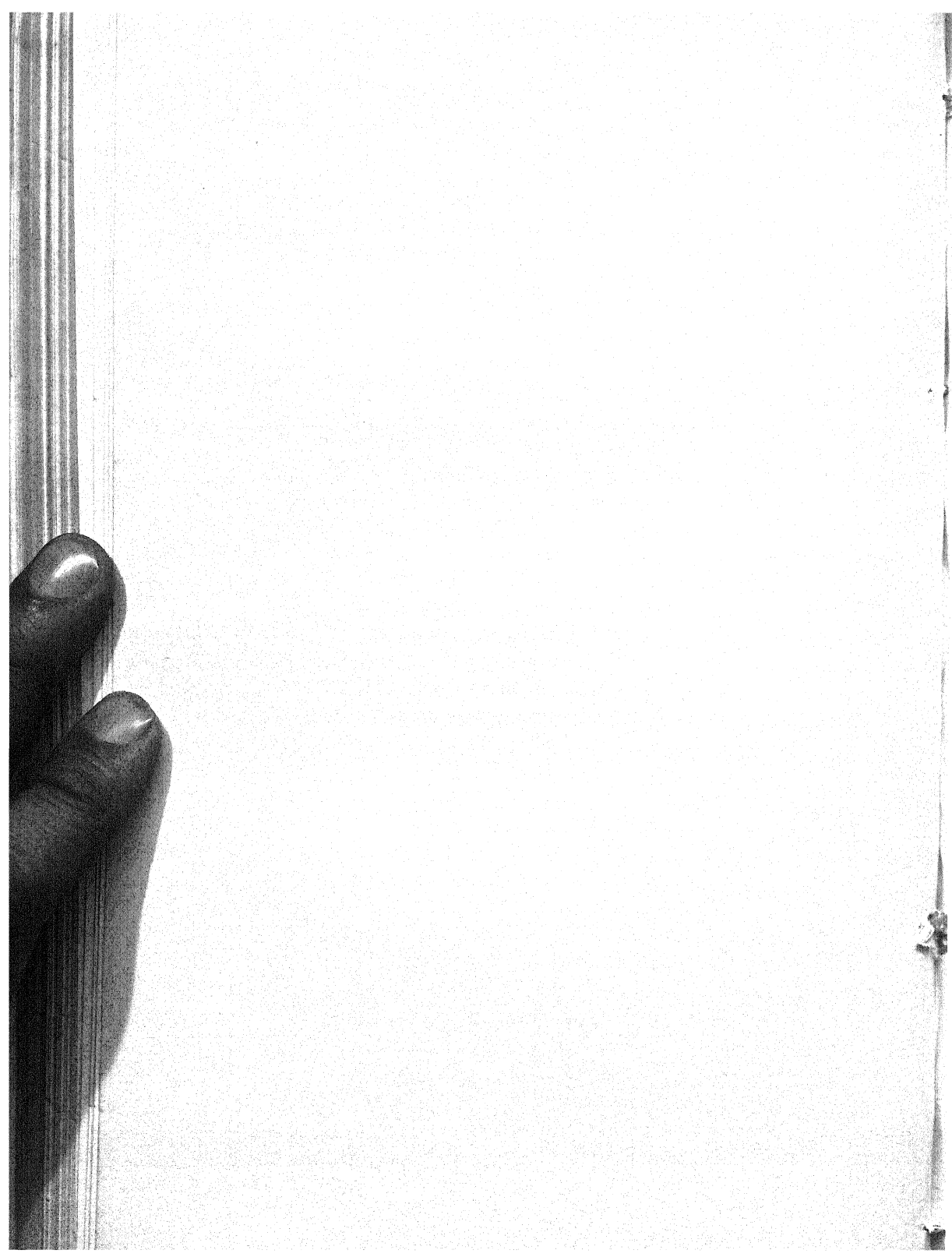
It is worthy of note that among the aboriginal tribes who have long been in Ōṛissā, though most of them still retain some totemic clan names, some no longer retain or observe the taboos and other customs that we still find associated with clan totems among their fellow tribesmen or allied tribes in Chōṭā-Nāgpur and the Sāntāl Parganās.

Among some of the Ōṛissā tribes, such as the Bhūiyās

of Kuira Parganā of the Bonāi State, I found that instead of clan exogamy, they observe what may be called local exogamy. The villages are classed as *Bandhu* villages and *Kuḷumba* villages to one another. And a Bhūiyā of a village may take a mate only from one of the villages that constitute his *Bandhu* villages and not from any of his *Kuḷumba* (or agnatic) villages.

Lastly, the aboriginal tribes of Ōṛissā, like the different Hindu castes, have each its own respective *Santak*. Thus, the *Bhūmij*, the *Juāṅg*, the *Mūṇḍā*, the *Hō* or 'Kōl', and the *Kāndh* or *Khondh* have each the arrow (*kāṇḍer*) for their *Santak*; the *Sāntāl* has the bow and arrow as also the *Ṭhengā* or stick for his *Santak*; the *Sahar* (*Savara*) tribe uses for its *Santak* the *ghumera* drum and also the *jamuki* string; and the labouring *Taonla* tribe has the goad-stick (*pāñchan*) for its *Santak*.

It may be noted that in Chōṭā-Nāgpur and the Sāntāl Parganās some of the castes and tribes have similar *Santak* marks, though much less elaborate than in Ōṛissā. There appear to be reasons to believe that there have been down to comparatively recent times racial movements and also cultural intercourse between Chōṭā-Nāgpur and Ōṛissā and between Chōṭā-Nāgpur and the Sāntāl Parganās.



V.—Ajapura of Skanda Gupta, and the area round Bihar.

By P. C. Chaudhuri, I.C.S.

During my last Cold Weather Tour of the Subdivision of Bihar in the district of Patna, I happened to arrive one evening at my camp in the Bihar Thana. The original programme had been to camp at Kathanpura, but I found that my tent had been pitched on the level top of an extensive mound situated to the south of a magnificent expanse of water which was certainly not the Kathanpura I had expected. As I sat outside my tent in the twilight I learnt that the place was an adjoining village called Ajaipur.

The name savoured of the Sanskrit age. I enquired and learnt that there were several large tanks and a 'Garh', but could not elicit any historical or legendary information. It was just before the Christmas holidays and I found myself extremely busy disposing of case-work before the end of the year. I therefore postponed the idea of further investigations.

Soon after my return to Bihar in January, 1932, I received the following note from Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, President of the Patna Museum :—

'Please refer to Skanda Gupta's record on the pillar now here and formerly in your compound. Can we trace Ajapura in some village name in Bihar or near about?'

The Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta was discovered by Mr. Ravenshaw and a note about it appeared in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society (Vol. VIII) in 1839. It is described in Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, by Dr. Fleet who has given a rendering of the text and a translation. From lines 24 to 30 the second part of the inscription runs as follows :—

24.
parama-bhâgavatô

25. [mahârâjâdhirâja-śri-Skandaguptaḥ]
[vai] shayik-Ājapuraka-sâ (?) mai (?)—
26.grâka.....
[ak]shaya-nîvî grâma-kshêtram
27.kṛi.....
uparika-kumârâmâtya-
28.ngikula (?) ḥ (?) vani [ja*]
ka-pâdit-ârika-
29.[â]grahârika-śaulkika-gaulmik-
âsanyâm śra (?)—
30.vâs [i] k-âdîn=asmat-prâsâd-
ôpajîvinah.

Dr. Fleet's translation of the above is :—

‘—[I], the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, [the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious Skandagupta, issue a command]of the Town of Ajapura in the.....*vishaya*.....a perpetual endowment.....a village-field.....the *Uparika*, the *Kumârâmâtya*.....acquired by the merchantin the seat (of office) (?) of the *Āgrahârîka*, the *Śaulkika*, and the *Gaulmika*.....and others who subsist on Our favour.’

The modern village of Ajaipur is situated at Lat. 25° 15'; Long. 85° 25'. I visited it again last spring. When approached from the south-west it is clear that the village is situated on an elevation. The ‘busti’ stands on a large mound which is called as usual the ‘Garh’. The ‘Garh’ must have originally covered an area of about 15 acres but on about 9 acres of it, on the northern and eastern sides, the ‘busti’ has now grown up. A compact block of lands represented by survey plots 2635 and 2634 is still unoccupied. About a little over an acre of land to the south of this area (plot 2640) had been levelled down and a saltpetre factory was established by some of the landlords. Soon after the end of the Great War the factory was closed down and even now a large collection of saltpetre is lying about in huge cauldrons. I learnt that a large number of earthenware and small terra-cotta figures had been found but as no one appreciated their value they were either thrown away or disappeared. At the time of my visit the

villagers made a search and produced several broken pieces of mediæval pottery. After the debris and earth had been cleared and the place levelled two ancient wells had been discovered and found to contain a good quantity of water. The smaller well measured 8' 9" in circumference and the interior masonry consisted of earthen cylinders. The large well measured 10' 6" in circumference and the water was fairly deep. The interior masonry consisted of bricks and about eight feet below there was a large brick with an inscription on it. The landlord, Maulvi Abdul Rab, was kind enough to arrange for scaffoldings and had the brick taken out for me. It has since been deposited in the Patna Museum. It bears traces of an inscription in early Devanāgarī script.

Adjoining this saltpetre factory is the extensive mound comprising survey plots 2635 and 2634. Traces of bricks were noticed all over and in many places overburnt bricks (Jhāmā) were found embedded. About the middle of the mound is a small mud enclosure about 12 feet square in area with a dilapidated tiled roof. Inside this on a raised platform has been collected about a score of broken pillars, portions of images, pieces of chaityas, etc. which appeared clearly to belong to the Pāla period. Some of these were executed in Gaya blackstone, so popular a material with the Pāla sculptors. Two little images were of crude design. The villagers called this place neither Devasthān nor Mahādevasthān as is commonly done, but simply *Rājā Jaipāl*. The tradition is that there had originally been a temple at this spot erected by a Rājā Jaipāl. Maulvi Abdul Rab informed me that sometime ago a sculpture in polished blackstone with three heads—a Trimūrti—had been dug up in the north-eastern portion of the 'Garh'. He had given it to a local Brahman, Ragho Pandey. I tried to find out this relic but Ragho Pandey stated that he had lost it.

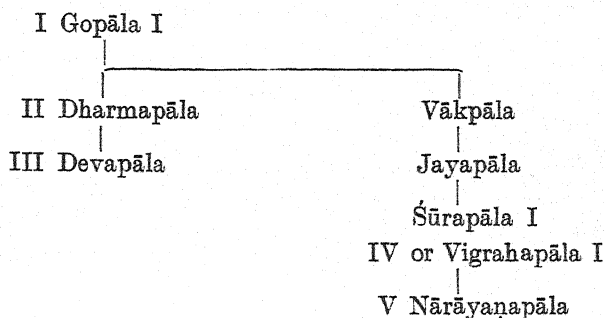
Mention must now be made of the series of tanks. There are as many as six tanks at Ajaipur. These are interconnected by canals and completely enclose the village on the north and east. There is evidence of the fact that the tanks previously received their water from the river Paimār on the west. The largest of these is the 'Rājā Pokhar' comprising an area

of about 17 acres. The villagers ascribe its excavation to Rājā Jaipāl. About 12 years ago one of the landlords started to re-excavate its western portion adjoining the compound of his house as it was getting filled up. He discovered a pucca staircase extending to a depth of 5 yards. Several bricks were brought to me from the masonry. It was not possible to extract an entire brick. They appeared to have been of about the same size as the brick bearing the inscription. They however differed in thickness: some of them were 3" to 4" thick while others 1½" to 2".

Dr. Fleet in his translation has described Ajapura as a town. The text however does not seem to give any warrant for this. The Bihar Pillar Inscription merely mentions Ajapura as being within the territorial limits of a 'vishaya'. The Indore Copperplate Inscription of Skanda Gupta refers to a 'vishayapati'. A 'vishaya', according to Dr. Fleet, would appear to be a subdivision of a *deśa* or *maṇḍala*. Unfortunately in line 25 of the Bihar Pillar Inscription, wherein Ajapura occurs, several letters are missing. Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, it may be noted in passing, had also given a tentative reading of this inscription (J.A.S.B., Vol. XXXV, p. 272 f.). He did not however discover the name of Ajapura in the text. Ajapura is also mentioned in the Nālandā copperplate of Devapāladeva described by Dr. Hirananda Sastri in the *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. XVII). Here Ajapura is mentioned as a 'naya' which is interpreted to mean a subdivision falling within the *vishaya* of Rājagriha. I find that Dr. Sastri had also identified this Ajapura with the modern village of Ajaipur. He does not however refer to the Bihar Pillar Inscription in this connection. The term 'vaishayika' in the Bihar Pillar Inscription apparently refers to Ajapura as pertaining to the *vishaya* of Rājagriha and Dr. Sastri's contention that 'naya' is a territorial unit such as a subdivision appears to be correct. It is noteworthy that in the Nālandā copperplate the word 'pratibaddha' occurs with reference to 'Ajapuranaya'.

I have noted above that the collection of relics on the 'Garh' appeared to belong to the Pāla period. The local people speak of a 'Rājā Jaipāl' and this may have some important

significance. Mr. R. D. Banerji has given the following list of the early Pāla Emperors in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, p. 62 :—

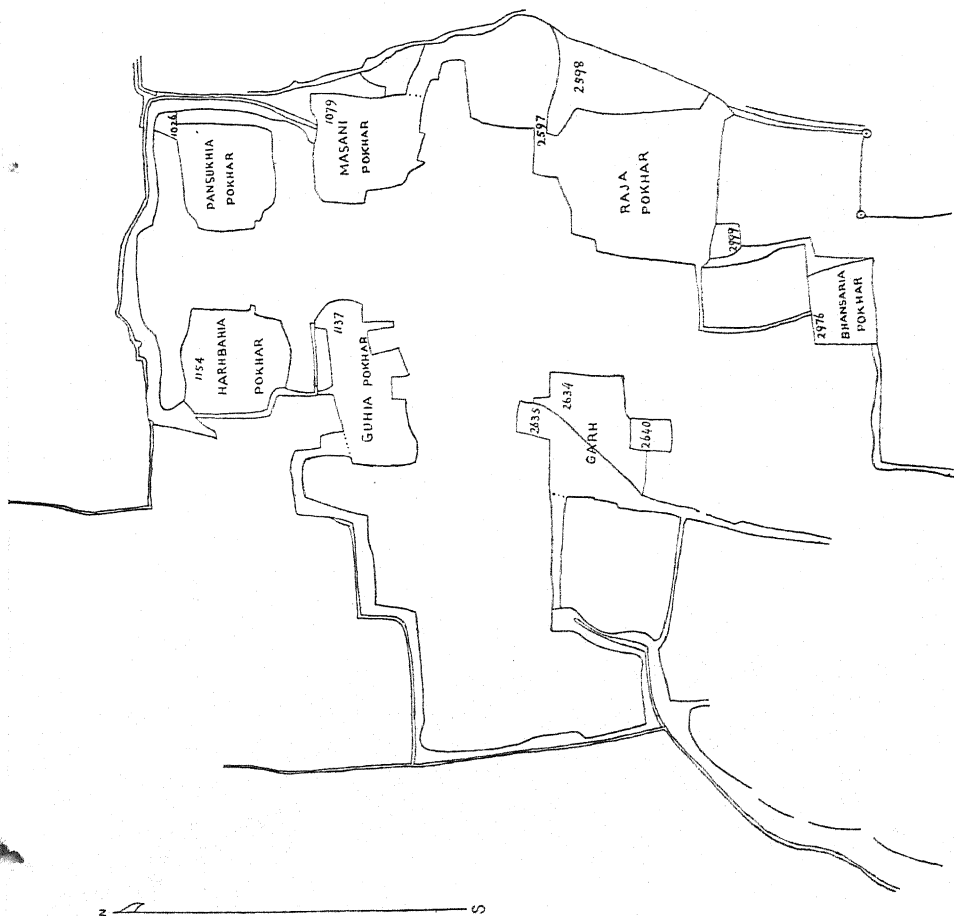


According to Dr. Kielhorn, Śūrapāla probably was a brother of Devapāla and Vighrapāla I was son of Jayapāla and grandson of Vākpāla, a brother of Dharmapāla (*Ep. Indica*, Vol. VIII, app. I, pp. 15 and 17). Dr. Hoernle differed from this view and held that Vighrapāla was a son of Devapāla and not a nephew. Whatever the relationship might have been, it is clear that Jayapāla was not a mere legendary figure: he is definitely mentioned in the fifth śloka of the Nārāyaṇapāla Copperplate Inscription (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV, p. 325). It may be interesting to note that Mr. A. M. Broadley, my predecessor in office in the 'Seventies, had found a figure of a Buddha which bore an inscription of Vighrapāla—though it is not known whether it referred to Vighrapāla I or II—at village Rahui in Bihar Thana (*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XLI). Rahui is situated at a distance of seven miles from Bihar on the north while Ajaipur is seven miles away to the west. At Rahui, about which I have collected some notes and which I hope to publish, I found the same extensive mounds and series of tanks—it is well known that the Pālas were great builders of tanks—and broken images and pillars of the Pāla period. As a 'Yojana',—that is 7-8 miles,—was the prescribed distance for a Royal March [*vide* Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, ed. Shamashastry, p. 439], was Rahui also the headquarters of another 'naya' of the province of Daṇḍabhukti of which the ancient town of Bihar—Uddāṇapūra—was the capital? It is not unlikely that both

Jayapāla and Vighrahapāla, who were not in the direct line of succession to the throne of Gopāla I, had served as Royal Princes in charge of 'nayas'. It may be noted here that in the Nālandā Copperplate Inscription Ajapura is mentioned as situated in Śrinagarabhukti.

We have therefore evidence of the importance of Ajaipur in two different periods,—the Fifth and the Ninth Centuries A.D. I am convinced however that the history of Ajaipur can be traced back to much earlier periods if the site is excavated. The evidence of bricks found *in situ* lends support to this contention. Sir John Marshall has supplied the standard dimensions of bricks of the Maurya age as approximately $16'' \times 10'' \times 3''$ (A.S.R., 1913-14, p. 4). The brick with the inscription measured $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2''$. Codrington, however, in 'Ancient India', p. 17, has pointed out that much has been made of the large size of bricks found in low strata but no law can be laid down on this point. In Mauryan levels at Bhita the bricks measured $19\frac{1}{2}'' \times 12\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ and $17'' \times 11\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$. At Sarnath the size of bricks round the base of the Asokan column was $16\frac{3}{4}'' \times 11'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$. I have visited scores of ancient places in Bihar and have been struck by the immense size of the bricks of the sites known to have been connected with early Buddhism.

Ajaipur is thus an interesting site and deserves further investigation. Its importance is enhanced by the fact that it was probably the headquarters of an administrative unit. It must have been carefully chosen on account of its strategic position. It was within a day's march from Bihar. [I should like to note in this connection that the value of 'Yojana' as 7.8 miles is confirmed by the distances which I have calculated from Bihar of important ancient villages and sites such as Ajaipur, Barhgaon, Nanand, Tetrawan, Ghosrawan, Jiar, and Rahui.] Lands of great fertility surrounded it on all sides. The river Sāsi flowed on the east a short distance away while on the west lay the river Paimār, both important rivers even now. I was told that a battle had been fought in Mohammadan times at the north-western boundary of the village. Apparently its strategic importance was recognized until quite recent times. It is



AJAPUR
 P.S. BIHAR
 DIST. PATNA.

Ajapura of Skanda Gupta and the area around.

doubtful if any monastic remains will be found at this site, but it is certain that future research here will throw further light on the administrative organization of ancient and mediæval Magadha.



REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

By the Editor.

KARANJA SERIES.

1. *Sāvaya-dhamma-dohā*: This is an apabhraṃśa work of the tenth century by Lakshmi-chandra in 224 dohās. Every dohā completes one idea in itself. They are moral sayings relating to Jaina philosophy and religious ideals. The work has been edited by Mr. Hiralal Jain, Assistant Professor of Sanskrit, King Edward College, Amaraoti, who is the general editor of the Karanja Jaina Series; and published by the Karanja Jaina Publication Society, Karanja, Berar, 1932. In 125 pages, 7" × 5", the editor has very carefully edited the text and given a translation in Hindī, a glossary of the words occurring, and notes on difficult words. We welcome the volume as a valuable material on the beginnings of modern vernaculars, the importance of which was pointed out in this journal when these Jaina texts were brought to light by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal in his *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS.* (J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIII, p. 30). The price Rs. 2-8 seems to be a little too high.

2. *Nāya-Kumāra-cariu* of Pushpadanta: This has also been edited by Mr. Hiralal Jain, the publisher being the Balāt-kāra-Gaṇa Jaina Publication Society of Karanja. This text was also noticed by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal; and has been now (1933) ably edited in 210 pages (9½" × 6½"). It is a Jaina romance making Nāga-Kumāra its hero. The author wrote this apabhraṃśa kāvya at Mānyakheṭa in the latter half of the tenth century, and a commentary on it was composed about 1055 A.D. Mr. Jain has made his study almost exhaustive.

The language is *Nāgara-apabhraṃśa*. The word *Nāgara* is intimately connected with the Nāgas, like the *Nāgara* architecture and *Nāgara* script (J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIX, pp. 55-60). For the connection of the *Nāgabhāshā* with Gujarat see the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, p. 233 (Nāgānām cha yathā Lāḍi vāchā. hyuktā manīshinī).

The price Rs. 6 is high. I recommend to the Jaina Societies to price their publications with the liberality characteristic of them, to make them more easily available to scholars.

MADRAS UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS.

3. The *R̥gvedānukramaṇī* of Mādhavabhaṭṭa: $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$, pages 93 + 159 Appendix, edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras, 1932. Price Rs. 3-8: The text has been edited from six manuscripts. The *Anukramaṇī* is a part of Mādhavabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *R̥g Veda* which has been quoted by Sāyaṇa and others. Dr. L. Sarup has already dealt with the personal history of the author who seems to have flourished in the early part of the tenth century.

Dr. Raja has done well in publishing these *Kārikās* of Mādhava on the *Anukramaṇī* section separately. Mādhava shows originality in explaining the arrangement of the *R̥g Veda* and a sense of critical judgment in determining the authorship of the *Sūktas*. His *Svarānukramaṇī* or the Treatment of Accents will probably be found very useful.

4. *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India (collected till 1923) and Outlines of Political History* by Robert Sewell: The late Robert Sewell devoted nearly half a century to the study of the history of Southern India which is almost entirely based upon inscriptions. Although Mr. Sewell could not see the publication of this present volume (1932), but Dr. S. Krishna-swami Aiyangar, whom the Madras University appointed to edit the work, has taken every possible care to bring it out 'as it emerged from the hands of the late Mr. Sewell'. He has added a few footnotes wherever necessary. The volume (pp. 405, $11'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$) has a map of Southern India with inscriptional places noted thereon. It is not necessary to discuss the *Outlines of Political History* as presented by Mr. Sewell: the subject of the Pallava, Gaṅga, and Kadamba history has been already discussed in this journal by me. The list of the inscriptions, bringing as it does all the results together, would be always found useful by historians.

5. *Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India*, by Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Aiyangar: This volume (pp. 379,

9½" × 6½"; Price Rs. 6), is a series of lectures delivered by Dr. Aiyangar as Sir William Meyer Lectures, 1929-30. The author has attempted to gather political ideals from the Kural, the Pallava Inscriptions and Chola Inscriptions. The materials on the local administration in the Chola time are remarkably rich, which have been available for sometime and have been already ably commented on by Mr. Havell. Dr. Aiyangar has given some supplementary information. The Pallava inscriptions, however, give very little help; and no picture, even partial, can be constructed from them. The Pallava system is wholly Northern and was probably an exact copy of the Northern constitution. Dr. Aiyangar's attempt will stimulate further research and reconstruction.

6. *The Mauryan Polity*, by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Lecturer in Indian History, Madras University (pp. 373, 9½" × 6½"; Price Rs. 6): This is an excellent volume on Mauryan polity. The author has corrected several mistakes of Dr. Law and others, and presented a clear and thoughtful study. His judgment is sound, and appreciation of facts reliable.

7. *The Chronology of the Early Tamils*, by K. N. Sivaraja Pillai (pp. 265, 9½" × 6½"; Price Rs. 5, 1932): This is a good analysis of the Sangam Literature, out of which Synchronistic Tables of Kings, Chieftains, and Poets have been constructed for 50 B.C. to 200 A.D. The author has taken pains to co-ordinate his results. The dates may be liable to a little shifting, but probably not much. The Sangam Literature has been subjected to a process of extracting historical data therefrom by various Tamil scholars; Mr. Pillai seems to have been more fortunate in adopting his method.

PUBLICATION OF THE CALCUTTA AND THE PUNJAB
UNIVERSITIES.

8. *Brahmanical Gods in Burma*, by Nihar Ranjan Ray (pp. 88 with 23 plates, 9½" × 6¼", price not given, Calcutta, 1932): There is definite evidence of the introduction of Indian culture into Burma in the early Gupta period. The Brahmanical sculptures found there are, however, of a much later period; none can go back beyond the sixth century and the majority

belongs to mediæval times. In this volume images of Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Brahmā and some minor deities have been discussed. The materials utilized are all from published books. They have been conveniently brought together, but the plates are not very good. Burman chapter of the Hindu Colonial history had been long neglected. We welcome the beginning made by Mr. Ray.

9. *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, by Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, Lecturer in History, Calcutta University, Calcutta, 1932 (pp. 192, $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$, price not given): This is a collection of fourteen papers, three of which are in Bengali. There are some important points discussed by Dr. Raychaudhuri, e.g. the Besnagar inscription and its connection with a Mahā-Bhārata passage. The view of the author on the age of Janaka (p. 32) is not acceptable, the fallacy of which has been demonstrated by Prof. Vanamali Vedāntātīrtha in his article in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XIII, pts. iii and iv, 1932, p. 307. The author's geographical views are not acceptable.

10. *Trivandrum Plays of Bhāsa translated into English*, by Dr. A. C. Woolner and Dr. Lakshman Sarup, published by the University of the Punjab, 1930 (pp. 200, $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$; Price 9s.): Dr. Woolner and Dr. Sarup have translated all the thirteen plays published by the late Gaṇapati Śāstrī. The translation has been made after a critical study of the texts. In some places the reading has been distinctly improved. It may however be pointed out that the translation of '*prakāśa rājar-shināmadheyo vedākshara-samavāyapraaviṣṭo Bhārato vaṁśaḥ*' in Act II of PY., is not accurate: '*The Bharata dynasty, with its long roll of famous royal sages and its tradition of deep learning*' (p. 21), misses the real import that the dynasty is mentioned in the Veda (Rig. III, i. 23, 2). I have not the least hesitation in agreeing with the conclusion of Dr. Sarup that the dramas are by the same pen and are to be treated as authentic.

PUBLICATION OF INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS.

11. *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, by Dr. Binoytosh Bhattacharya, Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda, published

by the Oxford University Press, 1932 (pp. 174, $9\frac{3}{4}" \times 7\frac{1}{2}"$, with 12 plates; Price Rs. 10): This is a book on Tantric Buddhism of the Vajra School. In Chapter VIII a history of the teachers (Mahāsiddhas) has been given. Saraha was the first teacher, his date is given as 633 A.D. This initial date needs correction. Luipā was a Kāyastha official of King Dharmapāla (c. 800 A.D.), according to the works of the hierarchs of the Śākya Monastery of Tibet (Sa-Skya-Bkaḥ-Ḥbum, Vol. Ph, pp. 212 B to 217 A and 243 A; see Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana, in the Hindi monthly *Gaṅgā*, Bhagalpur, January, 1933, p. 224). Hardly one generation passed between Saraha and Luipā, for Saraha's pupil Sabaripā was the teacher of Luipā. Again Haribhadra who received a monastery from King Dharmapāla was the teacher of Buddhajnāna, a co-disciple of Saraha. The time of Saraha, therefore, is the time of Dharmapāla. The date 669 A.D. for Luipā (p. 69) cannot be maintained in view of the exact data brought to light by Rev. Sāṅkṛityāyana. Chapter XI gives the procedure of worship. Chapter XIII, on the Pantheon, is the best in the book and is illustrated with good plates with some of which the author had already familiarised us. The date of Śāntideva (=Bhusuka), p. 123, is the reign of King Devapāla, not 695 to 730 A.D. [See *Gaṅgā*, January, 1933, p. 249.] The date of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* is c. 800 A.D. which is evident from its historical section (See the August issue of the *Modern Review*). The date assigned to it by Dr. Bhattacharya is far too high. These matters, however, do not affect the merit of the book. Dr. Bhattacharya's book is a good text-book on its subject.

12. *A Primer of Indian Logic*, by MM. S. Kuppaswami Śāstrī, I.E.S., Vidyāvāchaspati, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras (pp. 364, $7\frac{1}{4}" \times 4\frac{3}{4}"$, price not given), published by P. Varadachari & Co., Madras, 1932: The volume though primarily a translation of the *Tarkasaṅgraha*, the Hindu primer of logic which almost every student of Sanskrit has to read in India, is more than what its title denotes. The exposition by the learned author (Prof. Kuppaswami Śāstrī) is masterly. It is exact in its language. Nearest or identical modern terms have been adopted. It

draws on the entire philosophic literature of Hindu India. It is clear; and at places, historical. A mistake of Prof. Keith on *avinābhāva* has been corrected at page 261. A manual like this on Hindu logic has been a want. I should add that the date of Nāgārjuna (p. xvii, 'Third Century A.D. circa') is not acceptable. The Mañju-Śrīmūlakalpa places him in the fifth century after the Buddha.

13. *Vibhramaviveka* of Maṇḍana Miśra, edited by T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Vedāntālaṅkāra, Professor of Vedānta, Sanskrit College, Madras (pp. 18+15 Introduction, $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$; Price As. 12), published by the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, 1932: Maṇḍana Miśra, the great mimāṃsaka of his time and once the rival of Śaṅkara is a household name in India. It is to the great credit of the Southern scholars that they are bringing out his works. His '*Brahma-siddhi*' is promised by MM. Kuppaswami Śāstrī. Meanwhile his *Vibhramaviveka* has been published. There are 162 Kārikās in the *Vibhramaviveka*. Though it has been edited from one manuscript the *lacunæ* have been filled up with the help of the *Brahma-siddhi* and Kumārila's *Śloka-Vārtika*. An Introduction by Prof. Kuppaswami Śāstrī deals with the general Advaita theory. Khyāti Vāda is the subject of the *Vibhramaviveka*.

14. *India's Outlook on Life*, by J. C. Chatterji (pp. 75, $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6''$; Price 2 dollars), published by Kailasa Press, 200 West 57th Street, New York City, 1931: In this little volume, Mr. Chatterji gives in a popular form the main features of Upanishadic philosophy. His exposition is lucid and shows a clear grasp of his subject. It never becomes obscure or pedantic.

15. *Inscriptions in the C.P. and Berar*, by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal (pp. 230 with plates and an archæological map of the C.P., $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$; Price Rs. 3), Second Edition, a publication of the Central Provinces Government: This is the best inscriptional gazetteer yet published in any province. The information which a general reader as well as a technical reader would require is to be found in the volume with remarkable accuracy and conciseness. The map enhances the value of the book, and the Genealogies and the Chronological Charts in Appendix

I, as well as the dynastic lists in Appendix II, are of great value.

16. *Canons of Orissan Architecture*, by Nirmal Kumar Bose (pp. 186, with 46 plates, $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$; Price Rs. 10), published by Mr. R. Chatterjee, 120/2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, 1932 : The author has taken up a manual on architecture called *Bhuvana-pradipa* which is a current authority in Orissa and has studied it with the help of living tradition amongst Orissa artists. He has illustrated all the technical points with excellent pictures of monuments in existence and diagrams. Mr. Bose has thus transferred the study of Hindu architecture from the domain of personal impressions and opinion to that of an applied science. He has drawn on the knowledge as it obtains in the practical builder and sculptor. A similar attempt for Northern India is much desirable. I have met artists in Central India who can expound the whole subject in vernacular technical terms current amongst them. The tradition is also living in Southern India up to Ceylon where a Tamil gentleman has constructed a temple in our days according to those traditions at a cost of nine lakhs. The author must have devoted great labour and time in producing the present volume.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of
the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
held on Sunday, the 30th July, 1933.

PRESENT.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal (in the Chair).

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.

Mr. H. Lambert.

Mr. G. E. Fawcett.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council, held on the 19th March, 1933.

2. Passed the monthly accounts from March to June, 1933, and the annual account for 1932-33.

3. Considered the proposed budget for 1934-35. Amended the estimate of Rs. 350 for the Library to Rs. 500, with a consequent change in the total to Rs. 7,283 with a closing balance of Rs. 745-1-11½.

Resolved that all figures in the budget be expressed in round numbers to the nearest rupee.

Passed the budget for 1934-35 as amended.

4. Passed the revised budget for 1933-34.

5. Elected the following new members :—

Mr. Swami Vedanand Tirtha, Aryasamaj Mandir, Dinga.

Mr. Madan Mohan Nagar, B.A., Curator, Sarnath.

Khan Bahadur Gulam Muhammad Munshi, Bar.-at-Law,
Rajkot.

Mr. J. Rahman, Bar.-at-Law, Patna.

6. Considered the advisability of placing 'The Journal of the Assam Research Society' on our exchange list.

Resolved that the Council regret that the exchange cannot be made.

7. Sanctioned the payment of the following Baptist Mission Press bills :—

			Rs. A. P.
1.	Bill No. 4593, dated 19-5-1933	.. ..	78 13 0
2.	„ „ 4624, „ 26-5-1933	.. ..	1,636 11 6
3.	„ „ 4625, „ „	.. ..	21 11 0

8. Read the circular letter from the Local Secretary, VII Indian Oriental Conference, Baroda.

Nominated the following members as representatives of the Society :—

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.

Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

9. Read letter No. 1283/111C-5/E, dated the 18th June, 1933, from the Secretary, Bihar and Orissa Sanskrit Association.

10. Resolved that Dr. Buchanan's Patna-Bihar Report be sent to the Calcutta Oriental Press for printing, the cost to be met from the Huthwa Fund and His Excellency the Governor's donation.

11. Read a letter from Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham of the 6th July, 1933.

Resolved that the Society will be very glad to accept any of the old blocks of the *Indian Antiquary* which may be to spare.

12. Read a letter from Mr. Rahul Sankrityayan presenting the Society with 21 cases of books.

Resolved that a committee, consisting of Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, the Honorary Treasurer, and the Honorary General Secretary be formed to consider the storage of these books.

J. L. HILL,

2nd August, 1933.

Honorary General Secretary.

Annual Statement of Accounts, 1932-33.

	INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.	
	Budget.	Actuals.	Budget.	Actuals.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Establishment	900 0 0	900 0 0	1,158 0 0	1,221 12 0
Mithila Pandit	1,273 0 0	1,273 0 0	56 4 0	.....
Oriya Pandit	30 0 0	30 0 0	1,273 0 0	1,262 12 3
Library	350 0 0	350 0 0	67 0 0	.....
Printing of Journal	2,000 0 0	2,250 0 0	25 6 1	24 15 4
Sale of Journal	800 0 0	879 1 0	350 0 0	350 0 0
Subscription	1,600 0 0	1,964 12 0	159 7 5	159 7 5
Postage Recovered	20 0 0	8 11 0	3,300 0 0	3,902 6 3
Miscellaneous .. .. .	.....	349 8 0	3,309 6 0	3,309 6 0
Interest on F.D.	100 0 0	....	225 0 0	225 0 0
			370 0 0	241 10 3
			70 0 0	55 11 0
			150 0 0	85 3 0
			200 0 0	118 13 6
		
TOTAL	7,073 0 0	8,005 0 0	10,713 7 6	10,957 1 1
Opening Balance	4,096 15 2	4,096 15 2	456 7 8	1,144 14 1
GRAND TOTAL	11,169 15 2	12,101 15 2	11,169 15 2	12,101 15 2
N.B.—Cash Book Miscellaneous figure includes the following:—				
Mr. Hill's private Telephone cheque .. .. .	..	14 0 0	..	14 0 0
K. P. Jain, Esq. .. .. .	..	10 0 0	..	10 0 0
Fixed Deposit Receipts .. .. .	..	6,107 0 3	..	10 0 0
Darbhanga Fund .. .. .	..	1,000 0 0	..	2,971 7 10
TOTAL .. .. .	..	7,131 0 3	..	..
Actual .. .. .	..	349 8 0	TOTAL	2,995 7 10
GRAND TOTAL .. .. .	..	7,480 8 3	GRAND TOTAL	118 13 6
				3,114 5 4

S. BAHADUR,
Honorary Treasurer.

JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY
DECEMBER, 1933.

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Reviews and Notices of Books

By. K. P. Jayaswal.

1. The Story of Kālaka, edited by W. Norman Brown, University of Pennsylvania.
2. Kātyāyanasmṛitisāroddhāra, edited by P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M., Bombay.
3. Gāthā of Zarathushtra, edited by Jotindra Mohan Chatterjee, M.A.
4. The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu Javanese Art, by Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers, Brill Ltd., Leiden.
5. History of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, by Pandit Bisheswar-nath Reu, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Jodhpur.



JOURNAL

OF THE

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VOL. XIX.]

1933

[PART IV.

Leading Articles

Tibeto-Nepalese War, 1788-1793

By D. B. Diskalkar, M.A.
Curator, Historical Museum, Satara.

In the Historical Museum at Satara in the Bombay Presidency there are about 4,000 English papers very useful for the history of the early British period in India. A majority of them are of the time of Lord Macartney, who was Governor of Madras from 22nd June, 1781 to 8th June, 1785.¹ These papers were purchased by the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis,² a well-known worker specially in the field of Maratha history, from an auctioneer of old mss. in London.³

1 *Some account of the public life and writings of Macartney by Barrow.*

2 *Proceedings of the meetings of Ind. Hist. Rec. Comm.*, vol. V, p. 96.

3 The Keeper of manuscripts in the British Museum, London, writes to me in his letter dated the 14th June, 1932, thus—'I may say that though we have many Macartney papers here, there are considerable portions of the collection elsewhere. At least two lots of them have recently been offered for sale by auction in London, but I do not know whether they were bought or by whom. There are many papers of Macartney in the Madras Record Office'.

All these Macartney papers have now been classified and arranged. They have been found to relate not only to the period of Macartney's Indian administration, but to his subsequent career.⁴ Among the papers of the latter period are found about a dozen papers which relate to China. The reason why papers relating to China are found in the Macartney papers, is that eight years after his retirement from service as Governor of Madras, Macartney "being a man of noble birth and distinguished merit was appointed His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of China with the object of removing the ill opinion of the Chinese against the English merchants, who often being of a low class had by their passions and caprices exhibited such scenes of excesses and irregularities as were peculiarly disgusting and offensive to a people whose minutest actions were controlled by specific regulations."⁵ Macartney must have naturally studied all the papers of the time relating to China before he went there in 1793.⁶

One of these papers contains a list of ten letters in a packet sent to Lord Macartney from the East India House on the 17th May, 1793 as follows:—

4 A peep into the Macartney papers in the Satara Museum, *Calcutta Review*, April, 1932.

5 *Macartney's Embassy to China*, 1797, vol. I, p. 15.

6 Mr. W. T. Ottewill, Superintendent of Records in the India Office, London, kindly gives me the information that Charles W. Wason, a former student at Cornell University, New York, after a lifetime spent in commerce with China gathered some ten thousand books and manuscripts relating particularly to the commercial and diplomatic relations between China and the world. Upon his death the whole library was left to his *alma mater*. The chief manuscript collection consists of papers of the Earl of Macartney, of which there are thirty-six volumes. Of these twenty-one volumes are extracts from the East India Company's records prepared for the use of Lord Macartney upon his Embassy to China. These were transmitted to Macartney by the E.I. Company on September 8th, 1792. They were purchased by Mr. Wason from the famous collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps in September 1913. Then there is a collection of ten volumes of manuscripts purchased for the Wason Collection from Mr. C. G. Macartney in 1915. There are 448 documents in the collection, most of them being letters to Macartney by Francis Baring and Henry Dundas.

SECRET

List of the packet to His Excellency Lord Viscount Macartney etc etc., per Earl of Abergavenny.

- No. 1 Duplicate—Letter from the Chairman and Deputy Chairman to His Excellency dated the 11th May, 1793.
- No. 2 Duplicate—Copy of a clause respecting the Trade to China intended to be inserted in the Bill on the renewal of the Company's Charter.
- No. 3 Duplicate—Copy of General Letter from Bengal in the Political Department dated the 14th October, 1792 respecting the Rajah of Napal.
- No. 4 Duplicate—Copies of Letters from the Rajah of Napal to Earl Cornwallis.
- No. 5 Duplicate—Copy of Letter from the Rajah of Napal to the Resident at Benares.
- No. 6 Duplicate—Copy of Letter dated the 15th Sept., 1792 from Earl Cornwallis to the Rajah of Napal.
- No. 7 Duplicate—Copy of Letter dated the 17th Sept., 1792 from the Resident at Benares to the Rajah of Napal.
- No. 8 Duplicate—Copy of Letter from the Rajah of Pootlah Laussa to Earl Cornwallis.
- No. 9 Duplicate—Copy of Letter dated the 25th Sept., from Earl Cornwallis to the Dalia Lama at Pootlah Lessa.
- No. 10 Duplicate—Copy of Translation of a Paper forwarded by the Resident at Benares.

East India House

17th May, 1793.

Only four (Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 8) of the ten letters in the packet mentioned in the paper could be traced among the papers in the Museum. I wrote to the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, Calcutta and of the India Office and British Museum, London, with a request to see if the remaining letters in the packet can be traced in their collections. Mr. Abdul Ali, the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India very kindly traced four out of the remaining six letters required by me viz. Nos. 3, 7, 9 and 10 and supplied me with their copies. The Superintendent of Records⁷ in the India Office, London, kindly supplied me with copies of the same

7 I express here my thankfulness to both these officers for the trouble they have kindly taken in tracing the documents and supplying me with their true copies.

four documents. Unfortunately the letters Nos. 1 and 2 mentioned in the paper can nowhere be traced.⁸

I could find in the Museum collection one more important paper⁹ which being of a later date could not have been mentioned in the list referred to above, but which bears on the same subject and gives the result of the war in the words of the Teshoo Lama of Tibet himself, who came out successful in it. Subsequent search in the Records of the Government of India, Calcutta, and at the India Office, London, has brought to light ten more documents bearing on the same subject. These letters refer to a war that was going on between Nepal and Tibet from 1788 to 1793. It requires to be noted that practically very little is so far known about this war. A Nepalese writer named Gen. Pudma Jung Bahadur gives the following account of the war in his *Life of Maharaja Sir Jung Bahadur of Nepal*.¹⁰

In 1791 a dispute arose between the Tibetans and the Nepalese merchants at Lhasa. The Grand Lama referred the matter to the Chinese Emperor, Keen-lung, while the Nepalese appealed to their Home Government. The Nepalese king wrote to the Court of Peking remonstrating against the high-handed conduct of the Tibetans, but the Celestial Emperor stooped not from his empyrean height to consider a terrestrial letter from the "Robber King," as he styled the Nepalese monarch. Exasperated by this insult, the Gurkhas sent an army of 9,000 under the command of Ranjeet, who marched through the Kutipass to Dingarcha, which he laid under fire and sword. The Chinese Emperor also despatched a formid-

8 The Superintendent of Records in the India Office writes to me in his letter dated the 4th April, 1932 thus—No copy of the letter of the 11th May, 1793 to Macartney has been traced in the Records of this office, although references to it have been found. It was probably of a private and confidential nature and if it is still in existence it may be with the collection of Macartney papers sold at Sotheby's in 1915.

9 No. 18 below, from the Teshoo Lama, received by the Governor General on the 28th June, 1793.

10 See p. 6 of the preface of the *Life* edited by A. C. Mukherjee, M.A., Allahabad, 1909, D. Wright M.A., in his *History of Nepal* 1877, p. 51 and Sir Francis Younghusband in his *India and Tibet* only make a vague reference to this war.

able force of 70,000 in two divisions under Dhuring and Putung Toong Thong, and Ranjeet, conscious of his own inferiority, thought it prudent to make a retreat to Dhaibung, where he proudly stood at bay and gave battle. The fight was long and bloody, and about 4,000 men were killed on either side. The loss inflicted a heavy blow on the Nepalese, who were greatly inferior in numbers. Still undaunted, Ranjeet retreated further, and made another stand in the mountains of Panchmanay, whence with his reduced force he directed a night attack upon the enemy in a manner that reminds us of Hanibal. He fastened flaming torches to the horns of several hundred cattle which were driven in one direction, and in another he hung lights on every conspicuous bush and tree; while he himself marched silently in the dark and attacked the enemy in the rear, leaving the front open. The enemy, pressed in one quarter by an actual attack, and seeing lights on their right and left, fancied they had been caught in a trap, and so made their best haste to flee from the destruction which they feared was about to follow. They fled pell-mell, throwing down their arms, and leaving their camp to be plundered by the Nepalese. This happened on the 19th of September, 1792 and the scene of the victory has since been called by the new name of Jitpur Fedi. A treaty was concluded between Nepal and China.

But the eighteen¹¹ letters published below for the first time will be seen to give a more accurate and detailed account of the war, though more correspondence on the subject referred to in these very letters is unfortunately not forthcoming. They show how both Nepal and Tibet represented their case to the British power in India without success. The origin of the war is given thus: The Teshoo Lama of Tibet was on very friendly terms with the British. Warren Hastings sent an ambassador (Bogle) to the Lama to cement the friendship. The Emperor of China, who was the overlord of the Lama, did not relish this idea and invited the Lama to his court where the

11 No. 4 in the packet mentioned above contains copies of two letters from the Rajah of Nepal, one received on the 22nd Aug., 1792 and the other on the 5th Sept., 1792. Hence the total number of letters there is 10,

latter met a mysterious death. Sumhur Lama, the brother of the deceased Lama, went to the king of Nepal and instigated him to invade the country of Tibet. This he at once did some time in 1785. He went to the distance of twenty eight days' march from Nepal (to Shugghar?) and forced the Teshoo Lama to pay him a tribute of three lakhs of Rupees. The Lama, thereupon, applied to Sir John Macpherson, the then Governor General of India, for help against the king of Nepal. But Macpherson declined to give it as the British were also on friendly terms with the king of Nepal (No. 12).

In the month of Ramzan i.e. June 1788, the Gurkha king again sent a large army of 18,000 men against Tibet and took by violence "the several forts in the country of Boot, which is in the vicinity of Nepal, such as Daam Jung, Kutty, Keesung, Runga Low, Mindan, Shukkha, Legur, Rungsheer, and massacred the inhabitants of these places" (No. 3). The Teshoo Lama thereupon deputed two Kashmirians named Mahomed Rajab and Mahomed Wallee with presents of honour to Lord Cornwallis and requested him to help him against the Gurkha king. The Tibetan Vakils arrived in Calcutta on 22nd December, 1788 and were received with due hospitality. But Cornwallis wrote in reply on 27 February 1789 to the Lama declining to interfere in the matter firstly because it would be very expensive to send the Indian army to Tibet, secondly because the Gurkha king had given him no provocation and thirdly because the Emperor of China with whom the Company was carrying on a great trade would not like the interference (No. 6). The Lamas of Tibet thereupon asked the help of their overlord, the Emperor of China, who at once sent a large army with a Commander named Sund Fo to punish the king of Nepal (Nos. 12 and 18). Seeing the combined armies of the Emperor of China and the Dalai Lama and the Teshoo Lama of Tibet advancing towards him, the king of Nepal wrote successively at least three letters to Lord Cornwallis, requesting him to help him against Tibet. His first letter referred to in No. 9 below is not discovered. In his second letter received on 22 Aug. 1792 (No. 9) he wrote thus:

"I request that your Lordship will be kind enough to dis-

patch for this quarter ten guns, together with ammunition and ten young Europeans versed in the management of artillery. No Englishman has to this time come into the country; yet in consideration of the ancient friendship subsisting with the Company's Sircar I have as the means of adding strength to our friendly connection made this request." In the third letter sent immediately after this he wrote—"In like manner as your Lordship shews kindness to the Nawab Vizier, I hope you will be friendly to me and issue an order to the Commanding Officer at Denapoor for two Battalions of Europeans and two of Sepoys with military stores and a suitable number of Guns to be sent to my assistance. I will transmit a Bill for their Expenses," (No. 10).

Cornwallis had already received a letter¹² from the Dalai Lama of Tibet dated in March, 1792 and received on the 3rd Aug. 1792 with several articles in token of friendship in which he represented his own case and requested the Governor-General not to be influenced by the false representations of the king of Nepal which would fracture the amicable relations of the Tibetans and the British. He stated in his letter, "The Rajah will write lies and calumnies that the Emperor has detached a large army against him, and that therefore he requests aid; that should your Lordship not depute a force to assist him the Emperor will rise up hereafter against your Lordship's Government as he has against his," (No. 8).

Lord Cornwallis was placed in a very delicate position on this occasion as he had clearly shown in his letter to the Court of Directors (No. 17). The British had only lately concluded a commercial treaty with Nepal and the king had made friendly advances to them. It was incumbent on them therefore to endeavour to preserve him and his country from destruction. At the same time they could not enter into hostilities against the Lamas with whom they had held amicable correspondence

12 Two letters were received from the Lamas of Tibet and one from the Commander of the Chinese army named Janoojoun (No. 14). From Nos. 15 and 17 it is seen that several letters in the Tibetan characters accompanied by a Persian translation were received.

or against the Emperor of China between whom and the Company commercial connection had long subsisted.

Cornwallis accordingly replied to the king of Nepal on the 15th September, 1792 (No. 13) declining to interfere but offering to depute a man of his confidence, who would try to reconcile him to the Lamas of Tibet. "The English Company," wrote he, "have nothing more at heart, than to maintain the most cordial and friendly terms with all the Powers in India, and particularly with those whose countries be contiguous to their own and sensible of the Policy and Wisdom of this conduct, they are careful not to infringe the rules of Friendship by interference in a Hostile manner in the disputes of others except when self defence or Wanton attacks oblige them. . . .

A compliance with your request to assist you with a Military Force against the Lassa who is a dependant on the Emperor of China, would be not only an Infringement on the General Policy of the English Government, but also a measure inconsistent with the connection that has so long prevailed between the Company and the Emperor."

On the 25th September he replied to the Dalai Lama at Pootlah Lassa with almost the same contents (No. 15).

Cornwallis soon sent Col. Kirkpatrick with an adequate staff¹³ under him on a mission of mediation to Nepal. By the time however Kirkpatrick was of any use to the Nepalese king, the united armies of Tibet and China arrived "in the height of the Rains in the Neighbourhood of Nipaul, some severe engagements took place and Numbers of the Rajah's men were killed, many places of his country came into possession of His Majesty's army. The army had advanced to within one days March of the Rajah's capital.¹⁴ When at length the Rajah finding himself unable to contend sued for peace" (No. 18). The treaty was concluded probably in the beginning of 1793.¹⁵

13 See paragraph 12 of Letter No. 17.

14 See also the concluding portion of No. 12 which gives an account of the war till 4 Sept. 1792.

15 The Gurkha king seems also to have tried to extend his territories to the south and west of Nepal, but there even he met with a failure

THE LETTERS

No. 1

Letter from the Raja of Nepal.

خط راجہ نیپال بنام نواب گورنر جنرل

مسٹر جان مکفرسن بہادر *

بعد گزارش بندگی و نیاز تمنا و حصول خدمت فیضدجت
 می پردازد نوازش نامه کرامت آموں در باب موضع اشرف بر طبق
 نوشته مسترگران صاحب شرف و رون یافته معزز و مسرور
 ساخت صورت این است کہ موضع مذکور از مدت قدیم متعلقہ
 اینطرف است راجہ مادھو سنگھ ناحق خلش می نماید نیاز
 مند مرکز مجبور بیجا نیست و نمیشود و مقدمہ سوانہ را دستور
 قدیم است جائیکہ تکرار میگردد در آنجا امین دیانت دار مقرر
 میشود کہ واقف کاران فیقین را ہمراہ گرفته از روی دریافت
 و امانت واجبی ہرچہ فیصل نماید طرفین قبول میکنند چنانچہ
 اینمعنی بعمل نمی آرد و اگرچہ عرض گویان برعلاقیہ احقر پھرہ
 تلنگہ تعین میشوند حالاً نیازمند شخص واقف کار را عنقریب

as is seen from three Marathi letters written by Hingne, the Peshwa's Vakil at Delhi to Nana Phadnis at Poona, and edited by Parasnis in the *Itihāsa Samgraha*. They show that sometime before September 1790 'Jagajita, the general of Raja Ranabahadur of Nepal' invaded with an army of 20000 the districts of Almora, Kumon, Shrinagar, Nahan and others and subdued their rulers. They thereupon appealed to the Nawab of Oudh for help, who sent his own army and that of Faijullakhan of Rampur against the Gurkhas at Kashipur and Rudrapur. Sometime in December 1791 a battle was fought between the Nawab's army and the Gurkhas in which the latter were defeated, and driven back.

درايه جناب عالي مي نمايد كه مفصل بعرض برساند برطبق
آن امين از حضور مقرر خواهد شد كه با ظاهر واقف كاران طرفين
قرار شده هرچه واجبي باشد فيصل كرده خواهد دان قبول خواهد
نمود اميد راز است كه در حضور فيض ظهور عرض عرض گويا
بدون تحقيق منظور نگردد زياده تقديم بندگان را سرمايه
سعادت مي داند و هر حال متوجه توجهات است آفتاب
دولت و اقبال تابان و درخشان باد *

TRANSLATION

From the Rajah of Napaul

Received 19th August, 1785.

I have been made happy by the receipt of your gracious Letter on the subject of the Village of Ashruffa according to what Mr. Grand had written to you. The case is this: that the said village from a long Period has belonged to this quarter. Raja Madho Sing quarrels without Cause. I never acted and never do act improperly. In Matters of Boundaries it is the established Custom that wherever disputes happen, an Ameen of Fidelity be appointed thither, and that having taken with him the Persons acquainted with the Facts on both Sides whatever he may decree from investigation and truth be abided by both Parties. Accordingly this system has not been followed and on the Report of self-interested Persons a party of Sepoys has been stationed over my Property. I will now immediately send to your Presence a Person acquainted with the circumstances who may represent them fully to you. Conformably thereto let an Ameen be appointed from the Presence who may ascertain the matter upon the Evidences of the Persons acquainted with the facts on both Sides, and may award whatever may be just. I agree to it. I hope that the Calumnies of self-interested Persons may not be attended to at the Presence without investigation. Further I consider obedience to you to be perfect Happiness and I am at all Times hoping for Favor. May your Dignity increase.

No. 2

Letter from the Teshu Lama.

خط راجہ تشے لمبو بنام گورنر جنرل

نواب مستر جان مکفرسن بہادر

رفعت و محبت پناہ و عطوفت نشان میک فرسن صاحب
 سلمہ اللہ تعالیٰ از بجانب تشے لمبو مہاراجہ صاحب بعد
 از دیان عمر و دعوات مشہود میدارن کہ الحمد للہ و المئتہ حالات
 این حدرد بخیر و صلاح و صحت و سلامتی آن صاحب بدرگاہ ار
 تعالیٰ مطلوب است مخفی نمائد و فقیر خیریت جوئی خلق اللہ
 و خدمت لامہ صاحب نو نہال میزدایم کہ لامہ صاحب
 جنت مکان تفارت ندارند اقبال پیشانی مبارک می تابد و
 پورنگیر کوسانے را رفاقت فرمایند و مایان یک جہتے و یکدلی
 و یک ربطی مانند صاحب صاحبان فرمایند و بعد الیوم ہمیشہ
 مزید سلامت و تندرستی مسرور فرما باشند و بر رعایتان مثل
 صاحب صاحبان شفیق فرمایند و نامہ جات مسرور میفرما باشند
 کہ باعث تشفی است و این وقت برائے درستان یک جہتے و
 یکدلی و یک ربطی و مال یک تولہ لائک سہ ۳ کوچون
 تہان یک قبول فرمایند فقط *

TRANSLATION

From the Rajah of Teeshee Lumboo,

Received 5th Jany., 1786.

God be praised that the situation of these countries is in peace and Happiness and I am always praying at the Altar of the Almighty for your Health and Preservation. This is not unknown. I am constantly employed in promoting the advantage of the subjects and the service of the newly seated Lama because the newly seated Lama is not distinct from the Deceased Lama¹ and the Light of his Forehead is exalted. Grant your Friendship to Poorungheer Gosaien² and maintain Union and Unanimity and Affection like the first of Nobles, and every day make me happy by the News of your Health and Prosperity, and bestow Favors like the First of Nobles and make me happy with Letters which are Cause of Consolation. At this Time as friendly Offerings of Union and Affection and Unanimity I send one Handkerchief, three Tolas of gold and one piece of Cochin. Let them be accepted.

¹ See the opening portion of No. 12.

² He was a Bengali and was appointed the first mahant of the Buddhist temple and monastery built by order of the Teshoo Lama of Tibet on the banks of the Ganges near Calcutta. See *Bengal Past and Present* vol. XXVI, p. 197.

No. 3

SECRET AND POLITICAL CONSULTATION

26 January, 1789

No 5.

From the Teshoo Lama

Received 22nd January, 1789.

The state of occurrences in this Quarter is, by God's will, proper, and I am day and night praying for your Lordship's Health, and that at your Dependants and Connections. By God's Help, I pass my Time happily with all my servants, and am constantly pursuing my studies with my Preceptor. A long time has elapsed, and I have not received any Letter from that Quarter and my mind is looking that way with anxiety. I hope that you will make me happy with friendly Letters, mentioning your Health, for my mind will be much comforted by it. At this time two confidential servants are setting out for your Lordship's Presence, in order for the accomplishment of certain objects. The matter is this, about 20 years ago towards Napal, the Goorkaly Rajah killed the Rajah of Napal, where the Rajahs are Newar and by means of his strength took possession of the whole country, ruined the other Rajahs, such as Mucwarry, Joumessy, but was still not satisfied, and framing turbulent Intentions, this year in the month of Ramzan, sent a large number of Troops towards this Quarter. Notwithstanding that he suffered no loss from us, his army marched by four or five roads, and by violence he took possession of several Forts in the Country of Boot, which is in the vicinity of Napal such as Daam Jung, Kutty, Keesung, Runga Low Mindan, Shukka, Legur, Rungsheer which are names of Forts and massacred the inhabitants of these places, plundered all the Effects, pulled down and destroyed the Houses, and near to Kutty, he plundered a place called Counea which belongs only to me, ruining and destroying the Ryotts and Effects. This gave me great displeasure, and when the Chinese Soubahs who are in Lassa, heard these particulars, they wrote to the King of China, doubtless he will send Troops from Koota. God knows what will

happen to the Ryotts when the Troops arrive. On seeing this, I was desirous of making Peace with the Ghourkary, and on that account I was sending an Arzie to the Emperor of China, requesting he will not send Troops, but the Rajah's Intentions are different, and he does not abide by his Engagements. The Lamajie Lassawalla also conceived this, and wrote to the Rajah Jumlahwalla to become inimical to the Gourkary, and by any means to destroy him. But in my Ideas, the Jumlahwallah will not have the power of making war, and on this account only I have written to your Lordship and sent my Letter by my servants, my second request is that your Lordship will send a large Force against the Ghourkary Rajah, and annihilate him at any rate. This will be a great mark of kindness and Friendship, at this time I will make peace with the Ghourkary, if he agrees, it is well, but if, which God forbid, Peace does not take place, in that case a large army will come from Kutta and go to Nepal. Then if the Ghourkary being without resource, shall make a request for aid and assistance, your Lordship will not comply with his Demand. This will be a great kindness to me. How can I sufficiently urge this matter. The most perfect kindness is requisite as from of old a Friendship has been firm with the English, I have written your Lordship with very great Hopes. My ultimate request is that my former requests be complied with or an army be sent against the Ghourkhary, and he be killed. But if your Lordship should not think this advisable, in that case shew kindness towards me, consider well my requests and never grant him assistance. Whenever your Lordships Troops shall march towards Nepal, I hope that you will act as from yourself and that my name and correspondence be known to no one. Your Lordship will shew such kindness and Favor to my requests, that no stranger may be acquainted with a word thereof, because we will write to the Emperor of China that a Peace has been concluded with the Ghourkhary, and that he will decline sending Troops. God forbid that the King of Kutta should be informed of my correspondence with your Lordship for this will bring down ruin and Destruction on me and in this respect your Lordship will keep my requests a

profound secret. How often shall I presume on making this request? Your Lordship is wise, and will learn every thing from the Conversation of the People I have deputed to your presence and treating my People with favor, will comply with the above written requests, and speedily send them back to this Quarter as I am anxiously waiting for them. This will be a great Honor and Kindness conferred on me. Such articles as are worthy of your Lordship's acceptance I have not been able to procure, and have therefore sent a Trifle which I hope will be accepted—dated 1st Seffer 1203.¹

No. 4

From

The Maha Raja Jehanrowkissore,
Peshcar to Teshoo Lama.

Received 22nd January, '89.

Affairs in this Quarter are by Divine favor, and the Teshoo Lama's kindness, proper, and I am constantly praying for news of your Lordship's Health. At this time in pursuance to the Lama's Orders two Cashmerians by name Mahomed Rejeb and Mahomed Wally, with attendants are set out for your Lordship's Presence, in order for the attainment of certain objects, carrying with them a Letter from the Lama containing the particulars of affairs here, I hope that your Lordship will attentively peruse the Lama's Letter, and comply with its contents. This will be a mark of great kindness; when these two Persons have paid their respects to your Lordship, you will be pleased to shew them kindness and interrogate every particular, relative to this Country; they will inform your Lordship of every request which I hope will experience acquiescence and approval. In this respect how much shall I presume to ask your Lordship. This is a high Honor and great favor. Let the People be dismissed having accomplished their objects with haste, as this will afford comfort. I have

1 i.e. 31 October 1788.

sent one Khaduc and ten Tolah of Gold as a Peishcush, which I hope will be accepted, and that I shall be made happy with news of your Lordship's Health.

(A true Translation)

Sd/- G. R. Cherry
D.P. Tr.

No. 5

HOME DEPARTMENT PUBLIC CONS.¹

22nd December, 1788.

To

The Right Honourable
Charles Earl Cornwallis K.G.
Governor General &ca. &ca. &ca.

My Lord,

Last night arrived at this place two Embassadors named Mahomed Redjeb & Mahamed Willee, deputed by the grand Lamma of Thibet, with Dispatches for your Lordship. They also brought a Letter for me from the Lamma, requesting me to provide them with the necessary Guides and Attendants, to conduct them to Calcutta with as little delay as possible, their business being, as the Lamma informs me, of the most urgent nature.

In conversing with them respecting the State of the Lamma's Dominions, they informed me, that they had lately been invaded by the Goorkas, who had taken possession of several frontier forts, and a large extent of Country. That the Lamma had sent them offers of Peace, but that they refused to listen to any terms, unless the Lamma would consent to relinquish to them all the Gold produced in his Country, for the collecting of which, they insisted on appointing their own Officers.

¹ This letter is published by Prof. S. C. Sarkar in his article on 'Intercourse of Bengal with the Northern countries.' See *Proc. Ind. Hist. Rec. Comm.*, vol. XIII, p. 107.

From these Circumstances I am led to suppose, although I did not think it proper to ask, that the purport of their Embassy is to solicit the protection of the English Government against the Goorka Rajah.

I have the honour to be
with great respect
My Lord Your Lordship's
most obedient & most humble servant,
Sd/- D. H. McDowall,
Collr.

Rungpore
9th December, 1788.

No. 6

SECRET AND POLITICAL CONSULTATION

10th April, 1789

To the Teshoo Lama

Written 27th February, 1789.

After so long an Interval, during which all correspondence between you and the English has been stopped, your vakeels Mahomed Rejub and Mahomed Wully, arrived with your friendly letter, in which you mention the Turbulent conduct of the Rajah of Gourkaly, who after conquering and ruining the Rajahs of Napal and taking several Forts, this year in the month of Ramzan, sent a large army towards your Quarter, and took possession of several Forts in the Country of Boot; that the Chinese Soubahs stationed in Lassa, hearing this, wrote to the Emperor of China, who will doubtless send Troops, and as this will prove injurious to the Ryotts, you have written him to desist, and deputed your confidential Servants to me, requesting I will send a large Force against the Gourkaly and annihilate him. But, as it is your wish to make Peace with him, should he not be so inclined, a large army will march from Kutta and in that case, should the Gourkaly finding himself without resource, apply to me for assistance, I will not comply with his demand; that the request you have made may

be kept a profound secret, and that the Emperor of China be not informed that you have corresponded with me, as that event will bring down ruin on you. Your vakeels also delivered me the presents you sent by them, which in consideration of your attachment to the Company and with a view to cement the Friendship between us, I have accepted, tho' contrary to my usual custom. I have had several Interviews with your vakeels; and have perfectly understood every particular of the object of their journey and the purport of your letter. I have received very great pleasure from learning the good qualities and virtue of your Disposition and especially the particular of your friendly sentiments towards me, and I feel happy that the correspondence is again open between us. I trust that it will now continue and that the Events of each Quarter may be mutually made known, altho' I have communicated my sentiments on every point to your vakeels, yet with a view to make them more known to you, I will recapitulate such parts of my conversations with them as appertain to the subjects of your letter.

Notwithstanding the great power and extensive dominions of the Company, from which they derive a superior Influence amongst the princes of Hindostan, I have always considered the preservation of peace as an object of the first Importance, and it has ever been my sincere wish to see all Nations united in the bonds of Amicable Intercourse. I know that you also entertain the same sentiments; and nothing could give me more concern than to be informed that the Gourkaly should wantonly and without provocation attack your dominions. I had no hesitation in forming a determination not to afford him any assistance and I hope soon to have the Happiness of learning that Harmony has been restored between you.

As to your request to send a large army against him, although there can be no doubt but the Troops of the Company would be victorious, wherever they were conducted, there are many objections which your own Reflection and sagacity will point out to you.

In the first place Armies cannot be sent upon such expeditions without great expence, and although we are so

closely united in Friendship and good wishes for each other, yet the distance between Calcutta and your capital is very great.

Secondly. The Company have received no provocations or Injury from the Gourcaly Rajah and what would the world say of the consistency of my professions, if I were to attack a person who has not injured them.

Thirdly. What would the Emperor of China say to the Interference of the Company in disputes between the Gourcaly and your Government, which is under his Protection.

It cannot be unknown to you that the Company carry on a great Trade with the subjects of the Emperor, by sea, to the mutual Benefit of both parties; that the English Merchants trading to China enjoy their commerce uninterrupted, and it would be therefore highly improper in me to afford the Emperor any cause of displeasure by an Interference which he has not requested. The great regard which he professes for you will always prevent me affording any assistance to your enemies, but the same motive must equally determine me against any Interference in the concerns of your Government, which his regard for you, will doubtless induce him to protect.

Hitherto there is no communication by Land between the Emperor and the Company, and he is probably not informed of the extent of the Company's dominions in Hindostan and of their power in this part of the World. Considering his Friendship and regard for you, it must afford him great satisfaction to learn the Intimacy which has so long subsisted between the Company and you, which is firmer now than ever and must ever remain, as the Company are steady to their Word and Engagements. If our connection were made known to his Majesty, I trust that he would not only be happy at it, but be inclined to increase it, by making you the channel for expressing his satisfaction at it. Great advantages would arise from such a communication with him, and the secrecy now between us would be unnecessary. He might then confer upon numberless matters which it would be improper to enter upon secretly without the sanction of his approbation.

I have so fully and freely conversed with your vakeels on all these points that I refer you to them for further particulars, and in order to shew the value I set on your Friendship, I have given them in Charge a few articles, which I trust out of regard for me, you will accept.

(A true Copy)

Sd./- G. R. Cherry

D. Pr. Tr.

No. 7

SECRET AND POLITICAL CONSULTATION

10th April, 1789.

No 5.

To

The Maha Rajah Jehanrow Kissore,
Peishcar to Teshoo Lama

Written 27th February, 1789.

Mahomed Rejub and Mahomed Wully arrived here in safety, and made me happy by the perusal of your Friendly Letter. I have had many conversations with them on the subject of the Lama's Government and country, and have fully discussed every particular contained in the Lama's Letter to me by them. Altho' from my regard to the Lama I could have wished to have detained them longer that I might have interrogated them relative to his good Qualities, yet in consequence of the Distance of their Journey and the approach of the hot season and knowing how anxious the Lama is to receive an answer to his Letter, I have given up my own pleasure to procure his comfort, and to prevent the Vakeels from experiencing any inconveniences from the Journey. As I have written the Lama fully on every point and have explained my sentiments fully to the Vakeels, I refer you for all particulars to my letter and to their verbal communication. They will deliver you a

few articles as tokens of my Friendship, and I trust that they will meet with your approbation.

(A true Copy)

Sd./- G. R. Cherry

D. Pr. Tr.

No. 8

From

The Dhalay Lama Rajah of Pootlah Laussa.¹

Received 3rd August, 1792.

By the favour of God I am in good Health. The tranquillity of mankind is the object of my wishes, may God fulfil them. I hope also for your Lordship's Health. I at this time address you on the affair with the Goorcally Rajah whose Country is contiguous to this.

This man's Father² and he have to this time reduced all the Rajahs round about Nepal and also Nepal itself, and from his craving disposition wants to engage in hostilities with others. Thus in the Year 1203/1789/ and the present, he has excited disputes with me. I have shown no disposition to contend with him, but he from the blackness of his Heart will act hostilely against me. Accordingly he has attacked my Zemindars in several places and had it in view to come to this Quarter. But by the favour of God this Country has the protection of the Emperor of China—accordingly two Deputies always remain here for my protection. They wrote information of this Circumstance to the Emperor who detached a large Army under the Command of his Officers to this Country. When this intelligence reached the Goorcally Troops they quitted my Territory and fled to Nepaul. It is the resolution of the Officers sent from China by the favor of God to exterminate the Rajah of Goorcally and the other Chiefs. Accordingly they pursued the fugitives and got possession of several places of the Goorcally Territories. The Emperor by the

1 No. I-152 of the Macartney collection in the Satara Museum.

2 Prithvi Narayan Shah.

influence of his good Auspices will certainly soon obtain possession of Nepaul and Goorcally. The Rajah however to promote his object, proposes asking assistance from your Lordship and will write lies and Calumnies that the "Emperor has detached a large Army against him, and that therefore he requests aid; that should your Lordship not depute a force to assist him the Emperor will rise up hereafter against your places of the Goorcally Territories. The Emperor by the Lordship's Government, as he has against his." Let not Your Lordship act agreeably to his artful representations, for the Emperor is not hostile to any except the Goorcally and it is a maxim with his Majesty to take measures against him only who first commences hostilities.

By no means let your Lordship give the least attention to what he writes. If any of the Chiefs or Companions of the Rajah should fall into your Lordship's hands be pleased to seize and deliver them up to the Emperor's Officers or tho' you should not deliver them up do not allow them to return to their Country. The Officers will write their sense of your Lordship's kindness in so acting to the Emperor to whom it will afford satisfaction. I request on my own part also that your Lordship will conform to what I have written. Your Lordship is a protector of the Ryots and the Dispenser of Justice wherefore the Almighty has exalted you. The Ryots under your Lordship's Government live in ease and happiness. I hope your Lordship will gratify me by Letters. I have sent your Lordship one piece of Khanduk, 33 Tolas 4 Moharas of Gold Dust and a piece of Cochin. Be pleased to acknowledge the receipt thereof. [The original of this letter is written in the Bootea Language dated 7th of Rejeb³ 1206 from Pootlaw].

(A true Translation)

Sd./- G. F. Cherry

No. 9

From the Rajah of Nepaul¹*Received 22nd August, 1792.*

I before wrote² and transmitted to your Lordship an account of the occurrences of this quarter, which will certainly have been understood. I am ignorant whether your Lordship has returned to Calcutta, or still remain in that quarter and consequently experience the utmost anxiety on this account. Disputes have arisen between me and the Rajah of Lassa, dependent on China, which Dinanaut Opadea will doubtless have represented during his attendance some time ago upon your Lordship. The dissensions have continued for these three Years and are not to this time settled. The Vizier of the Emperor of China has come this year to Lassa and the commotions have consequently encreased, conceiving the Company's Sircars united with me, and considering the long established Friendship³ subsisting between us, I request that your Lordship will be kind enough to dispatch for this quarter ten Guns, together with ammunition and ten young Europeans versed in the management of Artillery,⁴ their allowances what-

1 No. I-340 of the Macartney collection in the Satara Museum.

2 Unfortunately this letter is not discovered.

3 The British connection with Nepal began in about 1768 when the Newar chiefs who were formerly ruling over Nepal applied to the British for assistance against the Gurkha invaders of the country. Captain Kinloch accordingly led an expedition into the Terai but was repulsed by the Gurkha troops. In 1769 Surgeon Jas. Logan, who was keen in supporting the old chiefs was sent on a mission to Nepal but he also seems to have suffered the same fate. After a few years seeing that the Gurkhas had firmly established themselves in Nepal the British tried to open a channel of commerce with Nepal. Letter No. 1 published above, from the Raja of Nepal received on 19th August 1785 shows that the Raja of Nepal was anxious to keep on good terms with the British. Subsequently the British succeeded in entering into a commercial treaty with them on 1 March 1792 through Duncan, their Resident at Benares. The words 'long established friendship subsisting between us' of the Rajah of Nepal, therefore, are to be taken in a formal way.

4 This shows that it was a general understanding that the English were often successful in battles, because of their artillery.

ever they may be stated at, shall be defrayed, exclusive of which the greatest attention shall be paid them and the amount of price of the Guns shall be forwarded by a Bill of Exchange thro' Dinanant Opadea : No English Man⁵ has to this time come into the Country, yet in consideration of the ancient Friendship subsisting between the Company's Sircar, and deeming you more than ever amicably disposed towards me, I have as the means of adding strength to our friendly connection made this request. I hope from your Lordship's kindness that the Guns and Europeans above mentioned may be dispatched to this quarter. Further particulars will be represented by Bisshennaut Opadea.

(A true Translation)

Sd./- G. F. Cherry

No. 10

From the Rajah of Nepal¹

Received 5th September, 1792.

Disputes and warfare have existed for these three years between the Rajah of Lassa and me, and I have repeatedly represented this circumstance to your Lordship; at this time the War between us is become more serious and I have applied to your Lordship for the assistance of ten pieces of Cannon and ten European Serjeants. I doubt not that my application has been received, altho' an Intimacy has long been established between us and henceforward a perfect unanimity will be preserved, yet a slight difference remained, which by virtue of a further Encrease to our connection has been removed. In like manner as your Lordship shews kindness to the Nawaub Vizier, I hope you will be friendly to me and issue an Order to Commanding Officer at Dinapoor.² for two Battalions of Europeans and two of Sepoys with Military Stores and a

5 It seems from this that Captain William Kirkpatrick was the first European to enter Nepal by the end of 1792.

1 No. 1-340 of the Macartney collection in the Satara Museum.

2 About twelve miles above Patna on the confluence of the Ganges and the Sone, and still a place of British cantonment.

suitable number of Guns to be sent to my assistance. I will transmit a Bill for their Expenses. I will pay their Expenses here for the present time. I hope your Lordship will issue such orders as may prevent any delay in the arrival of the Troops here, that they may arrive in time to assist me. Further particulars of the state of Affairs here will be known from my Vakeel Bishennaut Opadea.³

(A true Translation)

Sd./- G. F. Cherry.

P. T.

No. 11

From the Rajah of Napal to Mr. Duncan,¹ Resident at Benares and transmitted by him.

Received 6th September, 1792.

I have already written to you on the Disputes existing with the Bhoutans of China. I have addressed Letters to the Governor-General and to Mr. Stuart.² which I have transmitted by the way of Patna. They are to the following purport (recapitulation of the letter addressed to the Governor-General and received 5th September, 1792). You and the English in general endeavour at the successful issue of the affairs of those with whom you enter into Engagements, on this account I have every confidence in the English Gentlemen and have written frequently for assistance. I request that immediately on the receipt of this letter you will write to the Governor-General and send your letter by the Dawk, so that the assistance required may arrive in time—I shall esteem this a particular favor.

(A true Translation)

Sd./- G. F. Cherry.

Pers. Transr.

³ In the previous letter received by the G. G. on 22-8-1792 mention is made of this Vakil. It seems that after he had brought the previous letter from Nepal he continued to stay in Calcutta and this third letter was brought by some other messenger.

¹ No. 1-340 of the Macartney collection in the Satara Museum.

² This letter is not discovered.

No. 12

TRANSLATION OF A PAPER FORWARDED BY THE RESIDENT
AT BENARES.¹

Dated 4th September, 1792

Received 15th September, 1792.

Particulars relative to the Rajah of Napal and the Emperor of China.

During the administration of Mr. Hastings, the Teshoo Lama, one of the Priests of the Emperor of China, established a correspondence with the English Government and sent a vakeel to Calcutta, and an English Gentleman² was sent to Lassa. The Emperor, on learning this, entertained suspicion of the Lama, and formed the design of putting him to Death— with this view he summoned him to his presence, under the Plea of a desire for an Interview. The Lama set out accordingly for the Residence of the Emperor; and on his arrival in its vicinity, the Emperor sent his son to meet him to the distance of some days' journey and came himself without the city to receive him, and conducted him to his Tent. On the night of the day that the Interview took place, the Lama died. Many said that the Lama's servant, at the Instigation of the Emperor, put Poison into his Food, and others spread different Reports³. When Sumhur Lama, the Brother, heard of the death of Teshoo Lama, he was much alarmed, and fled from Lassa, taking with him a considerable Quantity of Treasury, and went to Napal. The Rajah of Napal bestowed

1 From the Records of the Government of India.

2 Mr. Bogle was the ambassador. He was received with hospitality by the Teshoo Lama on the 9th Nov., 1774. See Markham's *Mission of Bogle*. See also my article on Bogle's embassy to Tibet published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. IX, p. 420.

3 From a letter of Raja Punjin Irrtinnee Roomoo Thang, chief minister of Tasoo Lamboo to the Governor General dated the 28th Oct., 1781, it is seen that the Lama died by small pox on the 4th July, 1780. The letter is published in my article on Bogle's embassy to Tibet in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.

a Jaghier on him, and received him under his Protection. Sumhur Lama informed the Rajah of Napal of the particulars of the Chinese Empire, and communicated to him the position of the Gold and Silver mines, and other mines in the neighbourhood of Lassa, and represented to him the Treasures that had been hidden for years in the Temples at Lassa. Thus having excited his avarice, he furnished informed People to accompany the Rajah's Troops, and they marched towards Lassa. These Troops went to the distance of Twenty days march from Napal towards Bhoot, and were victorious in several Battles which were fought, when the Officer Commanding the Bhoot saw that he was worsted, he made Peace thro' a chief belonging to the Emperor of China, and a Tribute of 3 lacs of Rs. from the Lassa country was settled for the Rajah of Napal. As it had before been customary to stamp the coin at the mint at Lassa with name of the Rajah of Napal, this Peace provided for the continuation of this Practice. After the Peace was concluded, the Napal army returned home. In consequence of the superiority which had prevailed in favor of the Napal Troops over those of Lassa, the Rulers at Lassa sent a Deputation to Calcutta, during the administration of Sir John Macpherson, and demanded assistance. This request however was not complied with; doubtless this will appear on the Proceedings of Council.⁴ Sumhur Lama, working on the avaricious disposition of the Rajah of Napal, last year prevailed upon him to send Troops to Diggurjah and 18,000 men went there and plundered the Treasury belonging to the Lama of that place, who is also one of the Priests of the Chinese Emperor, taking away with them as a Prisoner a vizier of Lassa who came to make Peace. The Emperor, on learning the news of this Plunder, sent his vakeel with Letters, in the month of January 1792, to Napal. He arrived there two days after Abdul Cawder Khan, the writer of this Paper, reached Napal. The Vakeel wrote to the Rajah of Napal, while at the distance of two days march, to inform him that he was

⁴ Unfortunately these papers cannot be traced. No. 2 published above is only one of the letters of the Teshoo Lama,

deputed by the Emperor of China; and as he had the Emperor's Letters with him, it was necessary that the Rajah should come out to meet them. The Rajah replied that he should not pay them any Honors; that he was welcome, if he chose, to come; if not, that he might return, and the Vakeel, seeing no alternative, came into Napal, but was received with little kindness. At length, the day that he was introduced, paid his respect, and returned, the Rajah sent his Chubdar to him for the Letter, which was brought. In it was written, that he should refund 52 crores of Rupees, which he had plundered of Property belonging to the Lamas, and must release the Vizier of Lassa, whom he had made a Prisoner, and send Sumhur Lama, who having put himself under our Protection, had been the cause of all the Disputes. The Rajah refused to comply with these requisitions, and wrote to the Emperor to proceed as soon as he pleased in the manner he thought proper, and the vakeel took his departure, in 15 days from his arrival, without succeeding in the object of his mission. On his arrival at China, and relating the result of his Embassy, the Emperor, on hearing the insolence of the Rajah of Napal and the plunder of Diggurjah with the Forts and Temples there, which is a place of religious respect in the consideration of the Emperor, sent a large Force under a chief of his own, with the name and Title of Sund Fô that is to say a Possessor of seven Soubahs. Sund Fô first came to Lassa, from whence he wrote to the Rajah of Napal, desiring that he would seize and send to him Sumhur Lama, who, the Instigator of the disputes, resided with him, together with the Lassa Vizier, whom he had taken prisoner. The Rajah of Napal replied that Sumhur Lama was the same as himself, and that he should not send him; but that, on condition of Peace, he would send the Lassa Vizier. Sund Fô openly carried on a correspondence, and secretly divided his Troops, 70,000 men, into two Divisions, one of 30,000, and the other 40,000 men; and with a dispossessed Zemindar of Napal, sent them first several marches to the Eastward. The Rajah of Napal heard first of their march, and was much agitated. He detached Damdhur

Pandie, Bukshy, to Choonga. The Bukshy on his arrival there, meeting no other Force than the Garrison, attacked the place, and carried it; where leaving a few Troops, he began his march back, and on the way made other detachments from his army, leaving some with Perpianah Takoor at Kanrowun. The division of the Chinese army of 40,000 men passed to the Eastward, under the Hills, to Roodler Sool Gunga, and arrived on this side of Kanrowun, where they were discovered. Perpianah Takoor was two marches distant on the other side. The Chinese Troops, coming towards Napal, Perpianah Takoor heard of them, marched against them, and a Battle ensued, in which he was wounded, and many of his People were killed; when the Rajah of Nepal heard of the defeat of his Troops, he resolved on giving up Sumhur Lama; but the Lama poisoned himself. He sent in however the Lassa Vizier, with his attendants, to the Chinese army. They received him, but did not make Peace. The Chinese defeated the Napal Troops repeatedly, and proceeded to Nowacoote, distant 13 coss from Cutmantee. In a few days they will also take Napal. To this period the 4th September, 1792, there are about 200 soldiers in Napal, and the Rajah's Treasure is conveyed to Mucwanpoor, where he is probably himself and it is ascertained that the Chinese Commander, Sund Fô is arrived at Kurree Kutte, distant ten marches from Catmander.

(A true Translation)

Sd./- G. F. Cherry.

Pers. Transr.

No. 13

To the Rajah of Nepaul¹

Written 15th September, 1792.

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your Letters (vide Letters received the 22nd August and 5th September).²

¹ No. 1-121 of the Macartney collection in the Satara Museum.

² Nos. 9 and 10 published above.

The Contents of these letters representing the disturbances now subsisting between you and the Rajah of Lassa dependent on China, have given me great concern, because, as Friends to the Company I am extremely desirous that unanimity and the utmost Harmony should have continued between you.

It cannot have escaped your observation that the English Company have nothing more at Heart than to maintain the most cordial and friendly terms with all the powers in India and particularly with those whose Countries be contiguous to their own, and sensible of the Policy and wisdom of this Conduct, they are careful not to infringe the rules of Friendship by interference in a hostile manner in the disputes of others except when self defence or wanton attacks oblige them. But however this line of Conduct is in general the policy of the English Government the connection that has been long formed with the Emperor of China renders a due observance of it still more necessary. The English Company have for many years carried on extensive Commercial Concerns with the subjects of the Emperor of China by Sea and have actually a Factory established in his Dominions. I am confident that this argument will satisfy you that a compliance with your request to assist you with a Military Force against the Lassa who is a dependant on the Emperor of China would be not only an infringement on the general Policy of the English Government, but also a measure inconsistent with the Connection that has so long prevailed between the Company and the Emperor. Desirous however that harmony and peace should be preserved among those who are the Friends of the Company I shall be very happy if my amicable Interference can in any shape contribute to re-establish them between the Lassa and you, and shall be ready to use it in the way of a Friend and mediator between you. As the present season of the rains however will not admit that any steps towards such mediation be adopted, I shall postpone my intention until the rains are over when I will Depute a Gentleman³ in my Confidence to you, who will

3 Col. Kirkpatrick was accordingly deputed. See para 12 of No. 17 published below.

communicate my sentiments fully and by his endeavours I hope that Peace will again reign between you and the Lassa and the intimacy and friendship between each other be encreased.

(A true Copy)

Sd./- G. F. Cherry.

Pers. Transr.

No. 14

TRANSLATION OF A LETTER.

From J. Duncan Esq.,¹ Resident at Benares.

To the Rajah of Napal.

Dated 17th September, 1792.

[Copy forwarded by the Resident].

Received 24th September, '92.

Acknowledging and quoting the Rajah's Letter (vide Letter transmitted 6th September).²

I am concerned at the uneasiness which you feel from the present war. Influenced by a strong desire to maintain a Friendship with you, which existed before and has been much increased by virtue of the Commercial Treaty you entered into with so much propriety, I translated your Letter for the Information of the Governor-General, immediately on receiving ; on the day that your letter reached Calcutta, two letters arrived from the Lamas of Thibet, or Bhootan, and one from the Commander of the Chinese army named Janoojoun. These Letters mentioned that the Rajah of Napal was wantonly engaged in distressing and harrassing the Inhabitants of this country, that is to say, the Country belonging to China and Bhootan, and had plundered the villages. That on hearing this the Emperor sent an army to protect the Inhabitants of his country, and to repel the Incursions of the Rajah of Napal. That as an intimacy has long subsisted between the English

1 From the Records of the Government of India.

2 No. 11 published above.

and the Chiefs of Bhootan etc. it is therefore requested that the English will not assist the Rajah of Napal. The Governor-General on perusing these letters from the Chinese Dependents, as well as from you, wrote to me, that, as the English are not at Enmity with the Emperor of China or his subjects, but on the contrary are on Terms of intimate connection, and have carried on commercial concerns with them for many years, and it is very contrary to the line of conduct which the Company have adopted to create animosity or to go to war with any one without a cause, he cannot send the English Troops with hostile Intentions. But in consideration that, by virtue of the Commercial Treaty, the Intimacy between the Company and the Rajah of Napal is great, he would, in order to comply with the Rajah's wishes and pursuant to the general disposition of the English, and to settle the disputes between you and the Emperor of China's Forces, send a Gentleman of rank from among the Company's Servants, and with him two or three Companies of Seapoys. This Gentleman, accompanied by Abdul Cauder Khan, who formerly waited on you and settled the Commercial Treaty to the Satisfaction of the English Government, and Gudjeraje Misserjee, will shortly set out. As this Gentleman is one of the first of the English, and his Lordship deutes him solely from motives of kindness and to promote your Interest, according to your requests, it will be necessary, whenever he shall reach the Borders of Napal, that your People should furnish Guides, and supply such articles of Grain etc. as he may stand in need of for his attendants, with the means of Transporting his Baggage up the mountains, and such other assistance as may be wanted, that he may travel without difficulties. It will also be proper that you, accompanied by your officers, should perform the customary ceremonies of meeting him with proper Honors. This will afford much satisfaction to the English Government and tend much to your own welfare so long as that Gentleman shall remain in the Town of Napal, employed in your Business, you must be attentive in furnishing his want of Grain etc. and during the negociation of Business, whatever he shall propose for your Benefit, you will readily comply with. As his Deputa-

tion is resolved on purely from motives of prosperity for you, you will of course pay every attention to such motives, and be sincere in your Friendship knowing me to be your friend. Write frequently to me.

(A true Translation)

Sd./- G. F. Cherry,

Pers. Transr.

No. 15

To the Dalai Lama at Pootlah Lassa¹

Written 25th September, 1792.

I have received several Letters in the Thibet character, accompanied by a Persian Translation, the contents of which I have fully understood (vide Letter received 3 August)² with several articles in token of Friendship, all of which came safe to hand, and have contributed much to the Intimacy subsisting between us.

The contents of this Letter, representing the disputes still prevailing between the Rajah of Napal and you, have given me great concern; because, as Friends to the Company, I am extremely desirous that unanimity and the utmost Harmony should have been reestablished between you.

It is a matter of great concern that I have been able to comprehend only the Persian Paper accompanying the several Letters, and can therefore only for the present reply to it's contents. The other Letters are however sent to Benares, in the Hopes that Persons may be found there who can explain them and in the meantime I consider it incumbent on our Friendship and good neighbourhood to inform you of my sentiments, in regard to the contents of the Persian Letter, without further Delay.

¹ From the Records of the Government of India.

² No. 8 published above.

Altho,' as is presumed in that Letter, the Gourkaly Rajah has written to me on the subject of the disputes which have long prevailed between you and him, yet as the English Company have nothing more at Heart than to maintain the most cordial and friendly Terms with all the Powers in India, and sensible of the wisdom of this conduct they are careful not to infringe the rules of Friendship by interference in a hostile manner in the dispute prevalent among foreign Powers, except when self defence or wanton attacks oblige them. I have answered his Letter accordingly.

It cannot be unknown to you that a Friendship has long subsisted between the English and the Rajah of Napal and also between the Emperor of China, whose Protection extends over you, and the Company. The English have for many years carried on commercial concerns with the subjects of the Emperor and have actually a Factory established in his dominions—on account of this connection with the Emperor. Knowing you to be held in high veneration by his Majesty, and considering you desirous of the Company's Friendship, I am anxious that your Government should continue in Peace, and that an End should be put to war, which ultimately contributes only to the misery and distress of your subjects; with this view therefore I shall be happy if my amicable Interference can in any shape contribute to reestablish Harmony and Peace between you and the Rajah of Napal, and shall be ready to use it in the way of a Friend and mediator between you. As the present season of the Rains however will not admit that any steps towards such mediation be adopted, I shall postpone my Intention until the Rains are over, when I will depute a Gentleman in my confidence to that Quarter who will communicate my sentiments fully and by his Endeavours I hope that Peace will again reign between you and the Rajah of Napal and the Intimacy and Friendship between each other be increased. That Gentleman, being in my confidence, will be accompanied by a few Seapoys intended as a Guard and Protection to himself and his servants. I mention this to you to prevent the bad Effect of fallacious report.

I shall avail myself of that opportunity to send a few articles

to you in Testimony of my regard and flatter myself that they will contribute to our Friendship.

(A true Copy)

Sd./- G. F. Cherry

Pers. Transr.

No. 16

BENGAL POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS

3rd October, 1792

MINUTES

The Governor General delivers in the following Minute.

No. 17 Govr. Genl's Minute

The letters that have been lately received from Assam and Nepaul having been communicated to the Board, I need not recapitulate the Contents of them. But after considering the requests of the two Rajahs very maturely, and the commercial advantages that Bengal may obtain by a friendly and open intercourse with both Countries, it appears to me that it will be no less political than humane in us to interfere our good offices and endeavour to reestablish peace and tranquillity in those quarters.

Altho' I have not yet been able to find people who can translate the letters that came from the Lamas of Thibet and from the Commander of the Army I think it probable that the Persian paper which was enclosed in the letter of one of the Lamas is either a translation or contains the Substance of all the letters viz. that the Emperor of China has sent an Army to attack and destroy the Rajah of Napaul in Revenge for the injuries that He has done to the People of Thibet, who are dependent upon China, and that it is hoped that we shall not give the Rajah any assistance.

The Commercial treaty that we have concluded with Nepaul, and the friendly advances lately made to us by the Rajah should induce us to endeavour, as far as it can be done

by safe and justifiable means, to preserve him and his Country from destruction, and it is equally incumbent upon us not only to avoid giving offence to the (?) but to neglect no opportunity that affords a prospect of opening a communication with an officer of rank in that State. The (?) of these objects renders it necessary for us to be extremely delicate and circumspect in our conduct.

I propose therefore that we shall send a friendly deputation to the Deputy to assure him that it is our earnest wish to extricate him from a war but at the same time to State to him that as the amicable correspondence that we have held with the Lamas, and the commercial connexion which has long Subsisted between our Country and that of the Emperor of China preclude us absolutely from Committing hostilities against either of those powers without any provocation on their part ; it is only by the means of conciliatory negotiation that we can endeavour to assist him, and that in order to effect this desirable purpose it will be necessary that he should open an immediate intercourse with the Commanders of the Chinese and Thibet forces.

The desperate State to which the Rajah's affairs are reduced according to the accounts received from Mr. Duncan, will probably induce him to acquiesce in any proposition that may hold out to him a Chance of relief and whatever success the Chinese may have held against the People of Nepaul, the difficulty of transporting Supplies to an army at such an immense distance, and through a Country so rugged and mountainous as Thibet must be so great that I think we have good reason to hope that they will be no less inclined than the Rajah to accept of our mediation.

This is not the same necessity for caution in our interference at Assam, as the disturbances there are merely of an internal nature, and being principally occasioned by gangs of vagabonds Belonging to Bengal, we are particularly called upon to make some exertions to quell them.

An active and prudent Officer with six Companies of Sepoys will I trust be able to effect our purpose and as our Knowledge of the Present State of affairs in that Country is but imperfect, it may be advisable to direct the officer and the detachment to

proceed immediately to Goalparah, and to defer giving him detailed instructions for his conduct, until he shall transmit to every information that He can collect when near the scene, that relates to the objects of his future Operations.

However extraordinary it may appear to people in Europe, we are under the necessity of admitting that owing to the unremitting jealousy which the Chiefs of those Countries have hitherto shewn of the English, we know little more (? of the) interior parts of Nepaul and Assam than of the interior parts of China, and I therefore think that no pains or attention should be spared to avail ourselves of so favourable an opportunity to obtain good surveys, and to acquire every information that may be possible both of the population and of the manners and customs, of the trade and manufactures, and natural productions of Countries with which it must ever be our interest to maintain the most friendly communication.¹

NO. 17

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

To the Hon'ble Court of Directors.

Hon'ble Sirs,

Since the date of our Letter by the Ganges we have received your dispatches of the 25th of April last—by the King George and we shall do ourselves the Honor of replying to them by the next opportunity that offers.

2. In the 36th Paragraph of the advices from this Government by the Dutton you were informed of a dispute between the Rajah of Assam and the Rajah of Deringh and that the latter was said to have been assisted from Bengal with Sepoys and Berkundusses to enable him to recover the Possession of his Country. We shall transmit to you in the Packet Copies of the Papers that have been since brought before us on this

¹ The contents of this letter and of the following up to the paragraph 11 are naturally almost the same.

subject, and among the rest a Letter from the Rajah of Assam Soliciting the Company's support and assistance.

3. We shall also forward to your Hon'ble Court by this Dispatch a copy of Correspondence that has passed with the Rajah of Napaul who has likewise applied for Troops to defend him against the Rajah of Lassa.

4. After considering the request of the Rajahs of Napaul and Assam very maturely and the Commercial advantages that Bengal obtains by a friendly and open Intercourse with both countries we thought that it would be no less political than humane to interpose our good Offices and endeavour to re-establish Peace and tranquillity in those quarters.

5. We had not before us the whole of the Papers that concerned the Dispute between Napaul and Lassa as some Letters that had come from the Lamas of Thibet, and the Commander of the Chinese army which had been sent to their assistance against the Rajah of Napaul, were written in the Mantchonx Language (which is said to be the Tartar Language of the Emperor's Court) and we have not yet been able to obtain Translations of them; but we think it not improbable that the Persian Paper which was enclosed in a Letter to the Governor General from one of the Lamas is either a Translation or Contains the Substance of all the Letters. *A footnote in the original:* A translation of it makes No. 21 of the Packet it is to the following effect that the Emperor of China has sent an Army to attack and destroy the Rajah of Napaul in Revenge for the injuries that he has done to the People of Thibet who are dependent upon China and that it is hoped that we shall not give the Rajah any assistance.

6. It appeared to us that the Commercial Treaty which we have lately concluded with Napaul and the friendly advances made to us by the Rajah should induce this Government to endeavour, as far as it could be done by safe and justifiable means to preserve him and his country from destruction and that it was also not only incumbent on us to avoid giving offence to the Chinese but to neglect no opportunity that afforded a Prospect of opening a Communication with an Officer of Rank in that State; and the Union of these

objects rendered it necessary that we should be extremely delicate, and circumspect in our Conduct.

7. Lord Cornwallis therefore has proposed, and the Board have agreed that we should send a friendly Deputation to the Napaul Rajah with Instruction to assure him of its being our earnest wish to extricate him from a ruinous war, but at the same time to State to him that as the amicable Correspondence which we have held with the Lamas and the Commercial Connection which has long subsisted between our Country and that of the Emperor of China do absolutely preclude us from committing Hostilities against either of those Powers without any provocation on their part ; it is only by means of conciliatory negotiation that we can endeavour to assist him, and that in order to effect this desirable Purpose, it will be necessary that he should open an immediate Inter-course with the Commanders of the Chinese and Thibet Forces.

8. The desperate Situation, to which the Rajah's affairs are reduced according to accounts received from Mr. Duncan, the Resident at Benares, will probably induce him to acquiesce in any Proposition that may hold out to him a Chance of relief and we have good Reason to suppose that notwithstanding any successes the Chinese may have had against the People of Napaul the difficulty of transporting supplies to an Army at such an immense distance and through a Country so rugged and mountainous as Thibet must be found so great that they will be no less inclined than the Rajah to accept our mediation.

9. There is not the same necessity for Caution in our Interference at Assam as the disturbances there are merely of an internal nature and being principally occasioned by Gangs of vagabonds belonging to Bengal we are particularly called upon to make some exertions to quell them.

10. It appeared to us that an active, and prudent Officer with Six Companies of Sepoys would be able to effect our Purpose in relieving the Rajah of Assam, and that as our knowledge of the present state of affairs in that Country is rather imperfect it might be advisable to direct the Officer and

the Detachment to proceed immediately to Goalparah withholding any Detailed Instructions for his Conduct until he should transmit to us every Information that he could collect when near the Scene that relates to the objects of his future operations.

11. However extraordinary it may appear we are still under the necessity of admitting that owing to the Constant Jealousy which the Chiefs of those Countries have hitherto shewn of the English we know little more of the interior Parts of Napaul and Assam than of the interior Parts of China, and we have therefore thought that no Pains or attention should be spared to avail ourselves of so favourable an opportunity to obtain good Surveys and to require every information that may be possible both of the Population and of the manners and Customs of the Inhabitants as well as of the Trade and Manufactures and natural productions of Countries with which it must ever be our Interest to maintain the most friendly Communication.

12. The Officer deputed to Napaul is Captain William Kirkpatrick who will receive a Salary of 1500 Rupees a month during the time of his being employed on the Commission, and Charge his actual Expenses upon Honor. Lieutenant Samuel Scott is appointed his Assistant and will receive the pay and Batta of his Regiment and an allowance of 200 Rupees a month. Lieutenant Wilford now on Duty at Benares goes as Surveyor and Mr. Frere one of your Assistant Surgeons is sent with the deputation being well qualified to examine the natural Productions of the Country. He will receive the Pay and Batta of the Station from which he is sent and a Salary of a hundred Rs. a month.

13. The Officer deputed to Assam is Captain Thos. Welsh who will have double Batta and 500 Rupees a month while employed upon the Service. Lieutenant Macgregor goes as Adjutant to the detachment, and will be employed as assistant to Captain Welsh with a reasonable allowance as soon as he shall be wanted for that duty. Ensign Thomas Wood proceeds with Captain Welsh as Surveyor, and Dr. Peter

Wade as Surgeon with the same allowance as that is given to Mr. Frere.

14. We transmit to your Hon'ble Court in the Packet a Copy of a Letter from the Persian Translator and with it a Copy of Lord Cornwallis's Correspondence with the Native Powers during his Lordship's absence from the Presidency and concerning the late war.

We have the Honor to be &c.

Fort William.
14th October, 1792.

Sd/- Cornwallis
„ Peter Speke
„ Wm. Cowper.

No. 18

From the Teshoo Lama¹

Received 28th June, 1793.

I have received your kind Letter thro' Diljeet Gosauyin purporting that your Lordship had received mine on the Subject of the dispute with the Goorkally, and other points; I now again write that it is four years since the Goorkally Marched to this quarter with an evil design and laid waste the Country. The first time he came as far as Shuggher and thence returned to his own confines. The Second time he came to Chugcha, plundering as he went and laid that country quite waste. Being therefore compelled to give information of this to his Imperial Majesty, the Vizier and other Ameers were deputed with a very large army to Chastize that misguided Sett, and arrived in the Month of Rejib 1206² The Vizier, Dailee Lama and I resolved in concert that as an ancient Friendship had Subsisted between your Lordship and PUNCHOO ZUMBIECHEE (the former Lama), on the strength of that to write you a Letter in terms of great regard accompanied by presents, and transmit them thro' Poorun Geer Gosayum, which was done. I also wrote you a letter in Persian purporting that the Goor-

¹ From the Macartney collection in the Satara Museum.

² i.e. Feb. or March, 1792 A.D.

kally Rajah would solicit your Lordship for assistance and represent untruths, and Desiring you not to give credit to his words. The letter written by the Vizier was in the Bootea Language, to desire your Lordship would send Troops against the Rajah and Chastize him as he deserved. You understood the Persian letter, but the Bootea Letter from not knowing the Language you could not understand, whatever is past is past. Poorun Geer was prevented by illness and the unfavourableness of the climate from returning here. The following was the purport of your Lordship's answer to my Letter (Recapitulating the letter written 25th September 1792).³ Your Lordship's Letter and the Verbal Message delivered by the Gosauyeen Agree. I am highly pleased to learn what you write. The Vizier, from experiencing your Friendly conduct, concurred that without doubt you were a sincere well wisher of his Majestys. He perhaps sent a Letter to you by a Dawk Chokey at the time of the rains when the war with Gourkally was at the highest, and from that letter you will have learned the Rajah's submission. The Imperial Troops arriving in the height of the Rains in the Neighbourhood of Nepaul which belongs to the Gourkally, some severe engagements took place, and Numbers of the Rajah's men were killed, many places of his Country came into possession of his Majesty's army, the Largest of which were (here follow the names of eight places which are not legible.) In all these places troops were stationed. The army had advanced to within one days March of the Rajah's capital and it was resolved to proceed onward, in a few hours, and Capture the place of his residence. When at length the Rajah finding himself unable to contend, threw down the Shield and in the field of Battle sent his principal people to the Vizier and in the humblest and most Supplicative manner sued for peace. Submitted to the yoke of obedience confessed their Misconduct and entreated forgiveness. The Rajah also sent his Minister, called in that Country Ranjee as his Vakeel with various sorts of presents

3 No. 15 published above.

and rareties and an Arzie to his Majesty; Several large Elephants and excellent horses together with other uncommon things composed the present and he wrote in his Arzie that if his Majesty would pardon his past offences he would pay an annual tribute and for the rest of his life would never be guilty of rebellion and presumption. The Vizier conveyed information of all this to his Majesty who was pleased to issue his commands to this effect that it was a Country of very small extent and the inhabitants of a foreign tribe, that as they had Submitted, they should be spared from destruction and be allowed quarter and the Conquered country be restored to the Rajah. The Vakeel and people of the Rajah who went to the Royal presence had an interview with me in this City when the Vakeel made apologies for the injuries that had been done acknowledging that the fault was all on their side and that they hoped for pardon. As your Lordship wrote that you would depute a person in your confidence, with presents to accommodate Matters between me and the Rajah, This afforded me a great deal of pleasure. My Lord, the Rajah is now become one of the Servants of his Imperial Majesty and therefore any person's going now were mere trouble; do not put yourself to the inconvenience of giving your agent the trouble of repairing to the Rajah to bring about an accommodation, as now no dispute whatever exists with the Rajah and this amicable System will for ever remain. It is to be hoped that hereafter the peace and security of the inhabitants of this Country will not be disturbed. Your Lordship is pleased to consider us among the Number of faithful friends, God reward you, preserve you from evil and gratify you with good. Be pleased to keep open the gates of Epistolary Correspondence which forms the foundation of Friendship. I hope your Lordship will frequently call me to remembrance by Letters.

I have sent as a token of remembrance some articles of this Country which are not in fact worth your acceptance ; they will be presented by Dilgeet Geer Gosayin and I hope you will accept them.

List of presents

Pure Gold 30 Tolas
 One piece Cochin
 One Large white Sattin Roomaul

From Chaunzoo the Rajah or Principal Officer of the
 Teshoo Lama.

Of the Same tenor and Date as the foregoing

List of presents

Written on the cover of the Rajah's Letter

Gold 15 Tolas
 One piece of Cochin, Red.
 One white silk Roomaul.

(A true Translation)

(Exd) Henry Qimsby

Sd/- N. B. Edmonstone
 Dy. Pr. Tr

(A true Copy)

Illegible (Gray)
 Secy. to the Govt.

Mālava in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries A.D.

By Dharendra Chandra Ganguli, M.A., PH.D. (LONDON).

Department of History, Benares Hindu University

Mālava played an important part in the history of ancient India. This country extended on the north up to the Kotah State, on the east up to Bhilsa, on the south up to the Tapti, and on the west up to the Mahi. The commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* states that¹ the term Mālava was properly used to denote East Mālava, and that West Mālava was generally called the country of Ujjain. But this statement does not find any support in the contemporary and later records. The term Mālava is never found to have been used to indicate only Eastern Mālava as has been stated by Vātsyāyana's commentator. The Aihole inscription,² dated 634 A.D., states that the Cālukya king Pulikeśin II, ruler of Badami, conquered the Lāṭas, the Mālavas, and the Gurjaras. Here the name Mālava apparently represented at least West Mālava, which was contiguous to both Lāṭa and Gurjara (central and eastern Rajputana). A Valabhī record,³ dated 639 A.D., reports that Ucyamāna bhukti and Ucyamāna viṣaya (modern Ratlam State, about 35 miles west of Ujjain) were in Mālavaka. Ujjain is mentioned as the capital of Mālavaka in a record of the thirteenth century.⁴ There cannot be any doubt that the names Mālavaka and Mālava are identical.⁵ The Baroda plates,⁶ dated 812 A.D., of Karkarāja, king of Gujarat, states

1 Ujjayinideśabhavyāstā evāparaMālavyaḥ—Mālavya iti pūrvaMālava-bhavāḥ, *Kāmasūtra*, adhikaraṇa 3 (Commentary).

2 *El.*, vol. VI, p. 11.

3 *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, p. 188.

4 *JBOBR.*, vol. XXI, Gurjaras.

5 The Allahabad Pillar Inscription (*CII.*, p. 7. l. 19) of Samudragupta mentions Kosala, Kaurāla, Piṣṭapura, Kāñcī etc. as Kausalaka, Kaurālaka, Paiṣṭapuraka, Kāñceyaka etc.

6 *IA.*, vol. XII, p. 156.

that Govinda III, for the purpose of protecting Mālava, caused Karkarāja's arm to become the door-bar of the lord of the Gurjaras. It is known from another record⁷ that the Gurjaras, who were adversaries of Govinda III, lived on the hill forts of Citrakūṭa (modern Chitor, in Udayapur, Rajputana). In this circumstance the force of the above statement of the Baroda plates can only be maintained, if the term Mālava is taken to have meant at least the western part of Mālava, which is conterminous to both Gujarat and the Gurjara country.

Bāṇa, who flourished in the court of Harṣavardhana of Thanesar in the early part of the 7th century, incidentally refers to Mālava in his *Kādambarī*. In course of giving a description of Ujjain, the poet states that⁸ "it is girt with the river Siprā, which seems to purify the sky, with its waves forming a ceaseless frown, as though jealously beholding the river of heaven on the head of Mahākāla, while its water sways over the pitcher-like breasts of the women of Mālava, wild with the sweetness of youth." The poet further lays down that⁹ "in Ujjain the palaces stretch forth their flags, whose silken fringes gleam and flutter at night in the wind, like arms to remove the mark of the moon put to shame by the fair lotus-faced women of Mālava." Here the term Mālava evidently covers the western part of Mālava.

The same poet also frequently refers to Mālava in his another work, *Harṣa-carita*. There he tells us about Mālavarāja, Mālavarājaputra, and the women of Mālava.¹⁰ There cannot be any reasonable doubt that the term Mālava, referred to above, is used to cover the same length of territory as in the previous case.

7 Nilgund inscription, *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 106.

8 Ridding, pp. 211, 214: yauvanamadamatta-Mālavikucakalaśalulita-salilayā bhagavato Mahākālasya śirasi surasaritam ālokyā samupajāte Ryayevasatatasambaddhataṅgabhrukūṭilekhaṇyā svam iva kṣālayantī Sīprayā parikṣiptā,.....M. R. Kale, *Ujjayinīvarṇanam*, p. 86.

9 yasyāṃ ca nīśi nīśi pavanavilolair dukūlapallavair ullasadbhir Mālavīmukhakamalakāntilajjitasyendoḥ kalāṅkam ivāpanayanto dūraprasāritordhva-dhvajabhujāḥ prasādā lakṣyante. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

10 *Mālavī*, P. V. Kane, ch. VI, p. 67; Cowell. pp. 119, 173.

As a matter of fact, we have at present no authentic record to corroborate the statement of the commentary on *Kāmasūtra* that the term Mālava was used to denote only east Mālava.¹¹ On the contrary, the evidences, referred to above, negative any such assertion.

Ujjain, Dhārā, Vidiśā, and Maṇḍapa were the chief cities in Mālava. From the second century A.D. down to the latter part of the fourth century, Mālava was ruled by the Śakas.¹² They voluntarily submitted to Samudragupta, and paid him taxes.¹³ But Samudragupta's son Candragupta II overthrew Rudrasimha III, the last king of the Śakas, and annexed Mālava, and Gujarat into the Gupta empire.¹⁴ Candragupta II is said to have made Ujjain his second capital. The disintegration of the Gupta empire began with the death of Skandagupta in 467 A.D., shortly after which Mālava seceded from it. There is no evidence to prove that Mālava formed a part of the Gupta empire under the successors of Skandagupta. In the latter part of the 5th century A.D., a new Gupta dynasty is found to have established its sway over it. Kṛṣṇagupta was the founder of this family. *Harṣa-carita* tells¹⁵ us that Mādhavagupta, the friend of Harṣavardhana of Thanesar, was the son of the king of Mālava. The Apsad inscription¹⁶ of Ādityasena relates that Mādhavagupta, son of Mahāsenagupta, was a close friend of Harṣavardhana. This positively proves the identity of the Mālava prince Mādhavagupta, referred to in the *Harṣa-carita*, with the son of Mahāsenagupta of the same name. Mahāsenagupta, the ruler of Mālava, was the fifth king of Kṛṣṇagupta's family. In the absence of any contrary evidence, it can reasonably be assumed that Mahā-

11 Al Biladury who flourished in the middle of the 10th century tells us that "Junaid sent a force against Uzain, and also sent Habid with an army against the country of Maliba." (Elliot, vol. I, p. 126). Some scholars are inclined to believe that Maliba, referred to, means eastern Mālava. Elliot suggests that it signifies either Malwa or Malabar (*Ibid.*, fn. 2). In my opinion it may be taken as identical with Mālapa, which was the ancient name of the Western Ghats. (*Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, part ii, p. 574).

12 Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, Introduction.

13 *CH.*, p. 14.

14 Smith, *EHI.*, pp. 308-9.

15 Cowell, p. 119.

16 *CH.*, p. 207.

senagupta's predecessors were also the rulers of Mālava.¹⁷ Fleet¹⁸ and others think that Kṛṣṇagupta and his successors had been rulers of Magadha from the very date of their ascendancy till they lost their political power. But this assertion does not bear any critical examination.* Kumāragupta, the fourth king of Kṛṣṇagupta's family, was the contemporary of the Maukhari Īśānavarman, who was ruling in 554 A.D.¹⁹ Assuming that Kumāragupta ruled in the third quarter of the 6th century A.D. i.e. from about 550 A.D. to 575 A.D., if a reign of twenty-five years is allotted to each generation, Kṛṣṇagupta is found to have begun his rule in about 475 A.D. Fleet²⁰ places Kṛṣṇagupta between 475 and 500 A.D. In any case it seems highly probable that Kṛṣṇagupta ascended the throne in the latter part of the 5th century A.D. The Dāmodarapur Copper plate, Khoh copper plate inscription of Saṃkshobha,²¹ and some other records prove that the imperial Guptas held sway over the countries extending up to North Bengal on the east, Benares and Bhagelkhand on the west and, parts of the Central Provinces on the south till at least 530 A.D. Evidently till that time Magadha remained the home dominion of the imperial Guptas. After their downfall the Maukharis came to power in Northern India. The Jaunpur stone inscription²² of the Maukhari Īśvaravarman proves that the Jaunpur District, which lies to the west of Benares, was under the sway of the Maukharis. The Haraha inscription,²³ dated 554 A.D.,

17 The scholars are of opinion that the early Pratihāra kings from Nāgabhaṭa I to Vatsarāja were rulers of Avanti, and the successors of the latter ruled in Kanauj. The assumption that the early Pratihāras ruled in Avanti is based on the only evidence of a passage in the Jaina *Harivamśa*, which relates that Vatsarāja, the fourth king of the family, was the ruler of Avanti.

18 *CII.*, Introduction, p. 14.

*[This is not correct. The later members of the dynasty [Deva(Gupta) and others] are stated in the *Mañjuśrī Mūlakaḥpa* to have been rulers of *Magadha*. They bore the dynastic title: the *Gauḍa* dynasty—Ed.].

19 *CII.*, p. 206.

20 *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 14.

21 *El.*, vol. XV, p. 144; *CII.*, p. 112.

22 *CII.*, p. 228.

23 *Jitvā Āndhrādhipatiṃ sahasraganitatredhākṣaradvāraṇam vyāvalg ānniyotātisaṃkhyaturagā bhaṅkhā raṇe śūlikān /kṛtvā cāyatim aucitae-*

of the reign of Īśānavarman, son of Īśavaravarman, states that 'the king (Īśānavarman), being victorious and having princes bending at his feet, occupied the throne after conquering the lord of the Andhras, who had an army of galloping horses, who had thousands of threefold rutting elephants, after vanquishing in battle the Sūlikas, and after causing the Gauḍas, who were accustomed (to live in the) land-locked territory, to resort, for the future, to the sea (i.e. coastal tracts)'. This evidently means that Īśānavarman, sometimes before 554 A.D., deprived the king of Gauḍa (modern Rajshahi Division, Bengal) of his sovereignty of the same country, himself took possession of it, and forced the vanquished to move to the sea, presumably to the coastal tracts of southern Bengal. It further suggests that the king of Gauḍa was compelled to live there for a long time.

It follows from the above-mentioned two epigraphic records, that in the middle of the 6th century, the Maukharis were in possession of the eastern part of the United Provinces and the Rajshahi Division of Bengal. This proves with tolerable certainty that Magadha which was situated between those two countries, was under the sway of the Maukharis. The Maukharis were the paramount sovereign of northern India for sometime. Bāṇa tells ²⁴ us through the mouth of Prabhākaravardhana of Thanesar that 'at the head of all royal houses stood the Maukharis, worshipped by all the world.' This suggests that at least Prabhākaravardhana worshipped the Maukharis. The critical examination of all the available evidences thus leads to the conclusion that the Maukharis held sway over the territory which extended up to north Bengal on the east, and bordered the Punjab on the west. This falsifies the theory that the early rulers of Kṛṣṇagupta's family ruled in Magadha. So long the Maukharis were in power, their stubborn enemy, the family of Kṛṣṇagupta, had no place

thalabhuvo Gauḍān samudrāśrayān adhyāsiṣṭa nataksītīśacaraṇaḥ siṃhāsanam
yo jīti || *El.*, vol. XIV, p. 117, v. 13.

²⁴ Dharāṇidharāṇam ca mūrdhni sthito Maheśvaraḥ pādanyāsa iva
sakalabhuvananamaskṛto Maukharivamśaḥ. Cowell, p. 122, ch. IV.

in northern India, from Bengal right up to the Punjab. Hence, on the authority of *Harṣacarita*, we can take, almost with certainty, the early members of Kṛṣṇagupta's family as the rulers of Mālava.

Kṛṣṇagupta was succeeded by his son Harṣagupta on the throne of Mālava. Kalhaṇa²⁵ tells us that a king named Harṣa, who assumed the title Vikramāditya, ruled in Mālava. There is no definite evidence to prove the identity of this Harṣa with Harṣagupta. Harṣagupta gave his sister Harṣaguptā in marriage to the Maukhari Ādityavarman, father of Śīvaravarman.²⁶ He was succeeded by his son Jīvitagupta.²⁷ During the reign of Harṣagupta and Jīvitagupta, northern India was torn asunder by the Hūṇas.²⁸ This period also witnessed the rise and fall of Yaśodharman of Mandasor.²⁹ There is no evidence to prove that the Guptas of Mālava ever yielded to any of these forces. Quarrel between the Guptas and the Maukharis ensued during the reign of Jīvitagupta. The Maukhari Śīvaravarman claims to have repulsed an attack of the army that came from Dhārā.³⁰ But Jīvitagupta's son and successor Kumāragupta defeated Śānavarman, son of Śīvaravarman.³¹ Kumāragupta died by plunging himself into the fire at Prayāga.³² He was succeeded to the throne by his son Dāmodaragupta, during whose reign the fight between the Guptas and the Maukharis rose to its culmination. He successfully fought against the Maukharis but lost his life in the battle.³³

Dāmodaragupta's son Mahāsenagupta claims to have won victory over Susthitavarman on the bank of the Lauhitya (i.e. Brahmaputra).³⁴ Susthitavarman was the king of Assam.³⁵ He is mentioned by Bāṇa as Susthiravarman.³⁶ Mahāsenagupta's sister Mahāsenaguptā was married to the king Ādityavardhana,

25 *Rājatarāṅginī*, Taraṅga III, v. 125.

26 *Cil.*, p. 221.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 205.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 158.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 142.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 230.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 206.

32 *Ibid.*

33 *Ibid.*

34 *Ibid.*

35 *Kāmarūpa śāsanāvalī*, by Padma Nath Bhattacharya.

36 Cowell, *Harṣacarita*, p. 17.

father of Prabhākaravardhana of Thanesar.³⁷ Sometimes during the early part of his reign, Mahāsenagupta had to suffer a terrible disaster.³⁸ Shortly before 595 A.D., the Kalacuri Śaṅkaragaṇa, son of Kṛṣṇarāja, fell upon him, and totally crushed his power. Mahāsenagupta appears to have been killed in the battle, after which his two sons Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta fled to Thanesar and took shelter under their relation Prabhākaravardhana of Thanesar. The king of Thanesar received them cordially. He engaged Kumāragupta to wait upon his son Rājyavardhana, and Mādhavagupta to wait upon his second son Harṣavardhana.³⁹ He also appears to have taken up the cause of the Gupta princes, and led an army against Mālava. Though he claims to have taken away the glory of the Mālava king,⁴⁰ he could not certainly deprive the Kalacuris of their possession of Mālava, and instal the Gupta princes on their ancestral throne. After the close of the reign of Harṣavardhana, Ādityasena, the son of Mādhavagupta, founded a kingdom in Magadha, where he and his successors ruled for about three quarters of a century.⁴¹

Śaṅkaragaṇa, who overthrew Mahāsenagupta, issued an inscription from his camp at Ujjain in 595 A.D.⁴² It records that the king granted some lands in the village of Vallisikā, situated in the Bhogavardhana-*viṣaya*, to a Brahman resident of Kallāvana. Kallāvana is the modern Kalavana, in the Nasik District. Other records of the dynasty prove that Śaṅkaragaṇa and his successor not only held sway over Mālava but also over Lāṭa and northern Gujarat, about this time. Śaṅkaragaṇa was succeeded by his son Buddhārāja sometime before 602 A.D.

Buddhārāja, from his camp at Ānandapura, granted lands, situated in the Bharukaccha-*viṣaya*, in 609 A.D.⁴³ Ānandapura, which was the ancient capital of northern Gujarat, is the modern Vaḍnagar. Bharukaccha is the modern

37 *CII.*, p. 232.38 *El.*, vol. IX, p. 296.39 Cowell, *Harṣacarita*, pp. 119-121.40 *Ibid.*, p. 101.41 *CII.*, pp. 202 ff.42 *El.*, vol. IX, p. 296.43 *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 299.

Broach. It was the capital of Lāṭa. In the same year he issued grants from Vidiśā.⁴⁴

Buddharāja had to suffer a reverse at the hands of the Cālukya Maṅgaleśa, king of Bādāmī, in the early part of his reign. The Muhākūṭa pillar inscription,⁴⁵ dated 602 A.D., states that "having set his heart upon the conquest of the northern region, and having conquered Buddharāja and taken possession of all his substance, and having a desire to set up a pillar of victory on the bank of the river Bhāgīrathī Maṅgaleśa decided that it would be proper to set up first a pillar of religion." This defeat, however, did not deteriorate the war-like spirit of Buddharāja. He soon recovered his strength and directed his arms against his northern neighbour, the Maukharis. The Maukharis were at that time governed by Grahavarman, who was quite unequal to the Kalacuri leader. In the battle that ensued Grahavarman lost his life, and his wife Rājyaśrī, who was the daughter of the king Prabhākaravardhana of Thanesar, fell a prisoner at the hands of Buddharāja. The Kalacuri leader confined her in the fort of Kānyakubja, and the Maukhari kingdom lay prostrate before him. After this glorious achievement Buddharāja marched against Thanesar, which was at that time ruled by Prabhākaravardhana's elder son Rājyavardhana. Bāṇa tells us that⁴⁶ "on the very day on which Prabhākaravardhana's death was rumoured, His Majesty Grahavarman was, by the wicked lord of Mālava, cut off from the living along with his noble deeds. Rājyaśrī also, the princess, had been confined like a brigand's wife with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet, and cast into prison at Kānyakubja. There was moreover a report that the villain, deeming the army leaderless, proposed to invade and seize this country (Thanesar) as well." Rājyavardhana, at the receipt of the news of the approach of Buddharāja, marched against him with ten thousand soldiers. It is said that he with "ridiculous ease" routed the Mālava army, 'who surrendered to him their elephants in thousands, horses, pearl-necklaces, white umbrellas with a golden stock, lion throne, couches,

44 *Et.*, vol. XII, p. 33.

45 *IA.*, vol. XIX, p. 7.

46 Cowell, *Harṣacarita*, p. 173.

whole treasure chests, heavy-laden with wreathes of ornaments' etc.⁴⁷ The above battle took place shortly before 606 A.D., the date of the accession of Harṣavardhana. This defeat at the hands of Rājyavardhana, who was shortly afterwards killed by Śaśāṅka, king of Bengal, did not deprive Buddharāja of his sovereignty of Mālava.⁴⁸ The Sarsavanī plate of his reign proves that he held sway over vast territory at least up to 609 A.D. The Kalacuris seem to have been ousted from Mālava by the Maitrakas of Valabhi sometime before 629 A.D.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang throws some light on the history of Mālava of this period, though his report in many instances is grossly erroneous. He tells us⁴⁹ that Mo-la-p'o was 2,000 li (339 miles) north-west from Bharukaccha, and was 6,000 li (1,000 miles) in circuit. A-t'a-li, K'i-t'a, A-nan-t'o-pu-lo, and Su-la-ch'a were dependencies of Mo-la-p'o.

Cunningham in his *Geography* (p. 563) identifies K'i-t'a with the ancient Kheṭa, modern Kaira, in the Bombay Presidency. Smith thinks that it represents the modern Cutch. A-nan-t'o-pu-lo is Ānandapura, the modern Vadnagar, in northern Gujarat. Smith admits that Mo-la-p'o is phonetically equi-

47 Cowell, pp. 175, 178, 225.

48 The Madhuvana plate of Harṣavardhana states that Rājyavardhana in battle curbed Devagupta and all other kings together, like vicious horse made to run away from the lashes of the whip'. (*El.*, vol. 1, p. 72).

The scholars are unanimous in thinking that Devagupta, referred to above, was the king of Mālava, as mentioned in the *Harṣacarita*. There is at the same time no denying of the fact that it is nothing more than a conjecture. Bāṇa, as has been noticed above, used the term Mālava to indicate at least the western part of it, in which is situated the city of Ujjain. In this circumstance, the Mālava king, who was the adversary of Rājyavardhana, was evidently Buddharāja. The statement of the Madhuvana plate regarding Rājyavardhana's conquest is not exhaustive. The same record does not mention anything about the defeat of the Hūṇas at the hands of Rājyavardhana (Cowell, *Harṣacarita*, p. 165). Kānyakubja was, about that time, conquered by three individuals in succession, viz., first by the Mālava king, next by Śaśāṅka, and last of all by one named Gupta (Cowell, *Ibid.*, pp. 173, 224, 250, 251). This Gupta might have been identical with Devagupta, who probably suffered defeat at the hands of Rājyavardhana, before he took possession of Kānyakubja.

49 Watters, vol. II, pp. 242-248.

valent to Mālava.⁵⁰ But according to him it was a country which was bounded on the north by the Gurjara kingdom of Bhinmal, on the north-west by the subordinate principality or province of Ānandapura, lying to the west of the Sabarmati, and on the east by the kingdom of Avanti (or Eastern Malwa), of which Ujjain was the capital."

Hiuen Tsang visited Mo-la-p'o in the month of September, 640 A.D., and Fa-la-p'i, i.e., Valabhi, modern Wala, 18 miles north-west of Bhaonagar, in Kathiawar in the following November.⁵¹ He describes Mo-la-p'o as an independent country, which dominated over a number of other countries, referred to above. He found Dhruvasena II⁵² ruling in Valabhi. Dhruvasena ascended the throne sometime before 629 A.D.⁵³ The two Nagwa plates,⁵⁴ dated G.E. 320 and 321 = A.D. 639-40 and 640-641, of his reign prove that, about that time, the Valabhi kingdom extended on the east up to the Ratlam State, 35 miles west of Ujjain. This implies beyond doubt that all the intermediate territories between Valabhi and Ratlam were under the sway of Dhruvasena. As a matter of fact the whole of northern and central Gujarat formed a part of the Valabhi kingdom about that period. In this circumstance it will not be proper to locate Mo-la-p'o anywhere in Gujarat or in Malwa west of Ratlam. Hiuen Tsang further tells us that Mo-la-p'o was situated to the south-east of the Mahi river (according to Julien its capital).⁵⁵ In the light of the Nagwa plates it must be located to the east of the Ratlam State. Hence the critical examination of the contemporary evidences leads to the conclusion that Mo-la-p'o represents central Mālava, whose capital was Ujjain. Hiuen Tsang's description of Mo-la-p'o also favours this assertion. He tells us that⁵⁶ the people of Mo-la-p'o were of gentle disposition, and for the most part very intelligent, of refined speech and with a liberal education. Mo-la-p'o in the south-west, and

⁵⁰ *EHI.*, p. 342.

⁵¹ Cunningham's *Geography*, p. 647.

⁵³ *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. 1, p. 91.

⁵⁵ Watters, vol. II, p. 242.

⁵² Watters, vol. II, p. 246.

⁵⁴ *EI.*, vol. VIII, pp. 188 ff.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

Magadha in the north-east, were the two countries in India in which learning was prized. In this country virtue was esteemed and humanity respected, and the intellectually clever were zealous students." The pilgrim also takes the civilization of Mo-la-p'o as a model with which he compares that of Valabhi, Ānandapura, Kheṭaka, Saurāṣṭra, and A-t'a-li. It is stated that⁵⁷ "in speech and writing, and in social regulations and laws the inhabitants of A-t'a-li resembled those of Mo-la-p'o. K'i-t'a is a rich district and bore a resemblance to Mo-la-p'o. Valabhi resembled Mo-la-p'o in products, climate, and the character and ways of the people. The products, climate, written language, and institution of Ānandapura were like those of Mo-la-p'o. Su-la-ch'a was subject to Mo-la-p'o and its people were of a rude violent nature and did not care for education.

Mālava whose capital was Ujjain was the only country in western India which could claim the honour of possessing such a high state of civilization. Ujjain was one of the chief centres of cultural movement in India from the time of the great Buddha down to the conquests of the Moslems. It can claim, in no uncertain terms, the highest honour for its literary activities. Kālidāsa closely associates himself with Ujjain. Tradition connects Bāṇa, Mayūra, Māgha and others with this city. Bāṇa who was a contemporary of Hiuen Tsang tells highly of its cultural achievements. He states that⁵⁸ "it is the very birth place of golden age. There the people are connoisseurs in all the arts, pleasant and intelligent. They talk merrily, are charming in their humour, spotless in attire, skilled in foreign languages, clever at subtleties of speech, versed in stories of all kinds, accomplished in letters, having a keen delight in the *Mahābhārata*, *Purāṇas*, and *Rāmāyaṇa*, familiar with the *Bṛhatkathā*, masters of the whole circle of arts, especially gambling, lovers of the *Sāstras*, devoted to light literature etc. They order the making of water-works, bridges, temples, pleasure-gardens, wells, hostels for novices,

57 Watters, II, pp. 243-248.

58 Ridding, *Kāśmīrī*, pp. 211-212.

wayside sheds for watering cattle, and halls of assembly." Taking all these things into consideration, I think Mo-la-p'o, as described by Hiuen Tsang, represents central Malwa. If this proves to be true, Wu-she-yen-na, about which the pilgrim gives a short description, cannot be taken to be the same as Ujjain. The pilgrim relates⁵⁹ that "Wu-she-yen-na is above 6000 li (1000 miles) in circuit, in its productions and in the ways of the people it resembled Su-la-ch'a" (i.e. its people were of a rude violent nature, did not care for education). Watters entertains doubt about the identification of Wu-she-yen-na with Ujjain. Attention is drawn to the fact that there is marked difference in spelling between the names Wu-she-yen-na and Yuh-shan-to.⁶⁰ The latter is unanimously accepted as representing the Ujjayanta mountain in Kathiawar. The pilgrim relates⁶¹ that he travelled from Valabhi above 1800 li (300 miles) north to the Ku-che-lo (Gurjara) country wherefrom he proceeded south-east, and after a journey of 2800 li (467 miles) arrived at the Wu-she-yen-na country. Thence he went north-east above 1000 li (334 miles) to Chih-chi-to (Julien's Chi-ki-t'o). The distance from one country to another, as laid down by Hiuen Tsang, should be considered as the distance from the capital of that particular country to that of the other.

P'i-lo-mo-lo, the capital of the Gurjara country, is identified by Smith with Bhinmal, in the Jodhpur State, Rajputana, about 200 miles north-east from Wala. Dr. Bhandarkar thinks that Barmer, in Mallani, which is 260 miles from Wala, represents P'i-lo-mo-lo.⁶² A place known as Bhimar⁶³ in Mallani, 25 miles south-east from Phalsund, is almost 300 miles north from Wala.

Both Smith and Cunningham identify Chih-chi-t'o with Jejākabhukti, the modern Bundelkhand. It seems phonetically equivalent to Citrakūṭa. Citrakūṭa was the ancient

59 Ridding, *Kādambarī*, pp. 211-212.

60 *Ibid.*, p. 248.

61 *Ibid.*, pp. 249-251.

62 *EHI.*, p. 345n; *JBOBR.*, vol XXI.

63 Constable's *Hand Atlas*, C b 26.

name of Jeṣākabhukti.⁶⁴ Its capital was Mahoba, in the Hamirpur District.

If Wu-she-yen-na is identified with Ujjain, its distance, as given by the pilgrim, from the Gurjara country, and Citrakūṭa does not tally with the real state of things. Ujjain is 300 miles south-east from Barmer, 328 miles south-east from Bhimar, and 295 miles south-west from Mahoba. This irregularity coupled with the fact that the people of Wu-she-yen-na were of a rude violent nature, did not care for education, stands in the way to accept the view that Wu-she-yen-na and Ujjain are identical.

The country which is 467 miles south-east from Bhimar and 167 miles south-west from Mahoba cannot be anything else than the Bhilsa District. The town of Bhilsa is about 170 miles south-west from Mahoba, and about 460 miles south-east from Bhimar. The ancient name of the Bhilsa District is Bhaillasvāmin. Both the Bhilsa District and the Bhopal State formed the country of Daśārṇa. Its capital was Chetiya-giri during the time of Aśoka. Taking all these things into consideration Wu-she-yen-na may very reasonably be identified with Bhaillasvāmin or Daśārṇa.

Hsuen Tsang tells us that⁶⁵ he gathered from the local records that there was a king by name Śilāditya, who reigned over the country of Mo-la-p'o, sixty years before his visit to that country. The king is stated to have been the uncle of Dhruvasena II, the king of Valabhi,⁶⁶ for whom we have dates 629, 640, 641 A.D.⁶⁷ The Valabhi records tell us that Dhruvasena II's uncle was Śilāditya Dharmāditya⁶⁸ whose inscriptions are dated 606 and 609 A.D. Śilāditya, referred to by the pilgrim, was evidently identical with Śilāditya

⁶⁴ The Candella Harṣa is described as the lord of Citrakūṭa (*El.*, vol. II, p. 306). A Candella inscription from Mahoba (*El.*, vol. I, p. 218) states that the country was named Jeṣākabhukti after the Candella Jejjaka, the king of the dynasty, who flourished in the middle of the 9th century A.D.

⁶⁵ Watters, vol. II, p. 242.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

⁶⁷ *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 91; *El.*, vol. VIII, p. 188.

⁶⁸ *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 93.

Dharmāditya, though the date given by the pilgrim does not agree with his. Śilāditya, as Mr. Smith suggests,⁶⁹ "must have been the king of Mo-la-p'o by conquest in addition to his ancestral realm of Valabhi." The pilgrim relates that the king had great administrative ability, and was of rare kindness and compassion.⁷⁰

Mo-la-p'o seceded from the Valabhi kingdom during the reign of Dhruvasena II. The pilgrim tells us that Mo-la-p'o was an independent country in 640 A.D., and Kaira (or Cutch), Vāḍnagar, Kathiawar, A-t'a-li were its dependencies. As about that time the Valabhi kingdom extended up to the Ratlam State, it is doubtful whether Mo-la-p'o had any real sway over those countries.

Hiuen Tsang visited Wu-she-yen-na in the month of February, 641 A.D. He found there a member of the Brahmin caste as the ruler of the country.⁷¹

The history of Mālava from 641 A.D. till the rise of the Pratihāras, in the early years of the 8th century, is almost blank.

69 *EHI.*, p. 344.

70 Watters, vol. II, p. 242.

71 *Ibid.*, p. 250.

Reviews and Notices

BY THE EDITOR

THE STORY OF KĀLAKA: "*Texts, History, Legends, and Miniature Paintings of the Śvetāmbara Jain Hagiographical Work, the Kālakāchāryakathā (with 15 Plates)*" by W. NORMAN BROWN, Professor of Sanskrit in the University, Pennsylvania, and Curator of Indian Art in the Pennsylvania Museum of Art : published by Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1933, as Freer Gallery of Art Oriental Series No. I, 144 pp., 145-49 Index, size 14" × 10¾".

Primarily this is a book on Indian Art (Painting). The paintings found in the Mss. of the *Kālakāchārya-Kathā* and other Jain works, dated from Saṃvat, 1184 (1127 A.D.) to Saṃvat 1682 (1625 A.D.) are reproduced in 15 plates, as examples of '*the Western School of miniature painting*'. The discussion on the art is in Chapter II. Prof. Brown thinks that the characteristic angular lines of these paintings originated in Śvetāmbara temples (p. 17). But this is hardly acceptable. I have seen secular and religious pictures of the same type in Orissan manuscripts. One may trace its descent even in the pictures of 'the Kālighāt School' and of the old variety of Nāthdwārā. The peculiarity is neither Western nor Jaina.

The *Kālakā-Āchārya-Kathā* or *Kathānaka* is well-known in this country, having been translated in vernaculars several times. Its historical importance on the question of the incoming of the Śakas into Western India was pointed out by the late Dr. Bhau Daji and then by Dr. Jacobi. Numerous Jaina scholars have written on Kālaka, the most notable and recent paper being by Muni Kalyāṇavijaya. There is very little room for any original contribution left. Prof. Brown has done the task of editing the two texts with care. But his interpretation of the reading of Saga-kūla [for its variant Saga-kula] is unfortu-

nate. There can be the *kūla* ('bank') of a river, but not of a country or people. The alternative reading *kula* gives the natural meaning ('Saga-kula' = 'Śaka tribe'). Prof. Brown's translation 'Śaka-bank' (p. 9) is too Western and opposed to the Indian notion and idiom. There can be '*the French Coast*' in a European language but not a 'Ceylon bank' or 'Prayāga bank', not a 'Vākātaka bank' or a 'Chedi bank' in an Indian language. Mr. Brown's supposition that it refers to the bank of the Indus is contradicted by his text at p. 74, verses 53-54, which suppose that the Śakas were not on the Indus but had to march with the army to reach the Indus. If *kūla* be supposed to be a foreign word and not Sanskrit, one might say that "the Lake of Seistan" ('*kūla*=lake) is meant. Mr. Brown's interpretation in any case is absolutely inadmissible.

It is old knowledge that there were three Kālakas amongst the Jainas. But Mr. Brown's analysis at pp. 5-6 is certainly wrong when he transfers Balamitra and Bhānumitra from the time of the Kālaka of the Śaka immigration to an earlier Kālaka (his Kālaka I). The Balamitra-Bhānumitra story is so interconnected with the story of Kālaka of the Śakas that it cannot refer to another Kālaka. According to the texts these princes became subordinates of the Shāhi.

Further, we cannot, without straining, take that "Balamitra and Bhānumitra," whose period is up to 114 B.C. according to Jaina chronologies, could be contemporary kings of the time of Kālaka I who was dead as early as 151 B.C. (Brown p. 7.) Nor is there any evidence to suppose, as Prof. Brown has supposed, that the date of Kālaka II (teacher of the Śakas)—74 B.C. or 91 B.C. (Vira Era 453, JBORS., I, 103)—is the date of Kālaka's *suri-ship*. He took '*Sarasvatī*' in that year, which evidently refers to a supposed date of the recovery of Sarasvatī. The 'Balamitra-Bhānumitra' is a period. We have to suppose that the last prince of the line was Bhānumitra. The Jaina dates for early pontiffs and kings calculated

I See Monier-Williams Dictionary for a similar meaning in Sanskrit lexicons.

by Mr. Brown on the basis of Vira Era (527 B.C.) are liable to be shifted up by about 17 years which represents a difference between two views as pointed out in *JBORS.*, vol. I, 103.

It may be noted here that the Gardabhilas of the Purāṇas are given about 10 years per succession. This is exactly like their date for republican rulers (*JBORS.*, XX, 86-87). It is very likely that the Gardabhilas were presidents of the *Mālava-gaṇa* (Mālava Republic). That a common victory against the Śakas was claimed by both the Mālavas and the Sātavāhana is becoming clearer. The oldest Vikrama Era date now discovered at Nandsā (Mewār), which is equivalent to 225 A.D. (*IA.*, 56. 53), calls the reckoning 'the Era of Kṛita,' i.e. as marking a new political and social epoch. It comes from the heart of the old Mālava republican country. Gardabhiḷa was an old Hindu family-name. It was borne by a Jaina ascetic of Rajputana. It seems that the seven or ten Gardabhilas were Mālava republicans.

We are thankful to Prof. Brown for giving us in a handy volume the Kālaka literature in English. The plates are very successfully executed.

KĀTYĀYANA-SMṚITI-SĀRODDHĀRA, by P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.M., Bombay, 1933, pp. 372+xlii, published by the Author; price Rs. 4/-

This is a collection of law-texts of Kātyāyana from quotations in Digests and Commentaries. Dr. Nārāyaṇachandra Bandyopādhyāya, acting on my suggestion in my Tagore Lectures, collected about 800 verses of Kātyāyana and published them in a well-arranged text-book, with a good introduction. Mr. Kane has added more verses bringing them to 973. The original had many more. Mr. Kane has given a translation of his texts in English and a few notes. The restored texts of Kātyāyana now occupy the same position as the collected Smṛiti of Bṛhaspati by Dr. Jolly in the *Sacred Books of the East* Series. Kātyāyana's law book is a product of the Gupta period and marks the highest point in matters of procedure. Mr. Kane's edition is a valuable contribution.

GĀTHĀ OF ZARATHUSHTRA, by JATINDRA MOHAN CHATTERJEE, M.A., with Gujarātī translation by Ardashir N. Bilimoria, 400+viii pp., published by Ardashir N. Bilimoria, Cherag Office, Navasari, 1933.

Mr. J. M. Chatterjee has rendered the Zoroastrian *Gāthā* in Sanskrit (Nāgarī) characters and given literal Sanskrit and English translations. Mr. Chatterjee has appended grammatical notes from the Sanskrit point of view, showing unity of Avesta and Sanskrit. The desire of the Gujarātī *Cherag* publishing office under Mr. Ardashir N. Bilimoria and Mr. Chatterjee is to make the *Gāthā* available to the Hindu public in a cheap volume. The volume will be found a great help to Indian students willing to have their first acquaintance with the sister religion of their Vedic brothers, the Pārsis. The restoration of the Avestan forms into Sanskrit in the Sanskrit literal rendering is very useful. The utility of that rendering is enhanced by doing it in 'prose order' marking each word with figures. Mr. Chatterjee is good at his Pāṇini and Nighaṇṭu.

THE BRONZES OF NĀLANDĀ AND HINDU-JAVANESE ART, by Dr. A. J. BERNET KEMPERS; published by Brill Ltd., Leiden, 1933 (pp. 78+10; plates 33).

It is a thoughtful study of the bronzes of Nālandā and Java and their historic connection. The author finds the influence of the Pāla art on Eastern Java. We have, however, definite evidence for the period immediately before the Pāla period in the *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakaḷpa* which ends its history with the fall of the Later Guptas (called the Gauḍa Dynasty) and the reign of Gopāla. The *M. Mūlakaḷpa* says that there was a school of art-professors who discussed the mysteries and implications of icons, and that several artists travelled to the Islands (that is, the Indian Archipelago) and decorated monuments and monasteries. The art which flourished under the Palas was thus the continuation of the Later Gupta Art which had travelled to Insulindia. There is no chronological diffi-

culty, (p. 71), which arises only on the assumption that the Nālandā art is Pāla and not pre-Pāla.

The Kurkihar finds to which reference is made by Dr. Kempers (p. 15) and which will be the subject-matter of an independent treatment by me, belong to the Pāla period, as the important pieces are dated in the reign of several of the Pāla kings. They carry on the Nālandā tradition, and are later than some of the Nālandā bronzes. The latter are to be studied along with the stone and stucco images of Nālandā which have a continuous history from about 600 A.D. onwards. The *Mañjuśrī* history notes that on the decline of Buddhism it became necessary to attract the laity by art.

Dr. Kempers exhibits the same thoughtful, logical, and cautious method which marks out the Dutch school of Indologists. He has an attitude free from bias and preconception, an impartial mind, with no disinclination to consider what Indian Indologists have to say.

HISTORY OF THE RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS, by Pandit BISHESWAR-NATH REU, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Jodhpur Darbar, 1933; pp. 143; 8 index; price Rs. 2/-; size 6' x 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".

The author has already published his views on the Rāshtrakūṭa history in *JRAS.*, 1930, 1932; *IA.*, 1930 and his Hindī book *Bhārata ke Prāchīna-rājavanśa*. The main thesis put forward is that the Gāhaḍavālas belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa family. But there is no new evidence in support of the theory. The objections to the theory are not insurmountable, yet further evidence is desirable to establish the thesis.

All the inscriptional references to the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Gāhaḍavālas have been collected in the volume. This is certain that the original name of the Rāshtrakūṭas was the vernacular *Raṭṭa* as noted in a dynastic inscription *IA.*, XII, 218—'Raṭṭavanśodbhava'. Hence it is very likely that the *Rāshtrakūṭas* arose out of the Rāshṭrikas of Aśoka, but to connect them with the Punjab (p. 2) is not warrantable.

Notes of the Quarter

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's office on Saturday, the 9th of September, 1933.

Present:

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal (in the chair).
Mr. G. E. Fawcus.
Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.
Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh.
Mr. Sham Bahadur.
Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.
Mr. H. Lambert.
Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council, held on July the 30th, 1933.

2. Passed the accounts for the months of July and August, 1933.

3. Re-elected Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri as a representative of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society on the Sanskrit Convocation.

4. Read Mr. Fawcus's letter, dated the 23rd August, 1933.

Resolved that the offer of the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan to print the Shahabad and Bhagalpur Buchanan Reports be accepted on the terms offered:—

- (a) that not less than 500 copies of the report be printed
- (b) that he would supply the Research Society with as many copies as it requires for distribution according to its ordinary free distribution list;
- (c) that the sale proceeds of any copies sold by the Society, or by its selling agents, or by the Law Press would be the property of the Law Press;

Resolved further that the Society's thanks be conveyed to the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan for his most generous co-operation.

5. On a motion of Mr. G. E. Fawcus, seconded by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, resolved that the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan be elected a Vice-Patron of the Society in view of his most valuable assistance to the Society.

6. Considered the report of the Sub-committee appointed to enquire into the storage of books presented by Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkrityāyana.

Resolved that the books be stored in the Hon. Secretary's room in the Society's building.

Resolved further that almirahs similar to those at present in use in the Society's Library be purchased for their storage.

Resolved further that the sum of Rs. 324-13 paid by the Museum authorities for freight, etc., on these books be refunded, the necessary funds for this and the purchase of the almirahs being taken from the Mayurbhanj fund.

7. Read the Hon. Secretary's circular letter, dated August the 20th.

In view of the Council's former decision, resolved that the printing of the Patna-Bihar Buchanan Report be left with the Oriental Press, Calcutta.

8. Read the Hon. Secretary's circular letter, dated August the 25th.

Resolved that the Society's name may be given as the publishers of the proceedings of the Oriental Conference held in Patna in the year 1930.

9. Read and recorded Mr. J. Rahman's letter, dated the 11th August, 1933.

10. Elected Mr. Audh Bihari Jha a member of the Society.

11. Read Mr. Jayaswal's letter, dated the 18th August, 1933, asking to be relieved of the editorship of the Society's Journal.

Resolved that consideration of this, with Mr. Jayaswal's permission, be postponed.

J. L. HILL,

Honorary General Secretary

12. 9. 1933.

Appendix to J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIX

**SANSKRIT RESTORATION OF YUAN CHWANG'S
VIJÑAPTIMĀTRATĀSIDDHI-ŚĀSTRA**

By

Tripitakācārya Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana

with the help of

Mr. Wong Mow Lam

Editor, "The Chinese Buddhist"

PRINTED BY M. N. PANDEY AT THE
ALLAHABAD LAW JOURNAL PRESS
ALLAHABAD

PUBLISHED BY K. P. JAYASWAL
EDITOR, J. B. O. R. S., PATNA

“(अथ) धर्मपालादिबोधिसत्त्वैः कृते, अधिगत-(राजा-)ऽऽज्ञेन
त्रिपिटक-धर्माचार्येण युन्-स्वेडा (च) अनूदिते

विज्ञप्तिमात्रतासिद्धि-शास्त्रे

प्रथमः खंडः।”

अथ विज्ञप्तिमात्रतासिद्धिः

(प्रथमः परिच्छेदः)

विज्ञप्तिमात्रतायां ये परिशुद्धाः पूर्णतोंऽशातः । 4

नत्वा तान् सत्त्वसौख्याय व्याख्यायन्ते तदुक्तयः ॥ 5

ग्रंथ-प्रयोजनम्

[स्थिरमतिः]— उभय*शून्यतयोरप्रतिपन्न-विप्रतिपन्नानां यथार्थप्रतिपत्तिलाभार्थ एतच्छास्त्रारम्भः । प्रतिपत्तिर्हि उभयस्थूलावरण-प्रहाणार्था । आत्म-धर्म-प्राहाभ्यां उभयोरावरणयोः समुत्पादः । उभय-

* आचार्यसिल्वे^१लेवी-सम्पादितायां त्रिशिका-विज्ञप्तिमात्रतासिद्धौ
१५ पृष्ठे—“पुद्गल-धर्म-नैरात्म्ययोरप्रतिपन्न-विप्रतिपन्नानामविपरीतपुद्गलधर्मनैरात्म्य-
प्रतिपादनार्थं त्रिशिकाविज्ञप्ति-प्रकरणारम्भः । पुद्गलधर्मनैरात्म्य-प्रतिपादनं पुनः, क्लेश-
ज्ञेयावरण-प्रहाणार्थं । तथा ह्यात्मवृष्टिप्रभवा रागादयः क्लेशाः । पुद्गल-नैरात्म्यावबोधश्च
सत्कायवृष्टेः प्रतिपक्षत्वात् तत्प्रहाणाय प्रवर्तमानः सर्वक्लेशान् प्रजहाति । धर्मनैरात्म्य-
ज्ञानादपि ज्ञेयावरणप्रतिपक्षत्वात् ज्ञेयावरणं प्रहीयते । क्लेशज्ञेयावरणप्रहाणमपि मोक्ष-
सर्वज्ञत्वाधिगमार्थं । क्लेशा हि मोक्षप्राप्तेरावरणमिति, अतस्तेषु प्रहाणेषु मोक्षोऽधिगम्यते ।
ज्ञेयावरणमपि सर्वस्मिन् ज्ञेये ज्ञानप्रवृत्तिप्रतिबन्धभूतं अक्लिष्टमज्ञानं । तस्मिन् प्रहाणे
सर्वाकारे ज्ञेयेऽसत्कर्मप्रतिहतं च ज्ञानं प्रवर्तत इत्यतः सर्वज्ञत्वमधिगम्यते । अथवा धर्म-
पुद्गलाभिनिविष्टाश्चित्तमात्रं यथाभूतं न जानन्तीत्यतो धर्मपुद्गलनैरात्म्य-प्रदर्शनेन
सफले विज्ञप्तिमात्रेऽनुपूर्वेण प्रवेशार्थं प्रकरणारम्भः । अथवा विज्ञानवद्विज्ञेयमपि द्रव्यत एवेति
केचिन्मन्यन्ते । विज्ञेयवद् विज्ञानमपि संवृत्तित एव न परमार्थत इत्यस्य द्विप्रकारस्याप्ये-
कान्तवादस्य प्रतिषेधार्थं प्रकरणारम्भः ।”

शून्यताऽवबोधश्चेत् ते आवरणे अनुग्रहीयेते । आवर-प्रहाणं हि उभयानुत्तर-
फललाभार्थम् । सन्ततोत्पन्न-क्लेशावरण-प्रहाणात् (प्रथमं अनुत्तरफलं)
मोक्षः । ज्ञान-प्रतिबन्धकस्य ज्ञेयावरणस्य प्रहाणात् (द्वितीयं अनुत्तर-
फलं) महाबोधिप्रतिलम्भः । 9

अथवा (चित्रमान्वादयः)—धर्म-पुद्गलमिध्याऽभिनिवेशात्
चित्त-मात्रे विप्रतिपन्नान् जनान् उभयशून्यतावबोध-प्रदर्शनेन विज्ञप्ति-
मात्रं एव सत्त्वं इति बोधयितुं (प्रकरणारम्भः) । 11

अथवा (धर्मपालः)—विज्ञप्तिमात्रेऽप्रतिपन्न-विप्रतिपन्नाः केचित्
(१) (सर्वास्तिवादिनः) विज्ञानवत् बाह्यं विषयं अनभाव(= द्रव्य)-
तया मन्यन्ते; (२) (भावविवेकादयः) विषयवद् आभ्यन्तरं विज्ञानं
(अपि) असद्भूतम्; (३) अथवा (एके महायानिकाः)—भिन्नप्रवृत्तीनां
(अपि) सर्वेषां विज्ञानानां तुल्य-स्वभावतां मन्यन्ते; अथवा (४)
(सौत्रान्तिकाः)—चित्तात् पृथग् नान्यान् चैतान् (मन्यन्ते) । एतेषां
विभिन्नवादानां प्रतिषेधार्थं, गम्भीरं सूक्ष्मं विज्ञप्तिमात्रतावादं यथासत्त्वं
अवबोधयितुं (च) एतच्छास्त्रारम्भः । 15

(द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः)

आत्मग्राहः । धर्मग्राहः

(ननु) विज्ञानमात्रं अस्ति चेत्, कथं लोके आर्यशास्त्रेषु च
आत्म-धर्मौ स्त (इति) उच्यते ? कारिकायां (तत्) प्रत्युच्यते 16—

आत्म-धर्मोपचारो हि विविधो यः प्रवर्तते । 17

विज्ञानपरिणामोऽसौ, परिणामः स च त्रिधा ॥ १ ॥ 18

विपाको मननाख्यश्च विज्ञप्तिर्विषयस्य च । 19

१.—(इति) शास्त्र उक्तम् । लोक आर्यशास्त्रेषु (च), आत्मा
धर्माश्च संति (इति) केवलं उपचारत उच्यते; न तु सद्भूतस्वभावतया ।
आत्माऽस्ति स्वामी, धर्माः आश्रयः । तदुभयं नानाकार-विपरिणतम् ।
आत्मनो नानाकारा नाम सत्त्व-जीवादयः (बाह्यदर्शने); स्रोत-
आपन्न-सकृदागामीत्यादयः (बौद्धदर्शने) । धर्माणां नानाकारा नाम
द्रव्य-गुण-कर्मादि (वैशेषिकदर्शने), स्कन्धायतनधात्वादि (बौद्ध-
दर्शने) । “प्रवर्तत” अनुप्रत्ययं उपचारभेदा भवन्ति (इति) । 24

२.—(ननु) एवं सर्व आकारा उपचारत उच्यते चेत्, किमा-
श्रित्य सिध्यन्ति त उपचाराः ?—विज्ञान-विपरिणामं आश्रित्य सर्वा
उपचार-व्यवस्थाः । 25

३.—“विज्ञानं” अस्ति चित्तं; तत्र चित्तशब्दे चैत्ता अप्युप-
संगृहीताः, (उभयोः) अवश्यं संप्रयुक्तत्वात् । 26

४. विज्ञान-परिणामः । (स्थिरमति-धर्मपालादयः) ।—

क, “परिणामो” ऽस्ति विज्ञानस्य स्वभावः, निमित्त-दर्शनोभय-
भाग-तया परिणामनं, स्व-संवित्ति(-भाग)ोत्पन्नत्वात् । एतद्भागद्वय-
माश्रित्य आत्म-धर्मोपचारः, तयोः एतद्विज्ञाश्रयाभावात् । 2

ख. अथवा (नन्द-बन्धुश्रयादयः)—आभ्यन्तरं विज्ञानं बाह्य-
विषय-सादृश्येन विपरिणम्यत (इति मन्यन्ते) । 3

आत्म-धर्म-विकल्पात् वासना-बलात् (च), विज्ञानं उत्पत्ति-काल
आत्म-धर्म-सादृश्येन विपरिणम्यते । आत्म-धर्म-निमित्तानि एतानि
आभ्यन्तरे विज्ञाने स्थितान्यपि विकल्प(-वशा)त् बाह्यार्थ-सादृश्येन
प्रादुर्भवन्ति । सर्वे सत्त्व-निकाया अनादिकालत एतदालंब्य आत्म-
धर्म-सादृश्यं सद्भूततया गृह्णन्ति । यथा दुःस्वप्नप्रवृत्तस्य जनस्य चित्तं
दुःस्वप्नवशात् नाना-बाह्यविषयाकारतया प्रादुर्भवति । एतत् (स्वप्न)-कार-
णात् (स) बाह्यं विषयं सद्भूततया गृह्णाति । 6

अन्तर्ग्राहद्वयम्—अस्ति आत्मा, सन्ति धर्मा (इति) अज्ञजनानुमतं;
(वस्तुतस्तु) असन्तस्ते, केवलं मिथ्याप्रत्ययं आश्रित्य विकल्प्यन्ते ।
तस्माद् औपचारिकं इदं वदामः । आभ्यन्तर-“विज्ञान-परिणामो”
यद्यपि आत्म-धर्म-सादृश्यो भवति, न तु वस्तुत आत्म-धर्म-स्वभावः, अपितु
तयोरिव प्रादुर्भवति । तस्मात् मिथ्या (= संवृतिसद्) इति उच्यते । 10

५. बाह्यविषयाः संविदं आश्रित्य विकल्प्यन्ते, तस्मात् न विज्ञ-
सिधत् सद्भूताः । आभ्यन्तरं विज्ञानं हेतु-प्रत्ययं प्रतीत्य संजायते, तस्माद्
(बाह्य -) विषयवत् नासद्भूतम् । एतेन वृद्धिः, उच्छेद (इत्यन्त-)
ग्राहद्वयं *प्रतिषिद्धम् । 12

सत्यद्वयम्—(बाह्यो) विषय आभ्यन्तरं विज्ञानं आश्रित्य विक-
ल्प्यते, तस्मात् (स) केवलं संवृतिसद् । विज्ञानं विकल्पित-(बाह्य)
विषयाश्रयवस्तुत्वात् परमार्थसद् अपि । 13

६. (ननु) कथं विज्ञेयं—बाह्यार्थो न सद्भूतः, आभ्यन्तरं विज्ञानं
एव (सद्भूतं, तदेव) बाह्यार्थतया परिणतं इति ?—सद्भूतयोः आत्म-धर्मयोः
अनुपलभ्यमानत्वात् । 15

* बाह्यार्थ-स्वीकारः, आभ्यन्तर-विज्ञान-प्रतिषेध इत्यन्तर्ग्राहद्वयम् ।

कथं सद्भूतस्य आत्मनोऽनुपलम्भः ? 15—

आत्मग्राहः

१. सर्व आत्मग्राहाः समासतः त्रिविधा भवन्ति 16—

प्रथमे—(सार्वत्र्य-वैशेषिकाः) मन्यन्ते—आत्मा स्वभावतो नित्य आकाशवत् सर्वत्रगः; तस्मात् सर्वत्र कर्म अनुतिष्ठति, उपलभते च सुखं दुःखम् । 17

द्वितीये—(जैना) मन्यन्ते—स्वभावतो नित्योऽप्यात्मा परिमाणे तु अनियतः, दीर्घ-ह्रस्व-कायमनु संकोच-विकास(शील)-त्वात् । 18

तृतीये—(पाशुपत-परिव्राजकादयः) मन्यन्ते—आत्मा स्वभावतो नित्यः परमाणुवत् अतिसूक्ष्मः, काय-वनिहित-सर्व-कर्म-कारित्वात् । 20

क. प्रथमो हि न न्याय्यः, कस्मात् ? 20—

(१). आत्मा नित्य आकाशवत् सर्वत्रग (इति) मन्येत (चेत्) न स्याद् कायानुसारं सुख-दुःखाद्युपलम्भः । 21

(२). नित्यं सर्वगतत्वात् न स्यात् गतिः भ्रमिः; कथं (तर्हि) कायानुसारं कुर्यात् कर्माणि ? 22

(३). पुनश्च आत्मा सर्वेषां सत्त्वानां एकः भिन्नो वाऽभ्युपगम्यते ? (क) समान (=एक) उच्यते चेत्, एकस्य कर्म-करणकाले सर्वैः कृतं स्यात्, एकस्य फलोपलम्भ-काले सर्वैरुपलब्धं स्यात्, एकस्य मोक्षोपलम्भ-काले सर्वे मुक्ताः स्युः । अथ स्याद् महान् दोषः । (ख) भिन्न उच्यते चेत्, सर्वेषां सत्त्वानां आत्मानोऽन्योन्यावृता (=अन्योन्य-व्यापका) स्युः; अथ स्वभावोऽपि अन्योन्य-मिश्रितः स्यात् । 26

(४) पुनश्च—सर्वेषां आत्मनां स्थान(तो) ऽभेदात् यदा एकः कर्म करोति फलं वा उपलभते, सर्व (एव) कुर्वन्ति उपभुंजते च (इति) वक्तव्यम् । उपभोग-कर्मणी एकैकेन (आत्मना) पृथक् सम्बद्धे इति चेत्, नैवं न्यायतोऽदोषः; सर्वेषां आत्मनां कर्म-फल-शरीरान्योन्य-संबद्धत्वात् । तस्मात् नेदं न्यायाऽविरुद्धम् । 1

(५) एकस्य विमुक्तिकाले च सर्वे विमुच्येरन्, आचोर्ण-
भावितयोः धर्म(-फल)योः सर्वैः आत्मभिः संबद्धत्वात् । 2

ख. द्वितीयोऽपि न न्याय्यः । कस्मात् ? (१) आत्मा स्वभावतः
नित्यो ध्रुवः (चेत्) न स्यात् काय(परिमाणानुसारं) संकोचविकास-
(-शील)ः । (२) संकोच-विकास-(शीलः) चेत् भस्त्रावाद्य(गत)-
वायु-वत् न स्यात् नित्यो ध्रुवः । (३) शरीर-(परिमाण)नुसारी आत्मा
विभाज्यः स्यात्, (अथ) कथं मन्यते आत्मनः स्वभावत एकत्वम् ? तस्माद्
अयं वादो बालक्रीडितं इव । 6

ग. चरमोऽपि न न्याय्यः । कस्मात् ? परमाणुवत् आत्म-परि-
माणं अतिसूक्ष्मं (चेत्), कथं (युगपद्) महाकाये सर्वत्र गतिं
कुर्यात् ? अणुत्वेऽपि, अलातचक्रभ्रमिवत्, क्षिप्रं परिशरीरं सर्वत्र भ्रमति
(इति) उच्यते चेत्; अथ एवं ग्रहण आत्मा न एको न (च) नित्यः,
गमनागमनशीलानां नित्यैकत्वाभावात् । 8

२. पुनश्च आत्मग्राहो त्रिधा भवति । प्रथमे(आत्मा) स्कन्धाद-
भिन्नः; द्वितीये स्कन्धादभिन्नः, तृतीये स्कन्धात् नाभिन्नो न भिन्नः । 11

क. प्रथमे—स्कन्धात्मनोरभेदः अहेतुकः । एवं हि स्कंधवत्
आत्माऽपि न नित्यो न (च) एकः स्यात्— 12

(१) आभ्यन्तरं रूपं (=५ इन्द्रियाणि) न स्यात् सद्भूत आत्मा,
भौतिकत्वात् (=संयुक्तत्वात्) बाह्य-रूप (=५ इन्द्रिय-विषय)-वत् । (२)
चित्त-चैत्ता* धर्मा अपि न सद्भूत आत्मा, अनित्यसन्तान-(त्वात्)
हेतुप्रत्ययपारतंत्र्यात् (च) । 14

(३) शेषः (चित्त-विप्रयुक्तः) संस्कारः, शेषं (अविज्ञप्ति-)
रूपं च न सद्भूत आत्मा, आकाशादिवत् अचेतन-स्वभावात् । 15

ख. द्वितीये (सांख्यमते) स्कन्धात्मनोरभेदः (अपि) अहे-

* चैत्ताः—वेदना-संज्ञा-विज्ञान-स्कंधाः, संस्कार-स्कंधैक-भागः (=संप्रयुक्त-
संस्कारः) ।

तुकः । तथा चेद् आकाशवत् (कर्म)-कारक(त्व-फल)-लाभ(वत्त्वा)
ऽभावात् । 16

ग. चरमे (वात्सीपुत्रीयमते)—(स्कन्ध) आत्मनो (भेदाभेदेति)
उभयाभावो ऽन्यायः । स्कन्धं उपादाय (आत्मनः) सिद्धिः, स्कन्धात् भिन्ना-
भिन्नश्च (आत्मा) इति स्वीकारे हि घटादिवत्† आत्मा न सद्भूतः
स्यात् । (२) पुनश्च (तैः,) (आत्मा) न उच्यते संस्कृतः, (न) अपि
असंस्कृतः; न च उच्यते आत्मनः सद्भावः, (न च) आत्मनोऽभावः;
तस्मात् तेषां मते असिद्धः सद्भूत आत्मा । 19

१-सामान्यतः खंडनम् ।

क. तेषां च सद्भूतात्मस्वभावमते (आत्मा)—(१) अस्ति चेतनः
(इति सांख्याः), (२) नास्ति चेतनः (इति वैशेषिकाः) । चेतनत्वे-
ऽनित्यः स्यात् सर्वदा चिंतनाभावात् । अचेतनत्वे न स्यात् कर्मणः कर्ता
न च फलस्य भोक्ता । तस्माद् एतत् मतं उभयथाऽसिद्धम् । 23

ख. तेषां च सद्भूतात्मस्वभावमते (आत्मा)—(१) अस्ति
सक्रियः; (२) अस्ति निष्क्रियः । सक्रियत्वे हस्तपादादिवत् अनित्यः
स्यात् । अक्रियत्वे शशशृंगादिवत् असद्भूतः स्यात् आत्मा । तस्मात्
अयं आत्मग्राह उभयथाऽसिद्धः । 27

ग. तेषां च (वात्सीपुत्रीयाणां) सद्भूतात्मस्वभावमते—अस्ति
(आत्मा) आत्मदृष्टेः विषयो न वा ? नास्ति आत्मदृष्टेः विषयश्चेत् कथं
भवता ज्ञायते—सद्भूत आत्मा (इति) । अस्ति आत्मदृष्टेः विषयश्चेत्,
सद्भूता (विद्यमाना) आत्मदृष्टिः (भगवता) न हि स्यात् विपर्ययासेषु
परिगृहीता, सम्यग्ज्ञानत्वात् । एवं चेद् आत्मभावग्राहे (बौद्धो) जनः
कथं श्रद्दधात् ? कथं सर्वा आर्य-देशना निन्द्युः आत्मदृष्टिं, प्रशंसेरन् (च)
नैरात्म्यदृष्टिम् ? उक्तं (च) “नैरात्म्यदृष्ट्या साक्षात्करोति निर्वाणम्, 4

† वात्सीपुत्रीयनये घटस्य मृत्तिकया न अभेदः, नापि भेदः ।

आत्मदृष्टिग्राहात् निमज्जते संसारे ।” कथं स्यात् मिथ्यादृष्ट्या निर्वाण-
साक्षात्करणेऽर्हः; सम्यग्दृष्ट्या च विपर्ययात् संसारे निमज्जनम् ? 5

पुनश्च—आत्मदृष्टिः न आलम्बते सद्भूतं आत्मानं, सालम्बन-
त्वात्, अन्यालम्बन-चित्तवत् । (व्यतिरेकतः) आत्मदृष्टेः आलम्बनं न
स्यात् सद्भूत आत्मा, सालम्बनत्वात् अन्यधर्मवत् । तस्माद् आत्मदृष्टिः
नालम्बते सद्भूतं आत्मानं; अध्यात्मविज्ञान-परिणामान् स्कन्धान् एव
आलम्बते । (त एव स्कंधाः) स्वमिथ्यारुच्यनुसारं विविध(आत्माकारतया)
विकल्प्यन्ते । 9

२—आत्मग्राह-विभंगः

क. (वस्तुतः) तु सर्व आत्मग्राहाः समासतो द्विधा भवन्ति ।
आद्यः सहजः, द्वितीयो विकल्पितः । 10

१. सहज आत्मग्राहः अनादिकालागता-ऽऽभ्यन्तर-मिथ्यावासना
हेतु-बलात् नित्यं काय-सहगतः, मिथ्यादेशनां मिथ्याविकल्पं चानपेक्ष्य
स्वरसेन प्रवर्तते; तस्मादुच्यते सहज इति । अयं च द्विधा 12—

(१) आद्यः—निरन्तरसन्ततिः अष्टमं विज्ञानं आलम्ब्य सप्तमे
विज्ञाने (तिष्ठति); उत्पादयति (च) स्वस्मिन् निमित्तं, (यच्च) सद्भूता-
त्मतया गृह्यते । 14

(२) द्वितीयः—सान्तर-सन्ततिः—सामान्येन पार्थक्येन वा (यद्)
विज्ञान-परिणामान् पञ्च उपादानस्कन्धान् आलम्ब्य, तस्मिन् षष्ठे विज्ञाने
(तिष्ठति); उत्पादयति (च) स्वविज्ञाने निमित्तं, (यच्च) सद्भूतात्म-
तया गृह्यते । 15

इमौ द्वौ (सहजौ) आत्मग्राहौ सूक्ष्मत्वात् दुश्छेद्यौ । चरमे
भावना-मार्गेऽभीक्ष्णं अनुत्तर-पुद्गलशून्यता-भावनां भावयित्वा, अथ
छेतुं श्रमम् । 17

२. विकल्पितात्मग्राहः (न केवलं आभ्यन्तरं हेतुं), विद्यमानं
बाह्यं अपि (हेतु-) प्रत्ययं (आश्रयते); तस्मात् न कायसहगतः । मिथ्या-
देशनां मिथ्या-विकल्पं च अपेक्ष्य उत्पन्नत्वात् विकल्पित इति । (अयं)
षष्ठे मनोविज्ञान एव भवति । अयमपि द्विधा 20—

(१) प्रथम* :—मिथ्यादेशना-प्रोक्तान् स्कन्धान् आलम्ब्य मनो (विज्ञानं) स्वस्मिन् निमित्तं उत्पादयति; (तच्च) विकल्प्यमानं, चिन्त्यमानं सद्भूतात्मतया गृह्यते । 21

(२) द्वितीयः†—मिथ्यादेशनाप्रोक्तं आत्मनिमित्तं आलम्ब्य मनो(विज्ञानं) स्वस्मिन् निमित्तं उत्पादयति; (तच्च) विकल्प्यमानं चिन्त्यमानं सद्भूतात्मतया गृह्यते । 22

इमौ आत्मग्राहौ औदारिकत्वात् (=स्थूलत्वात्) सुच्छेद्यौ । प्रथम-दर्शन-मार्ग- (लाभ-) काले सर्व-धर्म-पुद्गल-शून्यतायाः तथतां भावयन् तु अलम् । 23

ख, एवं उक्ताः सर्व आत्मग्राहाः, स्वचित्तबाह्यान् स्कन्धान् (विज्ञान-परिणामान्) आलम्बन्ते नापि वा (आलंबन्ते); स्वचित्ताभ्यन्तरान् स्कंधान् (तु) सर्व (एव) आलंबन्ते । तस्मात् सर्व आत्मग्राहा अनित्यान् पंच उपादान-स्कंधान् (विज्ञानस्य) निमित्त- (भागान्) आलम्बन्ते । (ते निमित्तभागा) मिथ्या (एव) आत्मतया गृह्यन्ते । इमे तु (पंच) स्कंध-निमित्त- (भागाः) प्रत्यय-जनिताः, तस्मात् मायावत् विद्यमानाः, मिथ्या विकल्पनया ते मिथ्यैव आत्मतया गृह्यन्ते; तस्मात् नैव संति (इति) । अतएव सूत्र उक्तं—“जानीथ भिन्नवः ! लोके श्रमण-ब्राह्मणादीनां (याः) सर्वा आत्मदृश्यः, सर्वाः (ताः) पंच उपादान-स्कंधान् आलम्ब्य जायन्ते ।” 29

३. विरोध-परिहारः

१. (ननु) आत्मा नास्ति चेत्, कथं उपलभ्यन्ते-स्मृतिः, उपलब्धिः, अध्ययनं, भावना, उपकृतिः, क्रोध इत्यादयः ?—नित्योऽविपरिणामो सद्भूत आत्मा गृह्यते चेत्, अनागतेऽपि अतीतवद् भविष्यति अस्य स्वभावः, (तेन अन्तरालोत्पन्नायाः स्मृतेः स्थाने); अतीतेऽपि अनागतवत् न स्यात् अस्य स्वभावस्याभावः, तस्माद्धि अतीतानागतस्वभावयोः न भेदः । (एवं तर्हि क तादृशे आत्मनि स्मृत्यादीनां संग्रहः) ? 3

* स्कन्धात्मनोरभेदवादे । † स्कन्धात्मनोभेदवादे ।

(ननु) आत्मनः कारित्रं अतीतानागतयोः विपरिवर्तते, न (तु) आत्मनः स्वभाव इति चेत् ; अयं हेतुरपि न युक्तः, कारित्र-स्वभावयोरभेदात् । स्वभावात् अभिन्नं चेत्, (आत्मनः) कारित्रं अपि नित्यं स्यात् (आत्मनः स्वभावस्य नित्यत्वात्); (स्वभावः कारित्रात् अभिन्नः चेत्, स्वभावोऽपि) न नित्यः स्यात्, (कारित्रस्यानित्यत्वात्) । 5

वस्तुतस्तु, सत्त्वानां एकैकस्य (पृथग्) भवति अनुलोम-संतानं मूल(=आलय)-विज्ञानम् । (तत्र भवति) सर्वेषां धर्माणां बीजं (=वासना) अन्योन्यकारणम् । वासना-बलाद् (एव) मृत्युपलब्ध्यादीनां वस्तूनां तथा उपलम्भः । तस्माद् अयं उद्भावित आक्षेपो युष्माकं (मते) भवति दोषाय, न (जातु) अस्माकं मते । 8

२. (ननु) सद्भूत आत्मा नास्ति चेत्, कः कर्त्ता कर्मणां कश्चोपभोक्ता फलानाम् ? 9

सद्भूतस्य आत्मनो ग्रहणेऽपि, आकाशवत् विपरिणामी (स) कथं (स्यात्) कर्मणां कर्त्ता, फलानां (च) उपभोक्ता ? विपरिणामी चेत् न स्यात् नित्यः । 11

वस्तुतस्तु, सत्त्वानां चित्तचैत्ता धर्मा हेतु-प्रत्यय-बलात् निरन्तरं सन्तन्यमानाः कुर्वन्ति कर्माणि, उपभुञ्जते च फलानि—इति सिद्धान्तोऽदोषः । 12

३. (ननु) सद्भूत आत्मा नास्ति चेत्, कस्तावत् जन्म-मृत्यु (-संसारे) सर्वासु गतिषु पुनरुत्पद्यते ? कः पुनः जुगुप्सते दुःखं, पर्येषते (च) निर्वाणम् ? 14

सद्भूतस्यात्मनो ग्रहणेऽपि, जन्म-मृत्यु-विरहितस्य (तस्य) कथं वाच्यः जन्म-मृत्यु (-संसारे) उत्पादः ? आकाशवन्नित्यो दुःखानुत्पीडितः कथं जुगुप्सेत्, जह्यात् (च दुःखं), पर्येषेत (वा) निर्वाणम् ? तस्मात् तेषां नित्यवचनं स्वयं विप्रतिषिद्धं भवति । 16

वस्तुतस्तु, सजातीय-काय-मनः-सन्तानाः सत्त्वाः क्लेश-कर्म-वशात् संसरन्ति सर्वासु गतिषु; दुःखं जुगुप्समानाः (च) निर्वाणं गवेषन्ते । 18

उपसंहारः—तस्माद्धि ज्ञायते—(१) न सद्भूत आत्माऽस्ति । (२) विज्ञानानि एव सन्ति (तेषु) अनादिकालतः पूर्व-विनाश 19 उत्तरो-

त्पाद (इति) कार्य-कारण-सन्ततिः । (३) (सा एव सन्ततिः) मिथ्या
(-विकल्प)-वासनात आत्माकारा भासते ; तत्र (च) अज्ञा जना
मिथ्यैव आत्मग्राहिणः । 20

धर्मग्राहः ।

तीर्थिकाः, अन्ययानिकाः ।

(ननु) कस्मात् न विज्ञानात् पृथग् सद्भूता धर्मा उपलभ्यन्ते ?—
यतः अन्यतीर्थिकैः अन्ययानिकैः (=वौद्धैः) च सद्भूततया गृहीता
आत्मधर्मा न सन्ति न्यायानुमताः । 22

क. तीर्थिकाः ।

(ननु) कस्मात् तीर्थिक-गृहीता (धर्माः) न विद्यन्ते ? 22

१. सांख्याः ।

सांख्यानां मते—आत्माऽस्ति चेतनो, भोक्ता (भोग्यानां) सत्त्व-
रजस्-तमोभ्यः कृतानां महदादीनां त्रयोविंशतिधर्माणाम् । त्रिगुण-
विनिर्मिता अपि महदादयो धर्माः प्रत्यक्षलभ्यत्वात् सद्भूताः, न
कल्पिताः । 25

एतन्मतं न न्याय्यं; कस्मात् ?— 25

१. (१) महदादयो धर्मा नानावस्तुविनिर्मितत्वात् सेनावनादिवत्
स्युः कल्पिताः, न सद्भूताः ; (अथ) कथं प्रत्यक्ष-लभ्या (इति) उच्यते ?
(२) महदादयो धर्माः सद्भूताश्चेत् मूलप्रकृतिवत् न स्युः त्रिभिः (गुणैः)
समुदिताः (=विनिर्मिताः) । 28

२. (१) सत्त्वादीनां त्रयाणां महदादि-साम्यत्वे महदादिवत्
(इमे) त्रयोऽपि स्युः समुदिताः । (२) विकृतयः (=विपरिणामिनः)
अपि अनित्याः पूर्व-हेतुना ।

(५) पुनश्च, त्रयाणां मूलपदार्थानां (=गुणानां) एकैको नानाका-
रित्रः, (अथ तेषां) स्वभावोऽपि स्यात् नाना, कारित्र-स्वभावयोरेकत्वात् ।
(३) त्रयाणां गुणानां सर्वगतत्वे एकस्मिन् स्थाने (रूप-)परिवर्तने, अवशिष्टे-
ष्वपि तथा स्यात्, (सर्वत्र) स्वभावा-भेदात् । (४) एतेषां त्रयाणां 3 गुणानां

एकैकस्य स्वभाव-लक्षणयोः भेद अभ्युपगम्यते चेत्, कथं परस्पर-समुदयेन एकलक्षणस्य (महत) आरम्भः ? न हि स्यात् समुदय-काले एकलक्षणतया परिणामः, असमुदितेऽपि स्वभावस्याभिन्नत्वात् । (५) उच्येत—त्रयाणां गुणानां स्वभाव (एव) भिन्नः, लक्षणं समानं (इति)—(अथ) स्वभाव-लक्षणैकत्व-स्वमत-विरुद्धम् । (६) स्वभाव-लक्षणयोः साम्ये तमः (सत्त्वरजोभ्यां च) समानं स्यात् । स्वभाव-लक्षणयोः साम्ये (त्रयोऽपि गुणाः) स्फुटं त्रिविधाः, तस्मात् न वाच्यं—त्रयाणां समुदयात् एको भवति (इति) ७

३. पुनश्च—(१). त्रयः (गुणाः) सन्ति विशेषः, महदादीनि (त्रिगुणपरिणामात् च) सन्ति सामान्यं; (अथ गुणानां महदादीनां चैक-त्वात् स्यात्) सामान्य-विशेषयोरेकत्वं, तस्मात् नास्ति त्रयाणां एकत्वम् । (२) इमे त्रयो (गुणाः) परिणामकाले संगम्य न चेत् एक-लक्षणारम्भकाः, (अथ) अपरिणता इव स्युः; कथं एतर्हि दृश्येत—अस्ति एक (-समो) वर्णादिः ? (३) त्रयः संगता एकलक्षणा भवन्ति चेत्, अथ परिहीयेत (तेषां) पूर्वतनो विशेषाकारः; (एवं च) स्यात् स्वभावस्यापि परिह्राणिः । (४) न च वाच्यं—त्रयाणां (गुणानां) एकैकस्य भवति लक्षणद्वयं—एकं सामान्यं, द्वितीयं विशेषः (महदादि-सामान्य-धर्माणां विशेष-भूत-त्रिगुण विपरिणामत्वात्); सामान्यं अस्ति विशेषः, अथ सामान्य-(-धर्मा) अपि (गुणैरिव) स्युः त्रि-(-लक्षणाः), कथं तर्हि दृश्येरन् एक-(-लक्षणाः) ? (५) उच्येत—एकैको (गुणो) भवति त्रिलक्षणः, व्यतिमिश्रणात् दुर्ज्ञेयः, तस्मात् दृश्यत एक-(-लक्षणः) ।—(क) त्रिलक्षणश्चेत् कथं दृश्येत एक-(-लक्षणः) ? (ख) कथं च विज्ञेयं—त्रयो गुणा भिन्ना (इति) ? (ग). तेषां एकैकस्मिन् त्रीण्यपि लक्षणानि परिपूर्णानि चेत्, एकैकोऽपि गुण आरम्भकः स्यात् रूपादीनां, (अथ) किं प्रयोजनं त्रयाणां संयोगस्य ? (घ) (तथा च सति) एकैकस्याऽपि (गुणस्य) स्वभावः स्यात् त्रि-(-विधः), स्वभाव-लक्षणयोरभेदात् । (ङ) त्रि-(-गुण-)-संगता (अथ) महदादयो धर्माश्च न स्युः मिथो भिन्नाः । १७

एवमथ कारण(=महद्)-कार्य (=अहंकार)-(पंच) तन्मात्रा- (पंचमहा)भूत-(दशे)-न्द्रियाणां भेदोऽसिद्धः । तथा सति, एकं इन्द्रियं उपगृह्णीयात् सर्वान् विषयान्, सर्वे विषयाश्च सर्वैरिन्द्रियैः गृह्येरन् । (एवं च) लोके प्रत्यक्षतो दृश्यमानानि सत्त्वाऽसत्त्व-शुद्धाऽशुद्धानि २५ वस्तूनि

प्रत्यक्षाऽनुमानादीनि (च) सर्वाणि स्युरभिन्नानि; अथ स्यान्महान् दोषः । 21

तस्मात् तैः (सांख्यैः) गृहीताः सद्भूता धर्मा असिद्धाः, केवलं मिथ्याकल्पनाविजृम्भिताः । 22

२—वैशेषिकाः

वैशेषिका मन्यन्ते—द्रव्यादयो नाना पदार्थाः सत्त्वभावाः प्रत्यक्ष-
ग्राह्याः । 23

तेषां मतं न न्याय्यं, कस्मात् ? 23

१. पदार्थ-निरासः ।

क. ये हि नित्या ध्रुवाः पदार्थाः, (ते) चेत् कार्यं उत्पादयन्ति, (अथ) न स्युः नित्याः, सक्रियत्वात्, तज्जन्यकार्यवत् । अथ (चेत्) न उत्पादयन्ति कार्यं, न स्युः विज्ञानात्पृथग् सत्त्वभावाः, शशशृंगादिवत् (क्रिया-भिन्न-तदुपलम्भ-साधना-ऽभावात्) । 26

ख. ये (पदार्थाः) अनित्याः, ते चेत् सावरणाः, अथ साकाशाः, (एवं च) स्युर्विभाज्याः, सेनावनादिवत्; न सत्त्वभावाः । न चेत् सावरणाः, (अथ) चित्त-चैतवत् न स्युः तेभ्यः (चित्त-चैतभ्यः) भिन्नाः सत्त्वभावाः । 28

२. द्रव्य-गुण-निरासः ।

पुनश्च तैः मताः पृथिव्य-ऽप्-तेजो-वायवः न सावरणद्रव्य-पदार्थेषु परिग्राह्याः, कायेन्द्रियेण स्पष्टव्यत्त्वात्, खर-स्नेहो-ष्णता-गति-(गुण)वत् । 1

किंच तैर्मताः—खर-स्नेहो-ष्णतादयो न अनावरण-गुण-पदार्थेषु परिग्राह्याः, कायेन्द्रियेण स्पष्टव्यत्त्वात्, पृथिव्य-ऽप्-तेजो-वायुवत् । 3

पृथिव्य-ऽप्-तेजसां (अपि) चक्षुर्दृश्यैः नीलवर्णादिभिः सह संबन्धे स एव दोषो युज्यते । 4

तस्मात् ज्ञायते—न पृथिव्य-ऽप्-तेजो-वायवः खर-स्नेहाऽऽदिभ्यः पृथक् सत्त्वभावाः; न (च) चक्षुः पश्यति (खरादिभ्यो भिन्नानि) सद्भूतानि पृथिव्य-ऽप्-तेजांसि । 5

३. पदार्थ-सामान्य-खंडनम् ।

पुनश्च तेषां नये—द्रव्यपदार्थेषु (ये) सावरणा नित्याः ; ते सावरणात्वात् स्थूलपृथिव्यादिवत् न स्युः नित्याः । 7

पदार्थेषु (पंच-)भौतिकेन्द्रिय-ग्राह्या (ये) अनावरणा धर्माः ; (ते) स्युः सावरणाः, भौतिकेन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वात्, पृथिव्य-ऽपू-तेजो-वायुवत् । 9

पुनश्च तैर्मता अद्रव्या गुणादयो न स्युः विज्ञानाद् भिन्नाः पृथक्-स्वभावाः, द्रव्या-ऽपरिगृहीतत्वात् बन्ध्यापुत्रवत् । द्रव्यादयः सत्ताभिन्नाः न स्युः विज्ञानाद् भिन्नाः पृथक्-स्वभावाः, सत्ता-ऽपरिगृहीतत्वात्, खपुष्पादिवत् । 12

४. महासत्ता-पदार्थ-सामान्यादि-निरासः ।

(क). तैर्मतं सामान्यं न द्रव्यादिभ्यो भिन्न-सत्ताकं, अभावत्वात्, द्रव्यगुणादिवत् । द्रव्यादिभ्योऽभिन्नं चेत् नाऽभ्युपेयं सामान्यं, द्रव्यादि-भिन्नत्वात् अत्यन्ताभावादिवत् । अन्यसामान्यं विनाऽपि सामान्यं अनभाव(स्वरूपं) चेत्, कथं (तर्हि) द्रव्यादीनां स्यात् स्वसत्तार्थं पृथक्-सामान्यं (अपेक्षितम्) ? विद्यमान-धर्माद् भिन्नं सामान्यं पृथक् विद्यते चेत्, स्वस्थित्यर्थं अविद्यमान-धर्माद् अपि भिन्नं पृथग् असामान्यं (अपेक्षितं) स्यात् । न चेदेवं कथं तत् तथा ? 17

तस्मात् तेषां सामान्य-पदार्थो मिथ्याकल्पनामात्रम् । 18

(ख). विशेषः ।

पुनश्च तेषां मते द्रव्यत्वं गुणत्वं कर्मत्वं (चेति विशेषाः) द्रव्य-गुणकर्मभ्यः पृथक् । नहि तन्न्याय्यं—अन्यथा इदं (द्रव्यत्वं) अपि न (द्रव्यत्वं), द्रव्य-गुण-कर्मादीनां द्रव्य(त्वा)दिभिन्नत्वात्, गुण-कर्मादिवत् । 20

पुनश्च, द्रव्यादयो न द्रव्यादिपरिगृहीताः, द्रव्यादिभिन्नस्य द्रव्यत्वादेरभावात्, गुणकर्मवत् । एवं द्रव्यादीनां, पृथिवीत्वादीनां पृथिव्यादीनां (च) मिथः संबंधे (ऽपि) प्रश्ना विज्ञेयाः । न चेत् द्रव्य-त्वादयो द्रव्यादिभ्यः पृथक्, द्रव्यादयोऽपि न स्युः पृथक् द्रव्यत्वादिव्यः । 23

द्रव्यादिभ्यः पृथक् द्रव्यत्वादयः सन्ति चेत्, अद्रव्यत्वादयो (ऽपि)
अद्रव्यादिभ्यः पृथक् स्युः । तच्चेत् नैवं, इदं (अपि) कथं तथा ?
तस्माद् विशेषः मिथ्याकल्पनामात्रम् । 26

(ग). समवायः ।

पुनश्च तेषां मते (अस्ति) समवायः पदार्थः । (स च) नैव
सद्भूतः (=पदार्थः) असामान्यत्वात्, द्रव्यादि-सर्व-धर्माऽपरिगृही-
तत्वात्, अत्यन्ताऽभाववत् । 27

तेषां मते—द्रव्यादयः प्रत्यक्षग्राह्याः । (ते) तु हेतुभिः परीक्षिता
न सद्भूताः । स्वयं च अभ्युपयंति ते—समवायः पदार्थो न प्रत्यक्ष-ग्राह्य
(इति) । सद्भूतः स्याच्चेत् प्रत्यक्षविषयत्वेन समवायस्योपलम्भः स्यात् ।
तस्माद् अपि पूर्वहेतुभिः न सद्भूतः । 29

वस्तुतस्तु, तेषां द्रव्यादयः (पदार्थाः) न अभ्युपेया विज्ञानात्
पृथग् सत्त्वभावाः प्रत्यक्षग्राह्याः, ज्ञेयत्वात् (ज्ञेयानां चित्तान्तर्गत्त्वात्),
कूर्मलोमादिवत् । 3

पुनश्च, द्रव्यालंबनं ज्ञानं, विज्ञानात् पृथक् द्रव्यपदार्थ-स्वभावा-
लम्बिनि प्रत्यक्षज्ञाने न परिगृहीतव्यं, मिश्रितहेतूपन्नत्वात्, गुणादि-
प्रत्यक्षवत् । विस्तारवचने तावत्—समवायालम्बनं ज्ञानं न विज्ञानात्
पृथक्, समवाय-स्वभावालम्बिनि प्रत्यक्षज्ञाने परिगृहीतात् मिश्रितहेतोरु-
त्पन्नत्वात्, द्रव्यादि-ज्ञानवत् । 6

तस्मात् वैशेषिकानां अपि द्रव्यादयः पदार्थाः संति मिथ्याकल्पना-
विजृम्भिताः । 7

३. माहेश्वराः

भवति मतं—अस्ति एको महादेवो देवः, सत्त्वभावः, विभुः, नित्यः,
धर्माणां उत्पादकः । तन्मतं न समंजसम् । कस्मात् ? धर्माणां उत्पादक-
श्चेत् न स्यात् नित्यः (यथा पृथिवी जलं वा); ये हि अनित्या न ते विभवः
(यथा घटः); ये हि न विभवः न ते सत्त्वभावाः (यथा पात्रम्) । 10

(महेश्वरः) नित्यो विभुः सर्वशक्तिमांश्चेत्; सर्वत्र सर्वदा युगपद्
उत्पादयेत् सर्वान् धर्मान् । इच्छां प्रत्ययं वा अपेक्ष्य रचयति (इति)
चेत्, कारणैकत्वमतं जातु व्याहन्येत । अथवा इच्छा-प्रत्ययावपि युगपद्
उत्पद्येतां, कारणस्य (महेश्वरस्य) नित्यं विद्यमानत्वात् । 12

४. अन्ये समतीर्थिकाः

अन्ये मन्यन्ते—अस्ति एको महाब्रह्मा, कालः, दिक्, पूर्वकोटिः, स्वभावः, आकाशं, आत्मादिः (वा), नित्यो ध्रुवः सर्वशक्तिमान् सर्वधर्मात्पादकः । ते (ऽपि) सर्वे तद् (=माहेश्वरमतं) इव निरस्याः । 14

५. द्वौ शब्दवादौ

सन्ति एके विभुत्वग्राहिणः (सीमांस्काः)—नित्यो वेद-शब्दः शक्यो भवितुं धर्माणां विधायकः प्रकाशकः (चेति) । 15

अस्ति (वैयाकरणानां) मतं—नित्याः शब्दाः प्रत्ययापेक्षया अभिव्यज्य, उत्पद्य व्यक्तीभवन्ति । 16

उभयं अन्याय्यम् । कस्मात् ? वेदशब्दो व्यंग्योऽभ्युपेतः चेत्, व्यंग्यत्वात् न स्याद् नित्यो ध्रुवः, अन्यशब्दवत् । अन्ये शब्दा अपि न नित्या भवन्ति, शब्दस्वभावानां घटपटादिवत् अन्यप्रत्ययापेक्षत्वात् । 19

६. लोकायताः

अस्ति तीर्थिक-मतं—सद्भूता नित्याः पृथिव्य-ऽप-तेजो-वायु-परमाणवः सृजन्ति स्थूलं रूपम् । (तच्च) सृष्टं स्थूलं रूपं कारण-परिमाणाऽनधिकं, अनित्यमपि सद्भूतम् । 21

तदप्ययुक्तम् । कस्मात् ? 21—

क, परमाणवः—(१) सदिग्विभागा (=सच्छिद्राः =साकाशाः) अभ्युपेताश्चेत्, पिपीलिका-पंक्त्यादिवत् न स्युः सत्स्वभावाः; (२) विगत-दिग्विभागाश्चेत् चित्त-चैतवत् (मिथः) संयोगेन स्थूलकार्यरूपाणां न स्युः जनयितारः; (३) कार्याणां उत्पादयितारश्चेत् (इमेऽपि) तदुत्पन्न(कार्य)वत् (स्युः) । कथं (तर्हि) उच्येत—परमाणवो नित्या ध्रुवा (इति) । 24

ख. १. पुनश्च—न (चेत्) तदुत्पन्नं कार्यं कारणपरिमाणाधिकं, परमाणुवत् नाम न (स्यात्) स्थूलं रूपं; अथ न स्यादिदं कार्यं रूपं चन्द्रादिभौतिकेन्द्रियग्राह्यम् । तच्च स्वाऽभ्युपगमविरुद्धम् । 27

२. (वैशेषिकैः) कार्यं रूपं परिमाणगुणेन समवेतं अस्थूलं अपि स्थूलवत् भौतिकेन्द्रिय-ग्राह्यं उच्यते चेत्; 28 स्थूलं कार्य-रूपं कारण-

परिमाण-समत्वात्, न स्यात् स्थूल(ता)-गुण-समवेतं; परमाण-
वोऽपि वा स्थूल(ता)-गुण-समवेताः(स्युः), स्थूलकार्यरूपवत्,
अवकाशाऽभेदात् । 29

३. (वैशेषिकैः लोकायतैश्च) उच्येत चेत्—कार्यं रूपं तिष्ठति
कृत्स्नशः स्वकारणे स्थितं, कारणानेकत्वात् स्थूलं इति ।—तर्हि अस्य
कार्य-रूपस्य स्वभावो(ऽपि) स्याद् अनेकः, स्वाधिकरण(कारण)वत्,
कारणदेशानां मिथो भेदात् । कार्य(-रूपं) एवं (अनेकं) चेत्, नहि
भवेत् स्थूलं; अतो न भौतिकेन्द्रियग्राह्यम् । 3

४. नानाकार्यावयवाः संहताः स्थूलं (रूपं इति) उच्यते चेत्,
नाना परमाणवो(ऽपि) संहता न स्युः सूक्ष्माः, (तर्हि) (चक्षुरादि-)
इन्द्रिय-ग्राह्याः सम्पद्येरन् । (अथ) किं प्रयोजनं कार्यस्य (कल्पनया) ?
नानावयवसंपन्नाश्चेत् न स्युः सद्भूताः । अथ (एवं) युष्माकं मतं मिथः
पूर्वाऽपर-विरुद्धं (अपि भवति) । 6

५. पुनश्च, कार्यं कारणं च उभे सावरणे,—(अथ) न स्यातां
समानाधिकरणे, यथा परमाणुद्वयम् । 7

चेदुच्येत—अन्योऽन्यधारण-व्यापनं कार्य-कारणयोः स्वभावः,
यथा सिकता धारयति जलं, रसायनं व्याप्नोति द्रुतं ताम्रं (इति) ।—कः
श्रद्धते—सिकता ताम्रपिंडो (वा) धारयति जलं रसायनं (वेति) ।
व्याप्येन परिवर्त्यते (चेत्) न (स्याद्) एकं, न (च) नित्यम् । 9

६. स्थूलं—रूपकार्यं स्वभावत एकं अस्ति चेत्, एकभागो-
पलब्धिकाले सर्वं उपलब्धं स्यात्, तयोः (उपलब्धानुपलब्धभागयोः)
एकत्वात् । तस्माद् इदं (अपि) तद्वद् (एव) । अस्वीकारे न्यायविरोधः,
स्वीकारेऽथ वस्तुविरोधः । 12

तस्मात् तन्मतं परीक्षयाऽसिद्धं मिथ्याकल्पनाऽनुकल्पितम् । 13

९. सामान्येन निरासः ।

नानाविधा अपि तीर्थिकाः, तेषां (सर्वेषां) धर्मसद्भाव-दृष्टयः
न चतुराधिकाः । 14

१. प्रथमे मते—सद्भूता धर्माः सत्तादि-स्वभावाश्च । (अथ)
तेषां स्वभावा (अपि) समानाः स्युः, यथा सांख्यादीनाम् । 15 तन्मतं न

समंजसम् । कस्मान्न ?—सर्वे धर्माः समानाः सत्तास्वभावत्वात् ; यथा सर्वे सत्तास्वभावा अभिन्नाः । 16

अथ (स्वमत-)विरुद्धं, त्रयाणां गुणानां आत्मादीनां (च) स्वभावभेद(-स्वीकारात्) । लोकमपि विरुणद्धि, सर्वेषां धर्माणां भेद (-दर्शनात्) । पुनः, रूपादिस्वभावेषु रूपादयः समानाः चेद्, रूपादिषु न स्यात् नीलपीतभेदः । 18

२. द्वितीये मते—सद्भूता धर्माः सत्तादिस्वभावाः च, स्वभावे भिन्नाः; यथा वैशेषिकादीनाम् । 19—

तन्मतं न समंजसम् । कस्मान्न ? सर्वे धर्माः असत्तास्वभावाः, तस्मात् प्रध्वंसाभावस्वभाववद् अग्राह्याः । अथ द्रव्यादि-स्वभावान् अनभाववतो विरुध्यति; विरुध्यति च प्रत्यक्षं वस्तुसत्तादर्शिनं लोकं । यदि च (नीलपीत-)रूपादयो न सन्ति रूपादिस्वभावाः, (तर्हि) शब्दादिवत् न (स्युः) चक्षुरादिविषयाः । 23

३. तृतीये मते—सद्भूता धर्माः सत्तादिधर्मैः समाना भिन्नाश्चापि यथा निर्यन्थादीनाम् 24—

तन्मतं न समंजसम् । कस्मान्न ? 24—

(१) भिन्नाऽभिन्न(-मतेऽपि) पूर्ववत् (=सांख्य-वैशेषिक-मतवत् विज्ञेये,) भिन्नाऽभिन्नयोर्दोषभावात् । (२) अस्ति द्वयं लक्षणं (सुख-दुःखवत्) इतरेतर-विरुद्धस्वभावं, भिन्नत्वात् । (३) भिन्नाऽभिन्नस्वभावौ न एकस्मिन् ; उभयोरेकस्मिन् असिद्धत्वात् । 26

सर्वे धर्माः समाना एकस्वभावा वा भविष्यन्ति, (विरुद्धानां धर्माणां अपि समत्त्व=एकत्त्व-स्वीकारात्) । भिन्नाऽभिन्न(-मतं हि) कल्पना(मात्रं) न सद्भूतं; न्यायासिद्धं (अपि एतद्) सत्याभासं गृहीतम् 27

४. चतुर्थे मते—सद्भूता धर्माः सामान्यादिस्वभावाश्च “न भिन्ना न (च) अभिन्नाः” यथाऽऽजीविकादीनाम् 28—

तन्मतं न युक्तं ; कस्मान्न ?—(१) नाऽभिन्ननभिन्न-मतस्य भिन्नाऽभिन्नेत सादृश्यात् । (२) नाभिन्न-नभिन्न-कथनं (किं) अस्ति प्रतिषेधः स्वीकारो वा ? केवलं स्वीकारोऽस्ति चेत् 2,

न स्यात् द्विः प्रतिषेधः । केवलं प्रतिषेधः अस्ति चेद्, वाद् (=प्रतिज्ञा)-
भावः । स्वीकारोऽपि प्रतिषेधोऽपि (इति तु) इतरेतरविरुद्धः ।
न स्वीकारो न (अपि) प्रतिषेधः (चेत्), वितण्डावादो भवेत् । पुनश्च
“नाभिन्न-नभिन्न” (-वादः) लोक-विरुद्धः । सर्वे जानन्ति—सन्तीह भिन्ना-
न्यभिन्नानि वस्तूनि (यथा नोलं पीताद्विन्नं नीलादभिन्नम्) । रूपादयः
सद्भूता धर्माः सत्त्वं एव विद्यन्ते इति स्वमतविरुद्धं अपि । तस्मात्
तन्मतं केवलं दोषपरिहारे (ऽसफलप्रयत्नमात्रं) प्राज्ञजनैर्नाऽभिमतम् । 6

ख. अन्ययानिकाः

अन्य(=हीन)-यानिका मन्यन्ते—सन्ति विज्ञानात् (=चित्त-
चैतेभ्यः) पृथक् रूपादयः (=रूपं, विप्रयुक्ताः, असंस्कृताः) (इति तन्न-
न्याय्यम्) । कस्मात् ?—न विद्यन्ते तैरभिमतानि रूपाणि, विप्रयुक्ताः
संस्कृताः, असंस्कृताश्च, हेत्वभावात् । 8

१. रूपम् ।

ते हि मन्यन्ते—रूपं द्विधा भवति । (१) प्रथमं सप्रतिघं रूपं
परमाणुमयं (चक्षुरादीनि आद्यानि दश आयतनानि) ; (२)
द्वितीयं “अप्रतिघं” रूपं अपरमाणुमयं (धर्मायतनैकभागः, अभिधर्म-
कोश १।२९) ।—(भौतिकं अभौतिकं रूपम्) । 10

(१) सप्रतिघं रूपम् ।

तेषां, सप्रतिघं रूपं नहि सद्भूतं, आरंभकपरमाणूनां असद्भूत-
त्वात् । 11

१. आह—परमाणवः सावरणाः (=सपरिमाणाः) चेत्, घटा-
दिवत् स्युः मिथ्याः, न सद्भूताः । अनावरणाश्चेत्, अरूपकल्पाः कथं
संहृत्य आरभेरन् घटपटादीन् ? 13

२. चेत्, (सौत्रांतिकानां मते यथा परमाणवः) साकाशाः (=दि-
देशविभक्ताः) (अथ) संति विभाज्याः, तस्मात् न सद्भूताः । (सर्वास्तिवादिनां
इव) न साकाशा (=दिदेशाविभक्ताः) चेत् 14—

(क) कथं (ते) अरूपिणोऽपि संहताः प्रकाशं लभन्ते, उत्पाद-
यन्ति (च) छायाम् ? सूर्यस्योदये स्तम्भादि (संघातरूपं यदा) प्रकाशते, 15

तदा (तस्य) पूर्वपश्चिमभागयोः एकैको (भागो) विद्योतितोऽन्धकारितश्च दृश्यते । प्रकाशग्राहकं तमउत्पादकं (चेति द्वयं) स्थानं नहि (संभवति) समानं, तस्मात् परमाणवः साकाशा (= दिग्देशविभक्ताः) अभ्युपेयाः । 17

(ख) यदा च (वयं) कुड्यादीनि वस्तूनि पश्यामः स्पृशामो (वा), तदा केवलं अवरं पार्श्वं उपलभामहे, न (तु) परं पार्श्वम्; संहतं वस्तु, (तदारम्भक-) सर्व-परमाणु-तुल्यं (भवति) । तस्माद् इमे परमाणवः स्युः साकाशाः । 19

(ग) पुनश्च, परमाणुषु तस्मिन्निस्थानानुसारं हि भवन्ति ऊर्ध्वा-ऽधर- (पूर्व-दक्षिण-पश्चिमोत्तरेति-) चतुर्दिग्भेदाः, अन्यथा मिथः संहता न विद्योतिताः स्युः । 21

(प्राचीनसर्वास्तिवाद-मते*) (घ) (अन्योऽन्य-) व्याप्ता वा न स्युः स्थूलाः, तस्माद्वि परमाणवः साकाशाः । 22

(ङ) यदि मन्यते—परमाणुभिः तुल्यं सप्रतिघं रूपं अनाकाशं (= अदिग्देशविभक्तं) (अस्ति), (अथ) न स्यात् प्रतिघातविभक्तं (= सप्रतिघं); एवं चेत् न तर्हि सावरणं सप्रतिघं (वा) । 23

तस्माद् भवन्मते परमाणवः अवश्यं साकाशाः (= दिग्देशविभक्ताः); साकाशत्वात् विभाज्याः, (अथ) नूनं न सद्भूताः । 25

तस्मात् सप्रतिघं सद्भूतं रूपं असिद्धम् । 25

(२) विज्ञानस्य आश्रय आलम्बनं च

(चक्षुरादीनां) पञ्चानां विज्ञानानां किं न आश्रय (= रूपीणि इन्द्रियाणि), विषयो (= रूपिणो बाह्या अर्था) वा (इन्द्रियं अर्थश्चेति उभयं) संस्कृतं रूपम् ? 26

न जातु रूपस्याभाव (इति ब्रूमः), विज्ञानविपरिणामस्तु तद् । उच्यते—(अष्टमं) विज्ञानं उत्पादकाल आभ्यन्तरहेतु-प्रत्यय (= इन्द्रिय-बीजा-ऽर्थ-) बलेन विपरिणम्य, चक्षुराद्याकारेण (= निमित्तेन) 28 रूपाद्या-

* नव्यसर्वास्तिवादमतं आचार्यसंघभद्रस्य । प्राचीनं विभाषायाः ।

कारेण (=निमित्तेन वा) जायते; तत्र विपरिणामः (पंचानां विज्ञानानां भवति) आलम्बन-प्रत्ययः । 28

(क)—आश्रयः

चक्षुरादीन्द्रियं विज्ञानोत्पादन-क्रियाऽनुमेयं नतु प्रत्यक्षग्राह्यम्, न भवति सद्भूतं । इदं (इन्द्रियं) शक्ति-मात्रं, न बाह्य-(-भूत-)निर्मितं बाह्यं (वस्तु) । सप्रतिघं रूपं पूर्वोक्तहेतुभिरसिद्धं; तस्मात् सन्ति केवलं आभ्यन्तर-विज्ञान-परिणामतः प्रादुर्भूतानि=उत्पन्नानि चक्षु(विज्ञाना)दीनि (पंच) विज्ञानानि, चक्षुरादीनि (पंच) इन्द्रियाणि (इति) दश आश्रय-नानि । इमानि (चक्षुरादीनि इन्द्रियाणि) आलम्ब्य चक्षुर्विज्ञाना-दीनि उत्पद्यन्ते । 3

(ख) आलम्बनम्

चक्षुरादि-विज्ञान-बाह्य आलम्बनप्रत्ययः (अस्त्यीत्यत्र) नास्ति हेतुः, तस्माद्वि अभ्युपेयं—स्वस्वविज्ञान-परिणामः (=निमित्तभागः) अस्ति आलम्बनप्रत्यय (इति) । 5

(क) (आलम्बन-प्रत्यय-लक्षणम्)—(सम्मितीय-भिन्नाः सर्व एव होनयानिका) आहुः—युष्माकं मते च स्वाभासस्य विज्ञानस्य योऽसौ जनको भवति आलम्बन-प्रत्ययः, (स तु) न कारणत्वमात्रेण अपितु हेत्वादि-(-समनन्तरा-ऽधिपति -) प्रत्ययेभ्यः (भवति, यथा इन्द्रियस्य आलम्बन-प्रत्ययता) । 6

(ख) (सौत्रान्तिक-मतम्)—अपि नाम अयं हि विज्ञानस्य आलम्बनप्रत्ययः । (यदा) चक्षुरादीनि पंच विज्ञानानि रूपादीनि उपगृह्णन्ति, तदा संघातमात्रं आलम्बन्ते तदाकार-सादृश्यात् ; न (तु) संहताकारान् भिन्नान् सत्त्वभावान् परमाणून् इति—(तन्न), तस्य (संघातस्य) विभाग-काले तदाकार-विज्ञानस्यैव अनुत्पादात् । न चेद् एतेषां (परमाणूनां) संघाताकाराः सद्भूताः, अथ न वाच्यं—(संघाताः) सन्ति पंचानां विज्ञानानां (आलम्बन-प्रत्यय (इति) ; नहि (भवन्ति असद्भूता) द्वितीय-चन्द्रादयः निर्वर्तकाः पंचानां विज्ञानानाम् । 11

(ग) (सर्वास्तिवाद-मतम्) । (१) प्राचीनसर्वास्तिवाद

(=विभाषा)मते—परमाणवो मिथः संहतायां अवस्थायां पंचानां विज्ञानानां एकैकस्य आलम्बन(प्रत्यया) भवन्ति-(तन्न,) तस्मिन् विज्ञाने हि न (आभासते) परमाणवाकारः । न (च) परमाणवो भवन्ति संहताकाराः, असंहतकालेऽतदाकारत्वात् । संहतावस्थायां असंहतावस्थायां च नहि एतेषां परमाणूनां भिन्नाकारता भवति; तस्मात् संहतावस्थायां (अपि) असंहतकालवद् रूपादिपरमाणवो न पंचानां विज्ञानानां विषयाः (=आलम्बन-प्रत्ययाः) । 16

(२) केचित् (नव-सर्वास्तित्रादिनः संघमद्रपुरोगाः) मन्यन्ते—रूपादीनां एकैके परमाणवः असंहतकाले न पंचानां विज्ञानानां विषयाः; संहतावस्थायां (तु) अन्योन्यसाहाय्येन स्थूलाकारातामापन्नाः तेषां विज्ञानानां विषया भवन्ति । स (च स्थूला-) ऽऽकारः सद्भूतः, (तस्माद्) अस्ति आलम्बन (प्रत्यय इति) । 18—

तन्न एवं संतव्यं—(१) (उभयोः) संहताऽसंहतावस्थयोः (परमाणु-)स्वभावाकारयोरेकत्वात् । (२) (येषां) घट-कपालादिवस्तूनां परमाणवः समानाः; अथ तेषां आकारग्राहकं विज्ञानं अपि मिथोऽभिन्नं स्यात् । (३) संहतावस्थायां हि एकैके परमाणवो हास्यन्ति (स्वा-)ऽणुत्त्व-पारिमाण्डल्य-स्वभावम् । (४) स्थूलाकार-ग्राहकं विज्ञानं नहि (आलम्बेत्) सूक्ष्माकारं विषयं, अन्यालम्बनविज्ञानानां अन्यालम्बनाऽनुपग्रहात् ; (यथाहि शब्दालम्बनं श्रोत्रविज्ञानं नोपगृह्णाति रूपं आलम्बनम्) । (५) (इत) एकं विज्ञानं (युगपद्) आलम्बेत् सर्वान् विषयान् । 23

परमाणूनां सद्भावस्य स्वीकारे, इमेऽन्ये च दोषा आपतन्ति, अतो विज्ञानात् पृथक् न सद्भूताः परमाणवः । तस्माद् विज्ञेयं—रूपाद्याकारसदृशः स्व-विज्ञान-परिणाम आलम्बन-प्रत्ययो भवति । 25

(परमाणौ सिद्धान्तपक्षः) । मन्यते—तद् (=विज्ञानं) तदालम्ब्य उत्पन्नं हि तन्निमित्तं धत्ते । वस्तुतो विज्ञानं विपरिणामकाले महदणु-निमित्तानुसारं युगपद् एकाकारं उत्पद्यते; न (तु) अयुगपद् (परमाणु-रूपेण प्रथमं) विपरिणम्य, (ततः) नाना-परमाणु-संघातनिर्वर्तितं एकं (स्थूलं) वस्तु (जायते) । 27

ये हि मन्यन्ते—स्थूलं रूपं अस्ति सत्स्वभावं इत्यादि । (तान् प्रति) बुद्धेनोक्तं—संति परमाणवः (इति । तच्च) तान् विभज्य (स्थूलरूपस्यासद्भावतां प्रदर्शयितुम्) । न (च) उक्तं—रूपाणि संति सद्भूताः परमाणव (एवेति) । २७

योगाचार्यैः कल्पनाप्रज्ञाबलेन तत्र स्थूल-रूपाकारः क्रमशः (तावद्) विभज्यते, यावत् अविभाज्यं (जायते; तदेव) कल्पनया उच्यते परमाणुः (इति) । साकाशः सन्नपि अयं परमाणुरस्ति अविभाज्यः । भूयो विभजनेऽथायं आकाशवद् भासेत, न (च तद्) रूपं उच्येत । तस्मादुच्यते—परमाणुरस्ति रूपावधिः । ३

तस्माद् विज्ञेयं—सर्वं सप्रतिधं रूपं विज्ञानपरिणाम न (तु) परमाणु(-मयम्) । ४

(२) अप्रतिधं रूपम्

शेषं अप्रतिधं रूपं (अपि) तत् (=सप्रतिध)-रूप-सादृश्यात्, न सद्भूतं; अथवा अप्रतिधत्वात् चित्त-वैतवत् (इदं) रूपाकार-सदृशं अपि वस्तुतो न रूपम् । सप्रतिधं रूपं (अपि) उक्त-हेतुभिः परीक्षणे न तावद् विज्ञानात् पृथक् । अप्रतिधं रूपं (तु) न रूपाकारं दृश्यते; अथ (कथं) सद्भूतं उच्येत ? ८

(क) (सर्वास्तित्वादीनां मते—) रूप-धर्माः (सन्ति) द्विधा—विज्ञप्तिः, अविज्ञप्तिः (चेति) * । रूपं न सद्भूतं न (च) इमे सद्भूते । कस्मात् ? ९—

१. कायविज्ञप्ति-रूपं सद्भूतं अस्ति चेत् किंस्वभावं तर्हि ?—
(क) (सर्वास्तित्वादिनां) चेद् आहुः—अस्ति संस्थानं (इति); अथ न (तत्) सद्भूतं, विभाज्यत्वात् । दोषत्त्वादीनां परमाणौ अनभ्युपगमात् (न सम्भवति रूप-संस्थानम्) । ११

(ख) यच्च (सम्मितीयाः, वात्सीपुत्रीयाश्च) आहुः—(काय-

* विज्ञप्ति-रूपं हि द्विधा कायविज्ञप्तिः, वाग्विज्ञप्तिश्च; अविज्ञप्तिरूपं च काय-वाक्कर्मणी (अभिधर्मकोश . ४।१-३) ।

विज्ञप्ति-रूपं) अस्ति गतिः (इति) । तथापि न सद्भूतं, (यत्) सद्य उत्पद्य निरुध्यते (तद्) गत्यर्थे न हेतुः; संस्कृता धर्मा हि हेत्वनपेक्षाः निरुध्यन्ते । हेत्वपेक्षो निरोधश्चेत्, नहि स्यात् निरोधः । 13

(ग.) चेत् (दाष्टान्तिका*) आहुः—यद् रूपं वर्णविरहितं संस्थानविरहितं चित्तनिर्वृत्तं हस्तादीनां गतिकारकं च; (तद्) उच्यते कायविज्ञप्ति कर्म । 14

तदप्ययुक्तम् । गतिरस्ति चेत् (तद्) पूर्वं (-दत्त-) हेतुभिः प्रतिषिद्धम् । गतिहेतुरस्ति चेत् तुल्यं स्यात् वायुधातुना; वायुः (हि) न विज्ञापयति, (तस्मात्) न वक्तव्या विज्ञप्तिः । स्पष्टव्यं पुनः कुशलाऽकुशल-स्वभावयोरपरिगृहीतं (अतः) न (विज्ञप्तिकर्म) । वर्ण-गंध-रसादयो (ऽपि) स्पष्टव्यवद् विज्ञेयाः । 17

तस्मात् कायविज्ञप्ति कर्म नैव सद्भूतम् । 18

(ड) (सिद्धान्तपक्षः) । वस्तुतस्तु चित्तहेतुतया निरन्तरं गतिमदिव विज्ञान-विपरिणामं रूपं हस्ताद्याकारं उत्पद्यते निरुध्यते (च), अन्येषु स्थानेषु प्रवर्तमानं प्रचलत् विज्ञापयति चित्तं; तस्मात् उपचारतः कायविज्ञप्तिरुच्यते । 20

२. (वाग्विज्ञप्तिः) । वाग्विज्ञप्तिरपि न सद्भूत-स्वभावा नाम— (१) शब्दस्य एकस्मिन् क्षणेऽविज्ञापनात्; (२) अनेकक्षणसन्तानस्य असद्भावात्; (३) बाह्य-संप्रतिघरूपस्य पूर्वं प्रतिषिद्धत्वात् (च) । 22

वस्तुतस्तु, चित्तहेतुतया विज्ञान-परिणामः शब्दः सन्तन्यमान उत्पद्यते निरुध्यते; (स च) विज्ञप्तिवद् (भासते), वाग्विज्ञप्तिरुपचारत उच्यते; इत्ययं हेतुः अदोषः । 23

* युन्-च्चाङ्-अन्तेवासिनः “कु-इ-कि” पंडितस्य कथनेन बुद्ध-निर्वाणतः पश्चात् द्वितीय-शतके कुमारता प्रभृतयः पंच आचार्या नवशतशास्त्रप्रणेतारः, सूर्योदयस्येव पंचानां भारतानां विद्योतितारः, तेन लब्ध-सूर्योदयिकसंज्ञा अभूवन् । दृष्टान्तमाला शास्त्र-प्रणायकत्वात् त एव दाष्टान्तिका उच्यन्ते । सौत्रान्तिकानां त एव पूर्वगमा इति । (कैस्तव-चतुर्थ-शतके सौत्रान्तिक-वादोत्पत्त्या तु तेऽन्य एव सौत्रान्तिकाः स्युः) ।

३. (अविज्ञप्तिरूपम्) । विज्ञप्तेरसद्भूतत्वे कथं स्याद् अविज्ञप्तिः सद्भूता ? 24

वस्तुतस्तु, कुशलाकुशल-चेतना-प्रणिधिं (आश्रित्य) कालविशेषे उपचारतोऽअविज्ञप्तिरिति प्रसिद्धिः; इत्यत्र (न्याया)ऽविरोधः । 25

एतेनोच्यते—(१) विशेष-(=उत्तम)कायवाक्कर्मोत्पादकस्य कुशलाऽकुशलचेतनाबीजस्य उत्कर्षावस्थाया एषा संज्ञा । 26

(२) अथवा समाधिं उपादाय तत्र काय-वाग्-कुशल-कर्म-निरोधिका चेतना एवं संज्ञायते । 27

तस्माद् (अविज्ञप्तिः केवलं) प्रज्ञप्ति(=संवृति) -सद् (ननु परमार्थ सद्) । 27

४. (कर्मत्रयम्) । (ननु) भगवता सूत्रे उक्तं—“(सन्ति) इह त्रीणि कर्माणि” । तत्र (मानस-कर्म-मात्रं अभ्युपेत्य) काय-वाक्-कर्मणोः प्रत्याख्यानं किं न सूत्र-विरुद्धम् ? 28—

न किमपि प्रत्याख्यायते । नास्ति (काय-वाक्-कर्म) रूपं (इति) तूच्यते । (१) काय-भ्रामिका कायकर्मण उत्पादिका चेतना (काय-कर्मेति) उच्यते । (२) वाग्(-उत्पादिका) चेतना वाक्-कर्म नाम । (३) मनो हि, उपनिध्यानं सन्तीरणं (इति) द्विविधं चित्त-संप्रयुक्तं (कर्म) चोदयति, तस्माद् (तत्) मानसं कर्म उच्यते । 1

कायेन वागुत्पादिका सक्रिया चेतना कर्म नाम । (१) मार्गवद् उपनिध्यान-सन्तीरण-चेतनया (संकीर्ण)त्वात् । (२) सुख-दुःख-विपाक-फलोत्पादनाश्रयत्वाच्चापि मार्ग इत्युच्यते । 3

तस्मात् अन्यैस्त्रिभिरभिध्यादिभिरिव आद्याः सप्त कर्मपथा* अपि चेतना-स्वभावाः । 4

अथवा—काय-वाग्-विज्ञप्तो चेतनोत्पन्नत्वात् उपचारत कर्मेति उच्यते; चेतनयाऽऽक्रान्तत्वात् कर्मपथः (च) । 5

तस्माद् विज्ञेयं—नास्ति बाह्यं रूपं आभ्यन्तरं विज्ञानं एव विपरिणम्य रूपाकारं जायते । 6

* प्राणातिपातादयः त्रयः कायिकाः, मृषावादादयः चत्वारो वाचिकाः ।

२. विप्रयुक्ताः संस्काराः

(चित्त-) विप्रयुक्ताः संस्कारा अपि न सङ्गताः ? कस्मात् ?—
प्राप्त्यप्राप्त्यादयो (विप्रयुक्ताः) रूप-चित्त-चैतैरिव न स्वरूपतः उपल-
भ्यन्ते; न (च) रूप-चित्त-चैतानां कारित्राद् भिन्नं (रूपं) उपलभ्यते ।
तस्माद् विज्ञेयं—(इमे) नैव सङ्गताः; किंतु रूपाद्यवस्थां उपादाय
विकल्पयन्त (इति) । 10

१. एवं इमे (= विप्रयुक्ताः) न रूप-चित्त-चैतैर्भ्यो भिन्नाः सत्त्व-
भावकारित्राः, रूप-चित्तादीनामिव स्कंध-परिगृहीतत्वात् । 11

२. अथवा रूपा-चित्त-चैत्ता-ऽसंस्कृतेषु अपरिगृहीतत्वाद् अत्य-
न्ताभाववत्, नैव सङ्गताः । 12

(१) प्राप्तिः, अप्राप्तिः ।

अथवा (यथा सर्वास्तिवादिनां मते) शेषाः (रूप-चित्त-चैत-
भिन्नाः) धर्मा अपरिगृहीतत्वात् शेषैः कल्पितैः धर्मैरिव न सत्त्वभावाः । 13

(अथ) कथं तैर्ज्ञायते—प्राप्त्यप्राप्ती रूप-चित्त-चैतैर्भ्यो भिन्ने
सत्त्वभावकारित्रे ? 14—

सूत्रवचनान् । तथाहि उच्यते—“एवं पुद्गलः कुशलाकुशलधर्म-
समन्वागतः । आर्या दशा-ऽशौक्षधर्मसमन्वागताः” । अपि चोक्तं—“पृथ-
ग्जनो न समन्वागत आर्यधर्मैः, अर्हन् न समन्वागतः क्लेशैः ।” (इह)
समन्वागमा-ऽसमन्वागमौ सूचयतः प्राप्त्यप्राप्ती । 18

सूत्रे नोक्तं—इमे (= प्राप्त्यप्राप्ती) रूप-चित्तादिभ्यो भिन्ने सङ्गूत-
स्वभाव-कारित्रे । साध्यं (इदं) न (तु) सिद्धम् । 19

(क)—अपि (च) (सूत्र) उक्तं—“राजा चक्र(वर्ती)
सप्तभिः* रत्नैः समन्वागतः” । कथमथ परेषां परिणायकादीनां कायैः,
चक्रादिभिः अचित्तकैः (च) समन्वागतः (इति) ? चेदुच्येत—रत्नेषु
अस्ति वशिता (सैव) उपचारतः कुशलाऽकुशलधर्मैः समन्वागम
(इति) उच्यते । 20

* चक्र-इत्य-ऽश्व-मुक्ता-परिणायक-गृहपति-स्त्रीरत्वानीति सप्त ।

कथं नैवं (प्राप्तिविषयेऽपि) अभ्युपगम्यते ? (कस्मात्) सद्भूता प्राप्तिः गृह्यते ? चेदुच्येत—सप्त रत्नानि तत्र विद्यमानानि; तस्माद् उपचारत उच्यते समन्वागमः । कथं ज्ञायते—(यैः) कुशलाऽकुशलादिधर्मैः समन्वागतः, (ते) वर्तमानात् पृथक् विद्यन्ते; नहि वर्तमानात् पृथग् सद्भूतेषु धर्मेषु हेतु-सद्भावः ? 23

(अतीते प्रत्युत्पन्ने वा विद्यमाना धर्माः) कुशलादिवीजैः (संयुक्ता) भवन्ति, (विद्यमान) त्वात् । 23

(ख), पुनश्च—प्राप्तिः कतमेन विशेषकारित्रेण धर्मेण सहिता अस्ति ?

(सर्वास्तिवादिभिः) चेदुच्येत—(प्राप्तिरस्ति) उत्पादिका ।—अथ (१) उत्पादयेद् (अनुत्पन्नान्) असंस्कृतान्; (२) (अप्राप्तिमत्त्वात्) सर्वेऽचित्तकाः सर्वदा न प्रादुर्भवेयुः (३) (येषां प्राप्तिः) अप्राप्ता विनष्टा (वा ते धर्माः) न कदापि उत्पद्येरन् । 26

सहजा प्राप्तिः उत्पादक-हेतुरस्तीति मन्यते चेत्, जातिद्वयं (“जातिः, जातिजातिः” अभिधर्मकोशे २।४६) अथ भवेत् निष्प्रयोजनम् । 26

पुनश्च—अस्ति (प्राप्तिः कुत्रचित् पुद्गले) कुशला, अकुशला-अव्याकृता (वेति चेत्); (तर्हि तेषां सर्वेषां) कुशलाऽकुशलाऽव्याकृतानां (धर्माणां) स्याद् युगपद् सम्मुखीभावः ? प्राप्तिः (अस्ति) अन्यहेतु-सापेक्षा (इति) चेत्, तर्हि निष्प्रयोजना (एषा) ।

(नव्यसर्वास्तिवादिभिः उच्येत—) प्राप्तिः सत्त्वानां धर्माग्रहाणे हेतुः, सत्त्वाः तद् (-बलात्) (धर्मैः) समन्वागता अविनाभूताः ।—(इति चेत्) प्रत्युच्यते—सर्वेस्ते समन्वागताः स्युः धर्मेरविनाभूताः । विनाभूताः चेत् न स्युः समन्वागम्याः । अथोभयथा (उत्पादक-पालकतया) धर्माणां प्राप्तिः स्यात् निष्प्रयोजना । 1

(ग), प्राप्तेरसद्भावात् अप्राप्तेरपि अभावः । 2

२. सिद्धान्तपक्षः—वस्तुतस्तु, समन्वागम्यानां धर्माणां (नाना अवस्थाः समपेक्ष्य, उपचारतः सिध्यन्ति त्रिविधाः समन्वागमाः 3—प्रथमो बीजसमन्वागमः, द्वितीयो वशित्वसमन्वागमः, तृतीयः समुदाचार-समन्वागमः । 4

तद्व्यतिरेकेण उपचारतः सिध्यति असमन्वागमो नाम । अस्य भेदा अनेके, अथापि त्रिषु धातुषु दृष्टिच्छेद्यानां (क्लेश-)बीजानां नात्यन्त-च्छिन्नाऽवस्था अपेक्ष्य उचारतः सिध्यति अप्राप्तिः । (अप्राप्तिः) नाम पृथग्जनत्वं; तत्र सर्वेषामार्यधर्माणां असमन्वागमात् । 6

(२) सभागता

१. पुनश्च कथं ज्ञायते रूप-चित्तादिभिन्नाऽस्ति सद्भूता सभागता ? 7—

(सर्वास्तिवादिनः)—सूत्रोक्तत्वात् । तथाहि सूत्र-वचनं—“एवं देव-सभागतां (गच्छति) एवं मनुष्य-सभागतां” इत्यादि विस्तरेणोक्तम् 8—(प्रतिवचनं)—अस्मिन् सूत्रे रूप-चित्तादिभ्यो भिन्नाऽस्ति सद्भूता सभागता (इति) नोक्तम् । (तद्धि) साध्यं न सिद्धम् । 9

२. (सर्वास्तिवादिनः)—(साऽस्ति) सामान्यबुद्धि-प्रज्ञप्त्योर्हेतुः, एतदुत्पन्नत्वात्, (तस्मात्) ज्ञायते सद्भूता (इति) चेत् 10—

(प्रतिवचनं)—अथ स्थूलवृक्षादीनां (अपि) भवेत् सभागता, (कथं युष्माभिः सचित्तकानां सत्त्वानां एव सभागता स्वोक्रियते) ? 11

पुनश्च—सभागतायां उत्पन्ना सामान्यबुद्धि-प्रज्ञप्ती स्तः सभागता, अथ स्यात् (सभागतायामपि) सभागता । तच्चेत् नैवं, कथमिदं तथा ? 12

३. (नव्यसर्वास्तिवादिभिः)—चेदुच्येत—(सभागता) अस्ति (समानाजीव-समानच्छन्दयोः) उत्पत्तिहेतुः । (दृश्यंते हि) समानाजीवा (मनुष्याः), (समान-छन्दाः (च देवाः), (तस्मात्) ज्ञायते सद्भूता सा 13 ।—

(प्रतिवचनं)—(अयं) अपि न हेतुः; पूर्वजन्महेतुतः समानौ आजीवच्छन्दौ उत्पद्येते । किं प्रयोजनं भिन्नायाः सद्भूतायाः सभागतायाः ग्रहणे ? 14

वस्तुतस्तु, सत्त्वानां काय-चित्त-सादृश्याऽवस्थाभेदान् अपेक्ष्य उपचारतः सभागता सिध्यति । 15

(३) जीवितेन्द्रियम्

पुनश्चेदानीं (सर्वास्तिवादिनो) मन्यन्ते—रूप-चित्तादिभ्यो भिन्नं

अस्ति सद्भूतं जीवितेन्द्रियं, सूत्रोक्तत्वात् । तथाहि सूत्र उक्तं—“आयुः, उष्मा, विज्ञानं (इति) त्रीणि जानीथ ।” (अत्र) आयुर्नाम जीवितेन्द्रियम् । 17—

१. (प्रतिवचनं)—अत्र सूत्रे नोक्तं—रूपचित्तादिभ्यो भिन्नोऽस्ति सद्भूत आयुस्त्वभावः । साध्योऽसौ, न (तु) सिद्धः । 18

पूर्वं साधितं च (अस्माभिः)—रूपं न विज्ञानात् पृथक् । इदं (आयुः) विज्ञानात् पृथक् अस्ति (चेत्) न (स्यात्), जीवितेन्द्रियम् । यदि च जीवितेन्द्रियं विज्ञानात् पृथक् सद्भूतं, अथ जीवितेन्द्रियं वेदनादिवत् न सद्भूतम् । 20

२. (क) एवं चेत् कथं सूत्र उक्ताः त्रयोधर्माः (-आयुः, उष्मा, विज्ञानं) ? 21—

(एक एव विज्ञानधर्मः) आकारभेदेन त्रिधा उक्तः, यथा चत्वारि सम्यक्-प्रधानानि (एकस्य वीर्यस्य आकारभेदाः) । 22

(ख). (एवं चेत्) अचित्तकावस्थायां (आसंज्ञिकसमापत्तौ, चित्तविरहात्) आयुः उष्मा (च) न स्याताम् । किं नोक्तं सूत्रे—“विज्ञानं न जहाति कायं” (इति) । एवं चेत् कथं नाम अचित्तकावस्था ? 23—

तत्र निरुध्यते प्रवृत्ति-विज्ञानं न तु आलय- (विज्ञानम्) । अस्ति इदं विज्ञानं (इति) हेतुं परस्तात् विस्तरेण वक्ष्यामः । 24

३. (क). इदं (आलय-) विज्ञानं अस्ति धातु-गति-योनि-स्वभावं, सर्वत्र सर्वदा सन्तन्यमानत्वात्, विपाकफलत्वात् (च) । (तस्मात्) सद्भूतस्य जीवितेन्द्रियस्य पृथग् ग्रहणं नापेक्षितम् । 26

(ख). वस्तुतस्तु, एतद्- (आलय-) विज्ञानोत्पादितं बीजं (आलम्ब्य) (अतीत-) कर्मणोत्पादितः नाना शक्ति-विशेषः स्थितिकाले उपचारतो जीवितेन्द्रियं उच्यते । 27

(४) अचित्तकसमापत्तिः, आसंज्ञिकसमापत्तिः । 28

पुनश्च, (सर्वास्तिवादिभिः) कथं ज्ञायते—द्वे अचित्तकसमापत्ती (= असंज्ञिसमापत्तिः, संज्ञावेदित-निरोधसमापत्तिश्च) असंज्ञि-विपाके रूप-चित्तादिभ्यः पृथक् सत्त्वभावे । 29

न चेत् सद्भूते सत्त्वभावे, (अथ) न स्यातां काये चित्त-चैत-
धर्माणां अनुभूततोत्पादने प्रतिबंधिके ? 1—

(प्रतिबन्धनं)—अचित्तकावस्थः पृथक् सद्भूतो धर्मः । 1
रूपचित्तादिभ्यो भिन्नः चित्त-प्रतिबंधकः (धर्मः) अचित्तक-समापत्तिर्नाम । 2

(क) (एवं तर्हि) स्याद् आरूप्यकाले पृथक् सद्भूतो धर्मः,
रूप-चित्तादिभ्यो भिन्नो रूप-प्रतिबंधकः आरूप्यसमापत्तिर्नाम । तच्चे-
न्नैवं कथं इदं तथा ? 3

कस्मात् पुनः चित्तप्रतिबंधकः सद्भूतो धर्माऽपेक्ष्यते ? प्राकारवद्,
औपचारिकोऽपि (धर्मः) प्रतिबंधकः स्यात् । 4

(ख) (१) (अत्र) वदामः—ध्यानाऽभ्यासकाले प्रायोगिक-
ध्याने चित्त- (वेदनादि-) चैतानां स्थूल-चलभावात् तेषां विदूषणया
(=जुगुप्सया) उत्पादयति प्रणिधानं, तावत्कालं प्रतिबद्धं चित्त-चैतान्;
(तच्च) निर्वर्तयति (च) चित्त-चैतान् क्रमशः सूक्ष्मात् सूक्ष्मतरान्
(=अण्वणून्) । अण्वणू-चित्तकाले वास्यते विपाक*-विज्ञानं, निर्वर्त्य-
अधिमात्रतमं विदूषणा-चित्तादि-बीजम् । एतस्मात् प्रतिबंधकचित्त-
बीजात् स्थूलानि चलानि चित्तादीनि तावत्कालं अकर्मिणानि
(जायन्ते) । एतां अवस्थां अपेक्ष्य (उपचारतः) समापत्तिद्वय-सिद्धिः ।
एतद्बीजं कुशलं, तस्मात् समापत्तिरपि कुशला नाम । 9

२. आसंज्ञिकसमापत्त्यारम्भे आसंज्ञिक-फलेऽप्यस्य तद्वासना-
बीजभावितात् तद्विपाक-विज्ञानं लभते । ध्यान-बलात् स्थूलानि चलानि
चित्तादीनि न प्रवर्तन्ते तस्यां अवस्थायाम् । तत् उपचारतः सिध्यति
आसंज्ञिक- (समापत्तिः) । विपाकवशात् (जाता चैषा) विपाकनाम्ना
प्रसिद्धिं लभते । 12

तस्माद् इमे त्रयो धर्माः (=समापत्तिद्वयं, आसंज्ञिकफलं च)
अपि न सद्भूताः । 13

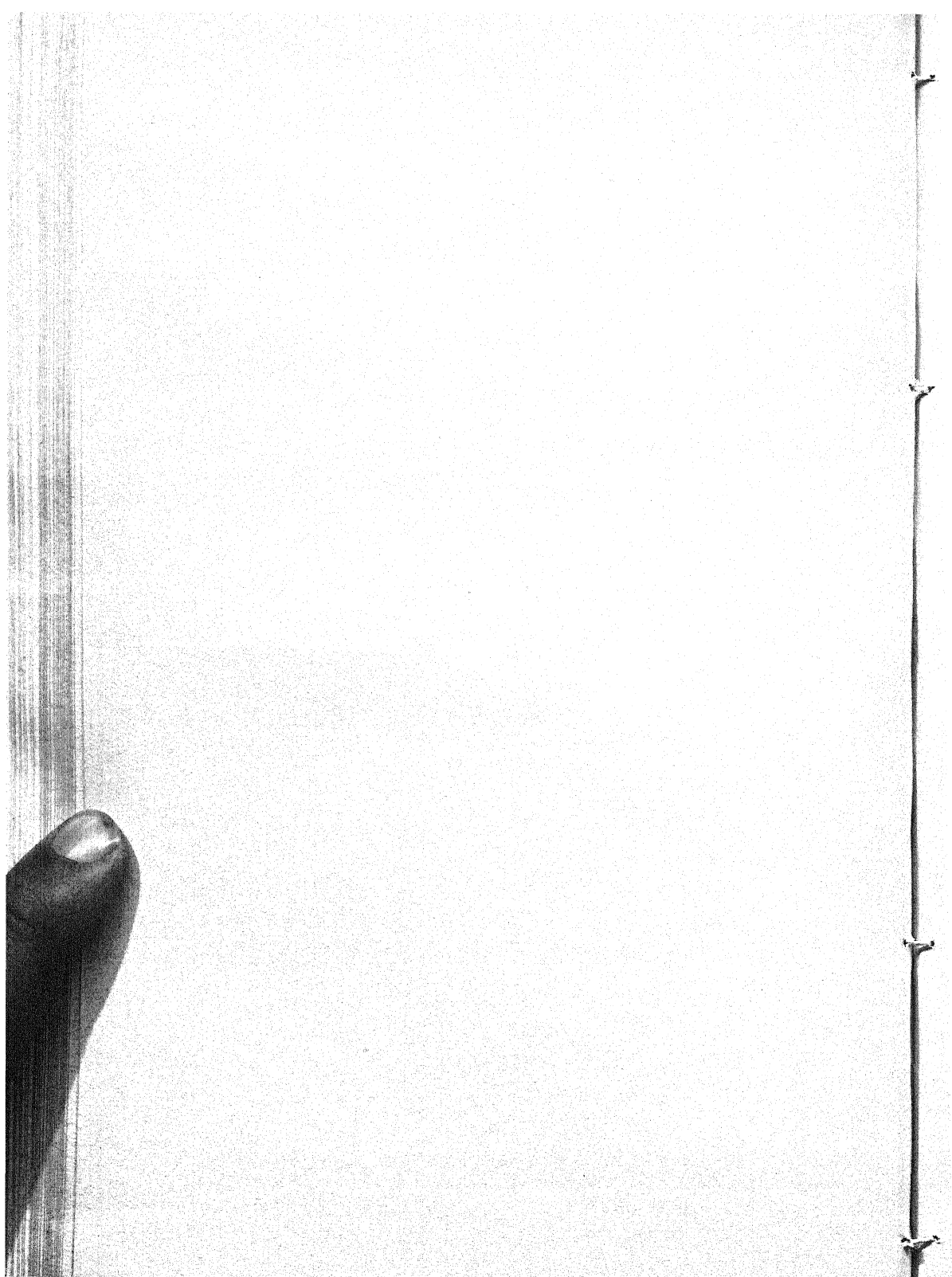
(इति) विज्ञप्तिमात्रतासिद्धिशास्त्रे प्रथमः खंडः ।

* अष्टमं आलयविज्ञानम् ।

(अथ) धर्मपालादिबोधिसत्त्वैः कृते, अधिगत(राजा-)ऽऽज्ञेन
त्रिषिटकधर्माचार्येण युन-च्चेङ्ग (च) अनूदिते

विज्ञप्तिमात्रतासिद्धि-शास्त्रे

द्वितीयः खंडः ।



(५) संस्कृतलक्षणानि

पुनश्च, कथं ज्ञायते—सर्वाणि संस्कृतलक्षणानि रूप-चित्तादिभ्यो भिन्नानि सन्ति सत्स्वभावानि ?—सूत्र-वचनात् । तथाहि सूत्रवचने—
“सन्ति संस्कृतानां त्रीणि संस्कृत-लक्षणानि” इति विस्तरेण कथनम् । 20

अत्र सूत्रे नोच्यते—रूप-चित्तादिभ्यो भिन्नं अस्ति (संस्कृत-लक्षणं) सत्स्वभावम् । साध्यं (तद्) न सिद्धम् । 21

क. (१) न (च) षष्ठो विभक्तिः दर्शयति भिन्नस्वभावतां (संस्कृतलक्षणयोः), रूपचित्त-स्वभावो (हि) रूप-चित्तादिभिः तुल्यः । 22

(२) न लक्षणस्य स्वभावो लक्ष्याद् भिन्नः, न हि खरत्त्वा-दयः पृथिव्यादिभ्यो भिन्नाः । 23

(३) संस्कृतस्य लक्षणं लक्ष्य-स्वभावाद्भिन्नं चेत्, असंस्कृत-लक्षणस्वभावो (ऽपि) लक्ष्याद् भिन्नः स्यात् । 24

(४) पुनश्च, जात्यादीनां लक्षणं स्वभावेन (सह) युगपद् तिष्ठति चेत्, (तर्हि) सर्वदा युगपद् जायेत (तेषां) कारित्रम् । (क) यदि (जाति-स्थित्यादिलक्षणानां) (परस्पर-) विरोधात् कारित्रं न युगपद् उत्पद्येत; स्वभावोऽपि विरुद्धः, कथं (तर्हि तस्य) सहभावः ? (ख) स्थिति-(लक्षणं) निरोधाद् भिन्नं, (तस्मात्) न स्याद् युगपद् । 26

(५) (जात्यादि-) लक्षण-(संस्कृतधर्मादि) लक्ष्ययोः स्वभावाः सर्वदा सह भवन्ति, (अतः) कारित्रमपि स्यादेवं (इति चेत्); न, भिन्नस्वभावत्वात् । चेदुच्येत—तेषां कारित्रं हेतु-प्रत्ययाऽपेक्षं (अथ) (हेतुप्रत्यया हि न सर्वदा भवन्ति, तस्मात्) हेतुप्रत्ययापेक्षं (कारित्रमपि) न स्यात् सर्वदा । 2

(६). अथ जात्यादीनां स्वोकारश्च निष्प्रयोजनः । लक्ष्यं (=संस्कृतं) सर्वदा जात्यादिमद् भवति (चेत्), असंस्कृता धर्मा अपि

जात्यादिमन्तः स्युः; तत्रास्य भेदहेतोरनुपलम्भात् । 4

(७) (क). अतीतानागताध्वनोर्न निश्चयं सद्भावः (तस्माद्) अनिश्चयौ; खपुष्पवत् न द्रव्यसत्स्वभावौ स्याताम् । (ख). जातिर्नाम सत्ता, कथं (सा स्यात्) अनागते ? निरोधो नाम असत्ता, कथं स्यात् वर्तमाने । निरोधश्चेत् न असत्ता, जातिः (=जन्म अपि) न भवेद् सत्ता, (जातिनिरोधयोः परस्परविरोधात्) । निरोधः पुनः स्थितेर्विरोधी (अथ) कथं स्यात् (स्थित्या) तुल्यकालम् ? स्थितिर्न जातेः विरुद्धा (अथ) कथं न (ते) स्यातां तुल्यकाले ? 7

तस्मात् तेषां मतं वितथं विगतहेतुकम् । 8

(ख). (सिद्धान्तपक्षः) । वस्तुतस्तु, संस्कृता धर्मा हेतुप्रत्ययबलात् प्रागभूत्त्वेदानीं भवन्ति, क्षणं स्थित्वा अभावं उपगच्छन्ति । असंस्कृतात् (एतेषां) भेदं प्रदर्शयितुं उपचारतः (चतुर्विध-) लक्षण-कल्पना । 10

(१) (वस्तु) प्रागभूत्त्वा इदानीं भवति, (इतीयं भावा-) ऽवस्था जातिर्नाम । जातस्य क्षणं स्थितिः, (इयमेव) स्थितिरथोच्यते स्थितिरिति । स्थित्वा (क्षणं) पूर्वतोऽन्यथा भवति, अयं पुनरुच्यतेऽन्यथाभावो नाम । (सोऽपि) भूक्षणं त्वाऽभावं उपगच्छति, (इत्ययं) निरोधो नाम । 12

आद्याः त्रयः (=जाति-स्थिति-जरेति) सत्ता, तस्मात् ताः प्रत्युत्पन्न (-कालोनाः) ; अन्त्या एका (=निरोधः) असत्ता, तस्मात् अतीत- (-कालीना) । 13

(२) . कथं (निरोधो) ऽभावधर्मो (ऽपि) स्यात् (विद्य-मानस्य) संस्कृतस्य लक्षणम् ? (वस्तुनो) ऽनागताभावदर्शने (ऽपि तत्) लक्षणं स्याद् (इत्यत्र) को दोषः ? जातिः दर्शयति—धर्मा वर्तमाने (सन्ति), अतीते नाऽभूवन् । निरोधो दर्शयति—धर्मा वर्तमाने (संति) अनागते न भविष्यन्ति । जरा (=अन्यथाभावः) दर्शयति—इमे धर्मा न स्थायुकाः । स्थितिः दर्शयति—इमे धर्माः क्षणं सक्रियाः । तस्मात् चत्वारि लक्षणानि संस्कृत-धर्माणां संज्ञापकानि व्यञ्जकान्यपि, (तेषां) व्यञ्जने तु अस्ति भेदः । 16

(३) . इमानि चत्वारि लक्षणानि क्षणिकानि उपचार-कल्पितानि ।

एककालस्थितिकान्यपि उपचारतः सिद्धानि । आद्या स्थितिः जातिर्नाम ।
अनागतेऽभावो निरोधोऽनाम । उत्पद्य सभागसंततिः स्थितिर्नाम । तस्याः
संततेः अन्यथाऽभावो जरा नाम । 19

तस्मात् चत्वारि लक्षणानि संति उपचार-कल्पितानि । 19

(६) नाम-पद-व्यंजनानि ।

कथं (सर्वास्तिवादिभिः) ज्ञायते— नाम-पद-व्यंजनानि रूप-
चित्त-चैतेभ्यो भिन्नानि संति सद्भूतानि व्यंजकानि ?—सूत्रवचनात् ।
तथा हि सूत्र उच्यते—“बुद्धो (भूत्वा) लभतेऽद्भुतं नाम-पद-व्यंजन
(-कायम्) ।” 20

(प्रतिवचनं)—अस्मिन् सूत्रे नोच्यते—रूप-चित्तादिभ्यो भिन्नं
सद्भूतं नामादि । साध्यं (तद्) न सिद्धम् । 22

(क). (१). यदि नाम-पद-व्यंजनानि शब्दाद् भिन्नानि सद्भू-
तानि; (तर्हि) न स्युः वस्तुतो व्यंजकानि, यथा रूपादि । 23

(२) (सर्वास्तिवादिनः) आहुः—शब्दा नाम-पद-व्यंजनानां
जनकाः । येषां शब्दानां अस्ति स्वराकुंचनं (स्वर-निमित्तं); तेऽलं
व्यंजयितुं (अथ) किं प्रयोजनं नामादीनाम् ? 25

(३) (सर्वास्तिवादिनः) चेद् आहुः—शब्देषु स्थितं स्वरा-
कुंचनं (=क-ख-गादिस्फुटवर्णव्यक्तिः) नाम-पद-व्यंजनैस्तुल्यं, (तच्च)
शब्द(यितनाद्) भिन्नं सद्भूतम् । 26—

द्रष्टव्ये (ऽपि तर्हि) रूपे आकृत्याकुंचनं स्यात् पृथक् सत्त्वभावं
रूपायतनाद् भिन्नम् । 27

(४). चेदाहुः—शब्दगतं स्वराकुंचनं वीणावाद्यशब्दवत् न व्यंज-
कम् ।—इदमपि स्यात् तद्वत्, न (च) पृथग् जनयेत् नामादि । 28

(५). ते चाहुः—तेनैव व्यंजकाः शब्दाः, अथ वात-घण्टादिशब्दा
अपि व्यंजकाः स्युः । व्यंजनोपयोगाय इदं स्यात्, यस्मादसौ (वायुशब्दः)
न पृथक् उत्पादयति सद्भूतं नाम-पदव्यंजनं चेत्, (अथ) वाक्छब्द
एव नामादीनां उत्पादकः कथं नेष्यते ? 2

(६) (आहुः)—केवलं वागेव व्यंजिका कस्मात् हेतोः विज्ञेया ?—
व्यंजकः तुल्यो वाचा । कथं ज्ञायते वाग्भिन्नं पृथग्भूतं व्यंजकम् ?—वाचो

न भिन्नं व्यञ्जकं (इति तु सर्वे) देव-मनुष्या जानन्ति; वाचो भिन्नो व्यञ्जकं (इति तु) देवानाम्प्रिया (=मूर्खा) मन्यन्ते नाऽन्ये । 4

(ख) (सिद्धान्तपक्षः), (१) वस्तुतस्तु वाक्छब्दानां उपचारतः कल्पिता नानाऽवस्था नाम-पद-व्यञ्जनानि । नाम व्यनक्ति (वस्तु-) स्वभावं; पदं व्यनक्ति (कालादि)विशेषं; व्यञ्जनं अक्षरं वा भवति अभयोरश्रयः । 6

(२). इमानि त्रीणि शब्दात्पृथगपि न भिन्न-स्वभावानि । (शब्दः यदपि सत्स्वभावः, नामादीनि तु संवृतिसदिति नामादीनि) भिन्नानि अपि न तुल्यानि भवन्ति शब्देन । 7

(३). एतस्माद् (हेतोः अस्माकं मते) धर्म-प्रतिभानसंविदोः न विरोधः । प्रतिसंविदोरालंबने (हि) भवतो भिन्नौ । (प्रथमाया आलंबनं सद्भूतं, द्वितीयायाः कल्पितम्) । 8

शब्दो नामादीनि (च) स्कन्धा-ऽऽयतन-धातुषु परिगृहीतान्यपि परस्परं भिन्नानि भवन्ति । 9

(४). किंच इदं (बुद्ध-)क्षेत्रं उपादाय उच्यते—नाम-पद-व्यञ्जनानि उपचारकल्पितं शब्दं आश्रयन्ते; न (च) उच्यते सर्वत्र (इति) । अन्येषु बुद्धक्षेत्रेषु तु प्रभा-सुगंध-रस-(स्पर्शव्यानि) हि आश्रयन्ते औपचारिकानि त्रीणि (नाम-पद-व्यञ्जनानि) । 11

(७) अनुशयाः ।

केचित् (महासांघिक-महीशासकादयः) मन्यन्ते—अनुशयाः चित्त-चैत्तेभ्यो भिन्नाः, विप्रयुक्तसंस्कारस्कन्धे न परिगृहीताः ।—तच्च न न्याय्यं, (तेषां) रागादिनामत्वात्, यथा वर्तमाना रागादयो न विप्रयुक्ताः । 13

(केचित्) मन्यन्ते—संति भिन्ना अन्ये विप्रयुक्ताः; संस्कृत-(निरसन) उपयुक्ताभिर्युक्तिभिः ते प्रत्याख्येयाः । 14

३. असंस्कृताः ।

असंस्कृता धर्मा रूप-चित्तादिभ्यो भिन्नाः सद्भूताः खलु (इत्यत्र) हेतुर्नोपलभ्यते । 15

(१) सामान्यतः प्रत्याख्यानम्—

किंच खलु धर्माः समासतो भवन्ति त्रिविधाः (क)।—१. प्रत्यक्ष-
ग्राह्या धर्माः, यथा रूप-चित्तादयः । (ख) २. प्रत्यक्षत उप-
भोग्या धर्माः, यथा घटपटादयः । एतान् द्विविधान् धर्मान् सर्वो
(ऽपि) लोको जानाति, (तस्मात्) न भवति हेत्वपेक्षा साधने ।
(ग) ३. धर्माः भवन्ति कारित्रेण* (ज्ञेयाः), यथा चक्षुः श्रोत्रा-
दीनां स्वस्व(=एकैक)-कारित्रेणाऽनुमीयते सत्ताज्ञानम् । असंस्कृताः
सन्ति (इति) न लोकाः सर्वे जानन्ति; न च (तेषां) चक्षुःश्रोत्रादीना-
मिव कारित्रम् । सकारित्रस्वीकारे न भवेयुः निश्चयाः । तस्मात्
न मन्तव्यं—असंस्कृताः सद्भूता (इति) । वस्तुतस्तु ज्ञेयस्वभावत्वात्,
रूप-चित्तादि-व्यज्य-स्वभावत्वाद्वा, रूप-चित्तादिवत् न मन्तव्यं—रूप-
चित्तादिभिन्नाः सत्त्वभावा असंस्कृता (इति) । २३

(२) आकाशादि-प्रत्याख्यानम्—

१. अथ आकाशं अस्ति एकं अनेकं वा ? यदि आकाशं स्वभाव-
तोऽस्त्येकं रूपादिधर्माधिकरणत्वात् सर्वत्रगं; (अथ) आधेयधर्म-
स्वभावानुसारं भवेदनेकं एकाधिकृतस्थानस्याऽन्याऽनधिकृतत्वात् । नैवं
धर्मा भवन्ति अन्योन्यव्यापकाः । चेदाह—आकाशं नास्ति धर्मैराहितं;—
(तर्हि) अन्यैरसंस्कृतैरिव न स्यादधिकरणम् । २७

पुनश्च, रूपादिषु अस्ति आकाशं न वा ? अस्ति चेत् स्यात्
संकरः (=नैकत्वं); नास्ति चेत् (आकाशं) न स्यात् सर्वत्रगम् । २८

२. (प्रतिसंख्यानिरोधस्य † एकत्वं) एकभागैकवर्ग-
संयोजन-धर्माणां छेदनकाले लभ्येतान्येषां भागानां अन्येषां २९
वर्गाणां प्रतिसंख्यानिरोधः । ७४ P.

३. (अप्रतिसंख्यानिरोधस्य एकत्वेऽपि तथा-) । एकस्य धर्मस्य
हेत्वभावात् अनुत्पादकत्वं (=अप्रतिसंख्यानिरोध)-लाभकाले, स्यात्
सर्वेषां अप्रतिसंख्यानिरोधलाभः । (यदि) अस्य (अप्रतिसंख्या-
निरोधस्य) स्वभावैकत्वं मतं, तर्हि स्यादेवं हेतुः । १

* व्यापारेण, क्रियया । † अभिधर्मकोशे १।५, ६; २।३६ ।

४. (ते) चेत् स्वभावतः सन्त्यनेके, अथ सभागाः स्युः रूपादिवत् असङ्गता असंस्कृताः । आकाशं पुनः न स्यात् सर्वाधारम् । 3

५. अन्ये निकाया मन्यन्ते—चित्त-चैत्तादिभ्यो भिन्नाः सङ्गता असंस्कृता (इति); (तत्रापि) युज्यते पूर्वं कृतं प्रत्याख्यानम् । 4

६. असंस्कृताः पुनः हेतु-फल-विरहिता अभ्युपगताः, तस्मात् शश-विषाणवत् न स्युः चित्तादिभ्यो भिन्नाः । 5

(३). सिद्धान्तपक्षः—

वस्तुतस्तु सूत्रे (यद्) उक्तं (तत्सत्यम्) । सन्ति (त्रय) आकाशदयोऽसंस्कृता धर्माः (ते) समासतो भवन्ति द्विविधाः 6 ।—

(क) प्रथमे (त्रयोऽसंस्कृताः) आलम्ब्य विज्ञानविपरिणामान्, उपचारतः विकल्प्यन्ते । पूर्वत आकाशीदीनां नामकथनं आकर्ण्य, आकाशादिलक्षणेन सह अनुविकल्प्यन्ते । अभीक्ष्णं (तादृशविकल्पना-) ऽभ्यास-बलात् चित्तादय उत्पत्तिकाले आकाशाद्यसंस्कृतलक्षणवत् उत्पद्यन्ते । ते चोत्पद्यमानाः प्रथमं (अभ्यस्तं विकल्प-) निमित्तं अनुहरन्ति, न भवन्ति परिवर्तिताः, (त एव) उपचारतो नित्या उच्यन्ते । 10

(ख) द्वितीये (त्रयोऽसंस्कृताः) धर्मतां (=भूततथतां) आलम्ब्य उपचारतो विकल्प्यन्ते । सा भूततथता नैरात्म्यात् शून्यतया व्यज्यते । इयं अस्ति सत्ता-ऽसत्ता-सत्ताऽसत्ता-नसत्तानासत्ता-संयुक्तयोः वाक्-चित्तयोः पथातीता, अस्ति सर्वैः धर्मैः नभिन्ना, नाभिन्ना (नभिन्नाऽभिन्ना, ननभिन्नननभिन्ना) । अस्ति धर्माणां सङ्गतं तत्त्वं, तस्माद् धर्मता नाम । 12

कथं हि भूततथता आकाश-प्रतिसंख्यानिरोधा-ऽप्रतिसंख्यानिरोधा-ऽऽनिज्यद्वय-संज्ञावेदितनिरोध-नामभिः उपकल्प्यते ?—

(१) (नात्रियते नावृणोतीति) सर्वावरण-विमुक्तत्वात् आकाशं नाम । 12

(२) निर्विद्धा=साक्षात्कृता प्रतिसंख्यानबलात् निरोधयति सर्वान् क्लेशान्, तस्मात् प्रतिसंख्याननिरोधो नाम । 13

(३) प्रतिसंख्यानबलं विना मूलस्वभावतः परिशुद्धा, प्रत्यय-वैकल्यभाविता वा (अस्ति) तस्माद् अप्रतिसंख्याननिरोधो नाम । 15

(४) सुखां दुःखां (च) वेदनां नाशयतीति आर्निष्यं नाम । 15

(५) संज्ञावेदनयोरसमुदाचारात् संज्ञावेदितनिरोधो नाम । 16

सर्व इमे पंच (आकाशादयः) भूततथतां आलम्ब्य उपचारतो विकल्पन्ते । भूततथताऽपि अस्ति उपचार-विकल्पिता । नास्तीति प्रत्याख्यातुं उच्यतेऽस्तीति । (महीशासकानां) अस्तीति मतं प्रतिषेद्धुं शून्यतेति उच्यते । (एकव्यवहारिकाः—) वदन्ति—शून्यं माया (इति) तस्माद् उच्यते सद्भूता । न मिथ्या (न) वितथा, तस्माद् भूततथता नाम । 19

(युष्माकं महीशासकानां च मते को भेदः) तेऽप्यभ्युपयन्ति सद्भूततया कुशलभूततथतां, अकुशलभूततथतां, अव्याकृतभूततथताम् ?) ।

अन्यनिकायिकैरिव न (वयं प्रतिजानीमः)—अस्ति रूप-चित्ता दिभ्यः पृथक् सद्भूतो निरयो धर्मो भूततथता नाम (इति) । 20

तस्माद् असंस्कृता न सद्भूताः । 20

४. ग्राह्यं, ग्राहकम्

(क). तीर्थिकैरन्ययानिकैः (च) गृहीता चित्त-चैत्तेभ्यो भिन्ना धर्मान न सत्त्वभावाः, ग्राह्यत्वात् चित्तचैत्तादिवत् । (रूपादि-)ग्राहिका सा बुद्धिरपि तान् नालम्बते, ग्राहकत्वात् ग्राह्यवत् । 23

(ख). (ज्ञानं) इयं बुद्धिः (=) चित्त-चैत्ता अपि, पर-प्रत्ययोत्पन्नत्वात्, मायावस्तुवत् न भूततो द्रव्यसत् । 24

(ग) (विज्ञप्तिमात्रम्) । चित्त-चैत्तेभ्यो बाह्यः सद्भूतोऽस्त्यर्थ इति मिथ्याग्राहं प्रतिक्षेपुं विज्ञप्तिमात्रमुच्यते । विज्ञप्ति (=विज्ञान)-मात्रं भूततो द्रव्यसद् (इति) मन्यते चेत्, बाह्यार्थग्राहवद् (अयं) अपि स्याद् धर्मग्राहः । 26

५. धर्मग्राह-विभंगः

(क). धर्माणां ग्राहस्तु समासतो द्विधा भवति—प्रथमः सहजः, द्वितीयो विकल्पितः । 27

१. सहजो धर्मग्राहोऽनादिकालागतमिथ्यावासना- (स्वरूपा-) ऽऽभ्यन्तरहेतुबलात् सततं कायसहगतो (भवति) । मिथ्यादेशानां मिथ्या-

विकल्पं चानपेक्ष्य स्वरसेन (=तत्कालं) विपणिमनात् सहजो नाम । 29

अयं पुनर्द्विविधः—(१) प्रथमोऽविच्छिन्न-सन्तानः सप्तम-
विज्ञाने, अष्टमं विज्ञानं आलम्ब्य उत्पद्यते, स्वचित्ताकारः (च) गृह्यते
सद्भूतधर्मतया । (२) द्वितीयो विच्छिन्न-सन्तानः) षष्ठविज्ञाने विज्ञान-
विपरिणामान् स्कन्धा-ऽऽयतन-धातु-लक्षणान् आलम्ब्य कृत्स्नशो भाग-
शो वा उत्पद्यते, स्वचित्ताकारः (च) सद्भूतधर्मतया गृह्यते । 3

इमौ द्वौ धर्मग्राहौ सूक्ष्मत्वात् दुर्लभेद्यौ, चरमायां दशम्यां भूमौ
अभीक्षणं अनुत्तरां धर्मशून्यता-भावनां भावयन् (तौ) छेतुं अलम् । 5

२. विकल्पितधर्मग्राहोऽपि वर्तमान-बाह्य-प्रत्यय-बलात् कायासह-
गतो मिथ्यादृष्टिं मिथ्याविकल्पनां चाऽपेक्ष्य उत्पद्यते, तस्माद् विकल्पितो
नाम । (स चार्थं) षष्ठे मनोविज्ञान एव भवति । 7

अयमपि द्विधा—(१) प्रथमो मिथ्यादृष्टिदेशितान् स्कन्धा-
ऽऽयतन-धात्वाकारान् आलम्ब्य स्वचित्ताकार उत्पद्यते ; (स च) विकल्प्य-
मानः सद्भूतधर्मतया गृह्यते । (२) द्वितीयो मिथ्यादृष्टिदेशितं स्व-
ल-
क्षणद्याकारं आलम्ब्य स्वचित्ताकार उत्पद्यते ; (स च) विकल्प्यमानः
परिकल्प्यमानः सद्भूतधर्मतया गृह्यते । 10

इमौ द्वौ धर्मग्राहौ स्थूलौ तस्मात् सुच्छेद्यौ । प्रथमभूमिप्रवेश-
काले सर्वेषां धर्माणां धर्मशून्यतां भावयन् भूततथतां छेतुं अलम् । 2

(ख) एवमुक्तेषु सर्वेषु धर्मग्राहेषु स्वचित्तबाह्याः (कदाचिद्)
विद्यन्ते (कदाचिद्) न वा (विद्यन्ते) ; स्वचित्ताभ्यन्तरा धर्माः (तु)
सर्वदा भवन्ति । तस्मात् सर्वे धर्मग्राहाः स्वचित्तमालम्ब्य धर्मग्राहवत्
सद्भूततया प्रादुर्भवन्ति । 14

वस्तुतस्तु, धर्मनिर्भासाकाराः (ते) प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नत्वात् मायेव
विद्यमानाः, मिथ्याविकल्पनादेव सद्भूततया गृह्यन्ते, न (च) विद्यन्ते-
तराम् । एतस्मादेव भगवतोक्तं*—“मैत्रेय ! विजानीहि विज्ञानानां
आलम्बनं, विज्ञाननिर्भासमात्रं परतन्त्रोत्पन्नस्वभावं, यथा मायावस्तु”
इत्यादि । 17

उपसंहारः—

१. एवं तीर्थिकैरन्यनिकायिकैः (च) गृहीता विज्ञानात् पृथक्

आत्मधर्मा न सद्भूताः । तस्मात् चित्तचैत्ता नैव स्युः बाह्यरूपादीनां धर्माणां आलम्बनप्रत्ययः, ग्राह्यकारित्रस्यावश्यं द्रव्यसत्त्वभावाश्रितत्वात् । 20

२. तत्कलापभवाः चित्तचैत्ता धर्मा अतत्कलापविज्ञानानां अनन्तरालम्बनप्रत्ययं नालम्बन्ते, अपरकलापपरिगृहीतत्वात् । तत्कलापभवाः चैत्ता अपि न (प्रत्ययः), तत्कलापचित्तस्य स्वभावभेदात्, अपराप्रत्यक्षवत् । 22

३. तस्माद् विज्ञेयं—वस्तुतो नास्ति बाह्योऽर्थः; अभ्यन्तरं विज्ञानं एव बाह्यार्थनिर्भासं जायते । एतस्माद् (लंकावतारां) सूत्र-गाथायां उक्तं 24—

“बाह्यो न विद्यते ह्यर्थो यथा बालैर्विकल्प्यते ।

वासनैर्लुठितं चित्तं अर्थाभासं प्रवर्तते ॥” 26

उपचारः ।

१. केचित् (वैशेषिका) इमं दोषं उद्भावयन्ति—न चेत् विज्ञानात् पृथक् सद्भूता आत्मा धर्माश्च; (तर्हि) उपचारतोऽपि न स्युः, उपचार-सिध्यर्थं (हि) अपेक्षितानि (त्रीणि वस्तूनि)—(१) सद्भूतं वस्तु; (२) सदृशं वस्तु; (३) समाना गुणाः । यथाऽस्ति (१) सद्भूतोऽग्निः, (२) अस्ति अग्निसदृशः पुरुषः (=माणवकः); (३) स्तः (तत्र) कपिलत्त्व-तीक्ष्णत्त्व-धर्मौ । अथ शक्यं एवं वक्तुं—अग्निः पुरुषः (=माणवकः) । (पुरुष-) वृषभादिकथनोपचारे (ऽपि) एवमेव विज्ञेयम् । आत्मा धर्माः (च) न संति चेत्, किमाश्रयं उपचारकथनम् ? यदि साम्यं एव न सिद्धं, (अथ) कथं उच्यते वायुर्बाह्यार्थवत् परिणामी ? 2—

२. प्रत्याख्यानम् । नासौ दोषो न्याय्यः; विज्ञानात्पृथक् आत्मधर्माणां प्रागेव प्रत्याख्यानात् । जात्याश्रितं द्रव्याश्रितं (हि) उप-

* सन्धिनिर्माणसूत्रे शैतो-त्रिपिटके १६तमे पुस्तके ६९८ पृष्ठे, १ स्तम्भे ।

†” बुन्यो नन्जिओ-संपादिते लंकावतारसूत्रे, २८५ पृष्ठे, (सगाथके, १५४, १५५) ।

चारकथनम् । (क) अग्न्यादीनां असिद्धत्वाद् जात्याश्रिते उपचार-
कथने हेतुरेवासिद्धः, तीक्ष्ण-लोहितादिगुणानां (अग्नि-)जातौ अस-
त्त्वात् । समानगुणाभावेऽपि) उपचारकथनं चेत् तर्हि जला-
दावपि अग्न्यादिनाम उपचारत उच्येत । चेदुच्येत—यदपि तीक्ष्णादयो
न गुणाः, अथापि न मिथोऽविनाभूताः, तस्मात् युक्तं उपचार-
कथनम् ।—इदमपि नैवं; मनुष्यजातौ बलादयः वर्तमाने दृश्यमाना
अपि भवन्ति मिथो विप्रयुक्ताः, तस्माद्वि जातौ न गुणाः । पुनश्च, मिथो
विप्रयुक्तेऽपि भवति मनुष्ये अग्न्याद्युपचारकथनम् । तस्माद् विज्ञेयं—
उपचारकथनं न जात्याश्रयेन व्यवस्थापितं (इति) । (ख) द्रव्याश्रयेण
उपचारकथनमपि हेतुतोऽसिद्धम् । तैक्ष्ण्य-कपिलत्वादयो गुणा (अपि)
उभयद्रव्ययोर्यस्मात् न समाना भवन्ति । तैक्ष्ण्य-कपिलत्वादयोऽग्नौ 10
(भवन्ति); तयोः स्वभावः प्रत्येकं भिन्नः, भिन्ना-ऽऽश्रयत्वात् । (अतः)
समानानां (गुणानां) उपचार(-कथनं) न पूर्ववद् सदोषम् । पुरुषाग्न्योः
गुणसाम्यात् चेदुच्यते,—(अथ) युक्तं उपचार-कथनम् । 12

अनेनाऽपि हेतुना नैवं वाच्यं, अग्नौ हि (ये) विद्यामाना गुणाः,
पुरुषेऽविद्यामानाः (ते), तस्मात् उपचारकथनं न द्रव्याश्रयेण सिद्धम् ।
पुनश्च, उपचारो हि न सदद्रव्याश्रयेण सिद्धः, नाऽपि युक्तिसहः । 14

३. (सिद्धान्ते उपचारस्वभावः) ।—

(क) वस्तुसद् अस्ति स्वलक्षणं संवृतिज्ञान-विकल्पनयोः अवि-
षयत्वात् । अथवा संवृतिज्ञान-कल्पना-ऽग्राह्यं स्वलक्षणं; (तच्च) धर्म-
सामान्यलक्षणेषु प्रवर्तते । 16

अपि (च) न इतोऽन्योस्ति प्रज्ञापनोपायः । (अतएव)
स्वलक्षणं उपचारस्य आश्रयः । 17

(ख) वस्तुतस्तु संवृतिज्ञानं विकल्पनं (च) अवश्यं शब्दं
आश्रित्य उत्पद्यते । (गन्धादयः इन्द्रियैः स्वकाय-प्राप्तग्राह्याः, अतः प्राप्ता-
यतना नाम) शब्दः (तु) अप्राप्तायतनः । (तस्मात्) इमे (संवृति-
ज्ञान-विकल्पने, शब्दाश्रिते) न प्रवर्तते (सदुपकरणेषु) । अभिधाना-
ऽभिधेये उभे न स्वलक्षणे, तस्माद् विज्ञेयं—उपचारो न स्वलक्षणा
(=सङ्कृता)ऽऽश्रय (इति) । 19

अतएव केवलं सदृशं वस्तु आश्रित्य प्रवर्तितो प्रबर्धितः (च)
उपचारो न सद्भूत-लक्षणः । शब्दः (तद्-) आश्रित्य बर्धितः सदृशाकारं
प्रवर्तते । तस्मात् न वाच्यं—उपचारोऽस्ति द्रव्याश्रितः । तस्माद् अयं
दोषो न सद्युक्तिसहः । 22

वस्तुतस्तु विज्ञान-विपरिणामाश्रयां मिथ्यादृष्टिं प्रतिषेद्धुं, उपचा-
रोक्त्या उक्ता वस्तुसत्य(तया) आत्म-धर्माः । तस्माद् (हि) (घनव्यूह-)
सूत्रे गाथायां उक्तं 23—

“बालानां सद्भूतात्मधर्मग्राहस्य प्रतिषेधार्थं;

हि विज्ञानपरिणामा उपचारत उक्ता आत्मा धर्मा इति ।” 25

(तृतीयः परिच्छेदः)

विज्ञानपरिणामः

विज्ञानपरिणामा* आकारेऽनेकविधा अपि, परिणामिविज्ञानं तु त्रिविधं एव । —(१) प्रथमं विपाकः, अयं अष्टमं विज्ञानं, अनेक-विपाकस्वभावत्वात् (विपाक इत्युच्यते); (२) द्वितीयं, मनना सर्वदा नितोरण-मनन(स्वभाव)तः; इदं सप्तमं विज्ञानम्; (३) तृतीयं, आलम्बन(= विषय)-ग्रहणं, आद्यानि षड् विज्ञानानि (=चक्षुः-श्रोत्र-घ्राण-जिह्वा-काय-मनो-विज्ञानानि), स्थूलविषयाकारग्रहणात् । 29
(कारिकायां) “च” शब्दः षण्णां संघातस्य एकविधतां प्रदर्शयति । 29

इमानि त्रीणि, परिणामि-विज्ञानं नाम । 1

परिणामि अस्ति द्विविधं—(क) प्रथमं हेतुपरिणामः, अयं अष्टमविज्ञानस्य निष्यन्द-विपाक-हेतुद्वय-वासना । निष्यन्द-वासना (अस्ति) कुशलाऽकुशलाऽव्याकृताद् विज्ञानसप्तकाद् वासनानां जननं वृद्धिः (च) । विपाकवासना (अस्ति) सास्त्रव-कुशलाऽकुशल-विज्ञान-षट्कात् वासनानां जननं वृद्धिः (च) । 4

(ख) द्वितीयं, फलपरिणामः, अयं अस्ति प्रथमो(क्त-) द्विविध-वासना-बलात् अष्टमविज्ञानस्य जननं, नानाकारेण प्रादुर्भावः । 5

हेतुप्रत्ययभूतया निष्यन्दवासनया अष्टौ विज्ञानानि नाना

* “.... परिणामः स च त्रिधा ॥ १ ॥ विपाको मननाख्यश्च विज्ञप्तिविषयस्य च ॥” (कारिका १, २) ।

स्वभावाकारा उत्पद्यन्ते, (तस्मात्) निष्पदफलं नाम, फलस्य हेतु सा-
दृश्यात् । 7

अधिपतिप्रत्ययभूतया विपाकवासनया जायते अष्टमं विज्ञानं;
आक्षेपक्रियासंबन्धवशात् नित्यसन्तानत्वात् (च), उच्यते विपाको
नाम । आद्यं, विज्ञानषट्कमुपादाय परिपूरकक्रियासंबन्धात् विपाकतो
जातत्वात् (च) विपाकजो नाम; न (तु) सविच्छेदात् विपाको नाम ।
अयं प्रथमो विपाको विपाकजश्च विपाकफलं (इति) उच्यते, फलस्य
हेतोर्भिन्नत्वात् । 11

अत्र (कारिकायां विपाक-शब्देन) सूचयति, आत्मराग-ग्राह-
स्थानं संक्लेशबीजग्राहकं फलपरिणामिविज्ञानं (=अष्टमं विज्ञानं) इति ।
(केवलं) अष्टमं विज्ञानं विपाक(-फलं, अस्तीति) नोक्तम् । 12

(चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः)

आलय-विज्ञानम्

सर्वेऽपि त्रयः परिणामिनः पूर्वं समासत उक्ताः विस्तरेण तु न व्याख्यातानि त्रयाणां परिणामिनां लक्षणानि । अथ, (किं) प्रथमं परिणामि, तस्य लक्षणं (च) किं (इति) कारिकाभिरुच्यते 14—

तत्रालयाख्यं विज्ञानं विपाकः सर्व-बीजकम् ॥ २ ॥ 15

असंविदित-कोपादि-स्थान-विज्ञप्तिकं च तत् ।

सदा स्पर्श-मनस्कार-वित्-संज्ञा-चेतनाऽन्वितम् ॥ ३ ॥ 17

उपेक्षा वेदना तत्राऽनिवृत्ता-ऽव्याकृतं च तत् ।

तथा स्पर्शादयः, तच्च वर्तते स्रोतसोघवत् ॥ ४ ॥ 18

तस्य व्यावृत्तिरर्हत्त्वे; 18

१. आलयविज्ञान-लक्षणानि

(१) आलयः

(अत्र) शास्त्र उक्तं (यत्) प्रथमं परिणामि-विज्ञानं, (तत्) महा(यान)-हीनयान-देशनासु आलय (इति) उच्यते । 20

इदं विज्ञानं अस्ति, आलयः, आलीयमानं, ग्राहः(वा), आलयार्थ-त्वात् । अस्य संक्लेशैस्सह अन्योन्यप्रत्ययत्वात्, सत्त्वैः स्वाभ्यन्तरात्मै-कतया हि (एतद्) गृह्यते । 22

इयं (कारिका) सूचयति प्रथमं परिणामि (अष्टमं) विज्ञानं सर्व-स्वलक्षणाकारं, कार्यकारणभावेन स्वलक्षणात्त्वात् । 23

इदं विज्ञानं स्वलक्षणं* अवस्थानां अनेकत्वेऽपि । आलय-
विज्ञानं विस्तारभिया (अंशत उक्तम्) । 24

(२) विपाकः

इदं (आलयविज्ञानं) सर्वासु (लोक-)धातु-गतिषु आक्षेपकयोः
सत्त्वानां कुशलाकुशलकर्मणोः विपाकफलत्वात् विपाक (इति) उच्यते ।
नास्मात् पृथग् जीवितेन्द्रियं, सभागतादयः नित्य-संततिः†, अनुत्तर-
विपाकफलं (वा), अनुपलभ्यमानत्वात् । 27

अनेन (विपाक-शब्देन सूच्यते)—प्रथमस्य परिणामि-विज्ञानस्य
सर्वे फलाकाराः । इदं विज्ञानं फलाकारं, अथापि नानाऽवस्थासु विस्तरेण
नानाविध-विपाकं, (सत्त्वं सत्त्वं प्रति) असाधारणत्वात् ; समासत
(विपाको) नाम । 29

(३) सर्वबीजकम्

इदं (अष्टमं विज्ञानं) सर्वेषां धर्मबीजानां आधातृ, अनुच्छित्ति-
कर्तृ (च), तस्माद् सर्व-बीजकं नाम । एतस्माद् भिन्ना अन्ये धर्मा न
धर्मबीजानां आधातारः, अनुपलभ्यमानत्वात् । 2

एतेन सूच्यते—प्रथमं परिणामिविज्ञानं अस्ति हेत्वाकारम् ।
(यदपि) इदं विज्ञानं हेत्वाकारं, अथापि धारयति अनेक विधानि बीजानि,
(प्रतिसत्त्वं) असाधारणत्वात् । अंशत उक्तं प्रथमं परिणामिविज्ञानं
नानास्वभावलक्षणम् । समासोक्त्या इदं त्रिविधं एव भवति । 4

२. बीजसिद्धान्तः

सर्वबीजलक्षणं पुनरपि विभज्यते 5 ।—

(लक्षणम्) । (क) कोऽयं धर्मो बीजं नाम ? इदं (आलय-
विज्ञानं अस्ति) मूल-विज्ञानम् । तत्र अनन्तरोत्पन्ना स्वफलोत्पादिका
शक्तिः (=बीजं) ततो भिन्ना भवति । मूलविज्ञानं ततो जातं फलं
(च) नाभिन्नं नभिन्नं, स्वभाव-कारित्र-कारण-कार्य-हेतूनां एवंभावात् । 7

* स्वलक्षणं=स्वभावलक्षणं=स्वरूपलक्षणम् । † यथा महीशासकानां शाश्वतस्कंधः ।

(ख) यदपि (बीजानि विज्ञान-फलयोः) नाभिन्नानि नभिन्नानि, संति तु सद्भूतानि । प्रज्ञप्ति (=उपचार)-धर्मश्चेत्,—न, अहेतुप्रत्यय-त्वात् । एतादृशा धर्मा यतो नाभिन्ना नभिन्नाः, (अतः) यदादिवत् स्युः प्रज्ञप्ताः (=कल्पिताः), न सद्भूताः । एवं चेत्, (भूत)तथता(ऽपि) स्यात् प्रज्ञप्तिस्तु (=संवृत्तिसत् अनुत्पादितत्वात्, गगनकुसुमवत्) ।—अभ्युपेयः—अथ न (अस्ति) परमार्थसत् । वस्तुतस्तु, बीजानि लोकानुरोधेनैव सद्भूतानि उच्यन्ते, न तु तथतातुल्यत्वेन । 11

(ग) बीजानि अष्टमविज्ञानाश्रितान्यपि, संति एतद्विज्ञान-निमित्तभागानि, नान्यानि । दर्शनभागा (हि) निश्चयं तानि आलम्बन-तया गृह्णन्ति । 13

(घ) सास्त्रवाणि बीजानि च विपाकविज्ञानस्वभावाऽभिन्नत्वात् अव्याकृतस्वभावपरिगृहीतानि । कार्य-कारणे उभे कुशलादिस्वभावे, तस्मादेव कुशलादीति । 15

अनास्त्रवाणि बीजानि न विपाकविज्ञानस्वभावपरिगृहीतानि, तस्मात् कार्य-कारणे उभयथा स्तः । कुशलस्वभावपरिगृहीतत्वात् केवलं कुशलं नाम ।—एवं चेत्, (योगशास्त्रे) प्रतिबेध-खण्ड उक्तं—द्वाविंशति इन्द्रियाणि सर्वैः विपाकबीजैः विपाकजैः (च) समन्वागतानि । (तत्र) तु विपाको न अव्याकृताश्रयो विपाक उच्यते ; तस्माद् विपाकबीजानि नाम, भिन्नस्वभावानि अन्योन्याऽश्रितानि चक्षुर्विज्ञानादिवत् 19 । अथवा अनास्त्रवाणि बीजानि वासनाबलात् विपरिणम्यन्ते=विपच्यन्ते, (तेन) विपाक(इति) उच्यते । विपाको नाम न अव्याकृतस्वभावोऽत्र गृह्यते । 20

(बीजोत्पादः) । १. (आचार्यः चन्द्रपालो मन्यते)—विपाक (शब्दस्य) इह अर्थो भवति—सर्वाणि बीजानि मूलस्वभावतो जायन्ते न वासनातः; वासनाबलात् तु वर्द्धन्ते । तथाहि उक्तं—(क) (अक्षयमति-) सूत्रे—“सर्वेषां सत्त्वानां अनादिकालिका भवन्ति नानाधातवः, अक्ष (=विभीतक)-राशिवत् धर्मतास्थितिकाः ।” अत्र हि “धातव” इति बीजानां नामान्तरम् । 24

(ख). पुनश्च (अभिधर्म-) सूत्र उक्तं—“अनादिकालिका धातवः सर्वेषां धर्मादीनां आश्रयः ।” “धातु” (शब्दः) अत्र कारणार्थे । 25

(ग). योग(-शास्त्रे)ऽप्युक्तं—“बीजानि स्वभावतोऽनादिकालिकानि आदिमानि अपि । सास्रवानास्रवकर्मभ्यां तु नवा वासना उत्पद्यन्ते । यदि सत्त्वा अनादिकालतः परिनिर्वाणधर्मकाः, (तर्हि) (ते) सर्वबीजैः परिपूर्णाः । यदि अपरिनिर्वाणधर्मकाः, अथ त्रिविधबोधिबीज-विरहिताः ।” 28

एवमादीनि सद्ग्रन्थ-प्रमाणान्यनेकानि । 29

२. (क) पुनश्च (लंकावतारसूत्रेऽन्येषु सद्ग्रन्थेषु चोच्यते)—“सत्त्वा हि नाम, प्रकृत्या पंचविधा भवंति स्वभावभेदतः, तस्माद् धर्मताबीजादेव (एवं) भवन्ति न (तु) वासनातो जायन्ते” । 1

(ख). योग(-शास्त्रे) च उक्तं—“नारका अनास्रवेन्द्रियत्रय-सम-न्वागताः ।” (तानि इन्द्रियाणि) स्युः बीजानि भूत(कालिका)नि, न तु वर्तमानानि । 3

(ग). पुनश्च (तत्रैव योगशास्त्रे, बोधिसत्त्वभूमौ)—“अनादि-(-काल)तः (अविच्छिन्न-)परम्पराक्रमेण आगच्छति धर्मताप्रतिलम्भकं, (बोधिसत्त्वानां) मूलस्वभाव(=प्रकृति-)स्थं गोत्रम् ।” 4

इत्यादिभिः प्रमाणैः अनास्रवाणि बीजानि धर्मतामूलकानि, न (तु) वासनातो जायन्ते । 5

३. सास्रवाण्यपि भवंति धर्मताबीजानि वासनातो बर्धितानि, न वासनातः पृथग् जातानि । 6

एवं (कार्य-कारण-भेदः) सिद्धोऽनाकुलः । 6

(नन्द-श्रीसेनौ) मन्येते—(क) बीजानि वासना जनयन्ति । (परन्तु) भावनोय-भावयितारौ (वर्तमानधर्मा-ऽऽलयविज्ञाने) उभौ अनादि(काल)तो विद्येते, तस्माद् बीजानि वासनाश्च न आदिकालत उत्पन्नानि । बीजं हि नामान्तरं वासनायाः । भावनात एव वासना जायते पुष्पवासित-तिलगंधवत् । 9

(क) (१) तथाहि (बुद्धधातुक-)सूत्र उक्तं—“सत्त्वानां चित्तानि हि सास्रवाऽनास्रवैः धर्मैर्वासितानि, अपरिमित-बीजसमन्वागतानि ।” 10

(२) (महायानसंग्रह-)शास्त्र उक्तं—“आभ्यन्तराणि बीजानि (यदा) वासनावासितानि भवंति (तदैव फलं आदधते); बाह्यानि बीजानि (कदाचित्) वासितानि, नवा (वासितानि) भवंति ।” 11

(३) पुनश्च (धर्म-बीज)दीनि नाम, त्रिविधवासनापरिगृहीतानि । सर्वाणि सास्त्रवाणि धर्मबीजानि एताभ्यः तिसृभ्यो वासनाभ्यो जायन्ते; तस्मात् सास्त्रवाणि बीजानि भावना(=वासना)-पारतन्त्र्येण भवन्ति । 13

(४) अनास्त्रवाणि बीजान्यपि भावना(=वासना)-संगतानि; (तथाहि महायानसंग्रहे) उक्तं—“धर्मधातुनिष्यन्दं सद्धर्मं श्रुत्वा श्रुत-वासना (जायते); सद्धर्मवासनातो जातत्त्वात् ।” (भूमि-प्रवेशात् प्राक् श्रुतवासना सास्त्रवा भवति, सा च सास्त्रवा श्रुतवासना) “अस्ति लोकोत्तर-चित्त-बीज-स्वभावा ।” 15

(ख*), सत्त्वाः सर्वदा विभिन्नगोत्रा (अपि), न अनास्त्रव-बीजानां भावाऽभावतः; अपितु सावरणा-ज्जावरण-संबंधात् (तथा) सिध्यन्ति । तथाहि योग(चर्या-भूमि-शास्त्रे) उक्तं—(भूत-) तथताऽऽलम्ब-नेन उभय(क्लेश-ज्ञेय)ावरणयोः बीजैः अपरिनिर्वाण-धर्मकगोत्रस्य (सत्त्वस्य) प्रतिबंधो भवति । 18

ज्ञेयावरणबीजस्य प्रहाणेन न क्लेश(ावरणबीज)स्य प्रहाणं; एकेन भागेन (मृद्धिन्द्रियक्रमेण) श्रावकगोत्र-प्रतिष्ठितो भवति, एकेन भागेन (तीक्ष्णेन्द्रियक्रमेण) 19 प्रत्येकबुद्ध-गोत्रप्रतिष्ठितः । उभयावरण-बीजानां अन्त्यन्ताभावेन च तथागतगोत्र(प्रतिष्ठितो) भवति । 21

तस्माद् विज्ञेयं—मूलगोत्रभेद आवरणानुसारेण सिध्यति; न (तु) अनास्त्रवबीजेन । 22

यच्चोक्तं आस्त्रवबीजसमंगीभावता (नारकाणां, तद्धि) उत्पत्त्य-मानानि अधिकृत्य, न तु (तत्र) पूर्वतो विद्य-मानानि (बीजानि) । 23

एकेन (धर्मपालेन) व्याख्यातं—बीजानि प्रत्येकं द्विधा—

(क), प्रथमं मौलं (बीजं) नाम, अनादि(काल)तो विपाक-विज्ञाने, या शक्तिः उत्पादयति स्कंधाऽऽयतनधातून् (तथा) धर्मतया विद्यन्ते ।

इदमेवाधिकृत्य भगवता (अक्षराशिसूत्र) उक्तं—“सर्वे सत्त्वा अनादिकालतो भवन्ति नाना-धातुकाः, अक्षराशिवत्, धर्मतायां (च)

* चंद्रपाल-मत-खंडनम् ।

विद्यमानाः ।” (इह) पूर्वोद्धृतैरिव अपराण्यपि प्रमाणानि विस्तरणो-
दाहार्याणि । इदं नाम मूल-स्वभाव-सिद्धं (=मौलं) बीजम् । 28

(ख) द्वितीयं सादि । इदं अनादि(काल)तोऽभीक्ष्णं धर्म-
वासना-वासितं भवति । 29

इदमेवाधिकृत्य भगवतोक्तं—“सत्त्वानां चित्तानि सास्त्रवाऽनास्त्रव-
धर्मैः वासितानि भवन्ति; यस्मात् नास्ति अभावो बीजमहाराशेः ।”
अन्यत्रापि शास्त्र उक्तं—“सास्त्रवाऽनास्त्रवाणि बीजानि सास्त्रवाऽनास्त्रव-
धर्मवासनातो जायन्ते ।” —इदं वासना-वासितं बीजं नाम । 3

१. (चन्द्रपाल-मत-खंडनम्)—(बीजानि) केवलं मौलानि
चेत्, (आद्यानि सप्त) प्रवृत्तिविज्ञानानि न स्युः (अष्टमस्य) आलय
(-विज्ञानस्य) हेतु-प्रत्यय-लक्षणानि । तथाहि (महायानाभिधर्म-) सूत्र
उक्तं 4—

“धर्माः (=सप्त विज्ञानानि) आलय-विज्ञाने धर्मेषु च विज्ञानं तथा ।

फलस्वभावाश्चान्योऽन्यं हेतुस्वभावा अपि सदा ॥” 5

अस्यां गाथायां उक्तोऽर्थः—आलयविज्ञानं प्रवृत्तिविज्ञानानि च
मिथो हेतुफलभावेन सर्वदाऽन्योन्यजनकानि । 7

महायानसंग्रहे (ऽपि) उक्तं—“आलयविज्ञानं संक्लेशधर्माश्च
मिथो हेतुप्रत्ययभूताः । यथा (दीपस्य) वर्ति-कलिकेऽन्योन्य-संजात-
दग्धे, यथा तृणपूलकं वाऽन्योन्याश्रितम् । केवलं अनयोर्द्वयोः (मिथः
संबंधेन) हेतु-प्रत्यय-स्थितिः; अन्यत्र हेतु-प्रत्ययाऽनुपलम्भात् ।” 10

सर्वाणि बीजानि न वासना-जातानि चेत्, कथं (सप्त) प्रवृत्ति-
विज्ञानानि आलय-विज्ञानं च भवन्ति हेतु-प्रत्यया (इति) ? 11

वासनयाऽपरिपुष्टानि (इति चेत्) न वाच्या हेतुप्रत्ययाः; कुशला-
कुशलकर्मविपाकफलस्य हेतुप्रत्ययभावात् । 12

आर्यदेशनासु (सूत्रेषु शास्त्रेषु) चोक्तं—बीजानि भवन्ति वास-
नातो जातानि (इति) । सर्वं विरुद्धं तस्य (=चन्द्रपालस्य) व्याख्यानं,
तस्मात् मौलमेव भवति हेतुः देशना-प्रत्ययेन । 14

आदावुत्पन्नं संस्कृतं अनास्त्रवं एव चेत्, हेतुप्रत्ययभावेन, न
स्याद् जन्मलाभः सास्त्रवस्य । अनास्त्रवबीजाभावे, न जायेत अनास्त्रवं

बीजं सास्त्रवात् । (तथा) स्वीकारे बुद्धानामपि जायेरन् सास्त्रवाः
(धर्माः); जायेरन्श्च कुशलादीनि अकुशलादिवोजेभ्यः । 17

३. (विशुद्धचित्तवादखंडनम्) । विभज्यवादिनां* भवति अयं-
वादः—“प्रकृत्या विशुद्धः† चित्तस्वभावः एवं क्लेशैः उपक्लिष्टं भवति,
तस्मात् (चित्तं) संक्लिष्टं उच्यते । क्लेशनिर्मुक्तिकाले अनास्रवभावेन
वर्तते । तस्माद् अनास्रवा धर्मा न निर्हेतुकाः ।” 19

परन्तु तेषां वादे कोऽर्थः “चित्त-स्वभाव”-शब्दस्य ? 20—

(क), चेदुच्येत—शून्यता(=भूततथता) (अथ) न (भवति)
चित्तहेतुः; न हि नित्यो (=असंस्कृतो) धर्मो भवति धर्माणां बीजं,
पूर्वाऽपरस्वभावानां अविपरिणामित्वात् । 21

चेदुच्येत—(१) सांख्यैः—चित्तं समानं भवति । रूपे विपरिवर्त्य-
मानमपि स्वभावस्तु नित्यं समानः । (२) (चित्तं स्वभावतो विशुद्धं,
अथ) अकुशलाव्याकृते चित्ते अपि कुशले मन्तव्ये । (३) अथ भवेत्
श्रद्धादिसमन्वागतम् । (४) (तथा) अस्वीकारेऽथ चित्तं न स्यात्
कुशलस्वभावः; न तावत् वाच्यं—(युगपद् तद्) च कुशलं अनास्रवम् ।
(५) संक्लिष्टं कुशलं चित्तं हि अकुशलचित्तादिवत् न अनास्रवस्वभावम् ।
तस्मात् नास्ति अनास्रव-हेतुः; कुशलाऽकुशलादीनां अन्योऽन्याहेतु-
त्वात् । (६) सास्त्रचित्तानां स्वभावोऽस्ति अनास्रवः (चेदथ), अना-
स्रवचित्तस्य स्वभावो (ऽपि) सास्त्रवः स्यात्, हेतुप्रत्यय-भेदानुपलंभात् ।
(७) पृथग्जनस्यापि चित्तं अनास्रवं अस्ति चेत्, तर्हि पृथग्जनभूमौ
अनास्रव-समुदाचारात् (स) आर्यो वक्तव्यः । पृथग्जन-चित्तस्य स्वभावो-
ऽनास्रवः; अथापि आकारस्तु क्लिष्टो भवति (इति) चेत्; नोच्येत—
अनास्रवं (चित्तं) एतैर्दोषैर्विना, अथ चित्तबीजमपि न अनास्रवम् ।
किं (च) युष्माकं मतेन पृथग्जनो भवत्येव अनास्रवबीजसमुपलम्बी
बीज-समुदाचाराणां (धर्माणां च) स्वभावयोरैकत्वात् । 3

*विभज्यवादिनां महासांघिकै-कव्यवहारिक-लोकोत्तरवादि-कौकुटिकानाम् ।

†“पमस्सरं इदं चित्तं, तं च खो आगन्तुकेहि उपक्लिष्टेहि उपक्लिष्टं”
(अंगु० नि. १।१०) ।

यत्तु सूत्रे उक्तं—“चित्त-स्वभावः शुद्धः”, (तद्) वचनं सूचयति चित्त-शून्यतावाद-व्यञ्जिकां भूततथतां, भूततथतायाः तत्त्वतः चित्त-स्वभावत्वात् । 5

अथवा चित्ते प्रकृत्या नास्ति क्लेशः, तस्मादुच्यते—प्रकृत्या शुद्धं न तु क्लिष्टम् । चित्तस्वभावस्याक्लिष्टत्वात् प्रकृतिशुद्धं नाम । 6

(दोष-परिहारः) । तस्मात् मन्तव्यं—सत्त्वा भवन्ति अनादि-कालतः अ-वासनाजैः धर्मतासमन्वागमितैरनास्रवबीजैः समन्वागताः, विशेषावस्था(=मोक्षभागीय)-प्राप्त्यनन्तरं वासना वर्धयति (=जनयति) अनास्रवं धर्मम् । (तस्य) जातस्य (अनास्रवधर्मस्य) अयं भवति हेतुः; अनास्रवस्योत्पादकाले च वासना भवति बीजम् । 9

सास्रवधर्मबीजं (अपि) एतत्सदृशं विज्ञेयम् (—एकं मौलं, अन्यद् वासनोत्पन्नम्) । 10

(आभ्यन्तरबीजवासनम्) ।—आर्यदेशानार्या (महायान-संग्रहे) यदुक्तं—“आभ्यन्तराणां बीजानां भवति वासना” । न तु (तत्र) स्फुट उक्तं—“सर्वाणि बीजानि वासनातो जायन्ते ।” न युक्तं प्रत्याख्यानं (एतेन) प्रकृतिस्थ(=मौल)बीजानाम् । 12

प्रकृतिस्थं बीजं तु यदा वासनातो वर्द्धितं, अथोपलभते फलम् । तस्मादुक्तं (महायानसंग्रहे)—“आभ्यन्तराणां बीजानां (अपि) भवति वासना ।” 13

(श्रुतवासना) । (महायानसंग्रह उक्तं), श्रुतवासना न केवलं, सास्रवा, सद्धर्मश्रवणकाले वासनातो जायते बीजं; (तद्धि) क्रमशः उत्तरोत्तरं (चित्तं) वर्धयति यावल्लोकोत्तरं चित्तं उत्पद्यते । तस्मात्तद् (=अनास्रवं बीजं) श्रुतवासना नाम । 16

(यदा) श्रुतवासनाऽस्ति क्लिष्ट-स्वभावा (अथ) भावनाहेया; अनुत्तरविपाकोपलम्बिका लोकोत्तरधर्माणां अनुत्तरोऽधिपतिप्रत्ययः । 17

(यदा श्रुतवासनाऽस्ति) अनास्रवस्वभावा, साऽहेयपरिगृहीता भवति, लोकोत्तरधर्माणां सम्यग् हेतुप्रत्ययः । सम्यग् हेतुप्रत्ययः सूक्ष्मो गुह्यो दुर्ज्ञेयो निहितः स्थूल-व्यक्तोत्तमोऽधिपति-प्रत्ययो भवति । (महायान-) संग्रह उक्तं—“(इयमस्ति) लोकोत्तरचित्त (-बीजम्)” । 20

(गोत्रं, बीजम्) । (योगचर्याशास्त्रानुसारेण) आवरणाद् भवति गोत्रभेदः । अन्येऽर्थतो अनास्रव-बीजानां भावाभावाभ्यां वा दर्शयन्ति । (पुरुषे) अनास्रवबीजानां अत्यन्ताभावश्चेत् तस्य उभयावरणबीजानि अहेयानि, अथ स भवेत् अपरिनिर्वाणधर्मकः । उभययानिकं अनास्रवबीजं एव भवेत् चेत्, तत्र ज्ञेयावरणबीजं सर्वदा-ऽहेयं, (अथ) एकभागतो भवेत् श्रावकगोत्रे, एकभागतो भवेत् प्रत्येक-बुद्ध-गोत्रे । (तस्मिन्) बुद्धस्यानास्रवबीजमपि भवति चेत्, तस्य द्विविधं आवरणबीजं सर्वं अत्यन्तं हेयं, अतः स भवेत् तथागतगोत्रे । 26

तस्माद् अनास्रवबीजानां भावाभावत आवरणं भवति छेद्यं अच्छेद्यं (वेति) ज्ञायते । अनास्रवबीजं तु सूक्ष्मं गुह्यं दुर्ज्ञेयं, तस्मात् तद् (=योगचर्याशास्त्रं) आवरणानुसारं दर्शयति गोत्रभेदम् । 28

एवं चेत् तयोरावरणयोरस्ति को भेदो यस्माद् भवति हेया-ऽहेयत्वम् ? धर्मता (=वस्तुस्वभाव-) तो भवत्ययं आवरणभेदः (इति) उच्यते चेद्, अनास्रवधर्मबीजात्तु कथं न तथा मन्यते ? आदितः सर्वथा नास्ति अनास्रवधर्मबीजं (इति) चेत्, अथार्यमार्गः कदापि न जायते; (अथ) कोऽलं छेत्तुं आवरणबीजम् ? उच्यते तु—“आवरणतो भवति गोत्रभेद” (इति) । यतस्तत्रार्यमार्गो (न) जायते, (अथ) तेषां (नारकाणां) अनागतं (मार्गबीजं) अस्ति (इति) कथनं अयुक्तम् । 4

वस्तुतस्तु, आर्यदेशनासु सर्वत्र उच्यते—“अस्ति पुराणं बीजम् ।” सर्वविरुद्धस्तस्य वादः, तस्मात् (सर्वं बीजं) आदिमद् एव जायत (इति कथनं) शास्त्र-न्याय-विरुद्धम् । 5

तस्माद्विज्ञेयं धर्मबीजं एकैकं अस्ति द्विविधं—पुराणं, आदौ जातं (चेति) । 6

३. बीजानां षड्लक्षणं द्वेधाकारणता बाह्याभ्यन्तरबीजानि ।
(क.) बीजानां षड्लक्षणम् ।

अथ बीजानां लक्षणं षोडशैव भवति ।— 7

१. प्रथमं क्षणिकं विनाशि वा । (यत्) स्वभावत उत्पत्तेरनन्तरं विनश्यति, कारित्रसमन्वागतं (च) भवति, तद् भवति (इदं) बीजम् । इदं नित्यधर्मपरिवर्जितं, नित्यं अविकारि हि उत्पादक्रियासमन्वितमस्ति (इति) न वक्तुं शक्यम् । 9

२. (यत्) बीजं जायमानं एव कारित्र*फलधर्माभ्यां समन्वागतं वा, तद् अस्ति फलसहभूः । 10

इदं (बीजफलं) पूर्वाऽपर(स्थिति)वर्जिता (युगपद्-वर्तमाना) नियता अन्योन्याभिन्ना धर्माः । (बीजानि) नानास्वभावानि अपि अविरोधिस्वभावतया समकालं स्थायुकानि, कारित्रजनकानि (च) । न एवं मिथ आत्मासदृशानि पूवापरोत्पन्नानि, (अन्योन्य-)विरोधीनि (चेत्); न स्युः सहभूनि । यदपि हेतु-फलं समकालं, नतु हेतु-क्रिया वर्तमानकाले समकालं अतीतेऽनागते वा भवति, अस्वभावत्वात् । तस्मात् बीजं नाम प्रत्युत्पन्न-फलोत्पादकं, न तु सदृशबीजोत्पादावर्जकम् । 15

तस्माद् (बीजं) फलसहभूरेव वक्तव्यम् । 16

३. तृतीयं निरन्तराऽनुप्रवृत्तं—सुदीर्घकालं यावत् समसन्तानं चरमावस्थायां (तत्प्रतिपक्षमार्गोत्पादसमये) बीजं भवति । 17

एतेन (सौत्रान्तिकानां षट्) प्रवृत्तिविज्ञानानि (अपि) प्रतिषिद्धानि । प्रवृत्ति(विज्ञानं) विकारि उपच्छिन्नं, (अतो) बीज-धर्मासमन्वागतम् । इति निदर्शयति—स्वसदृशानि बीजानि अन्योऽन्यं जनयन्ति । 18

४. चतुर्थं विनियतस्वभावं—हेतुसामर्थ्येन कुशलाऽकुशलादि- (धर्म-)निर्वर्तकम् । (तत्-)सामर्थ्यं विनिश्चीयते बीज-हेतुतः । 20

एतेन (प्रत्युक्तं) अपरनिकाय(=सर्वास्तिवाद)मतं—अन्यस्वभावो-ऽन्यस्वभावं फलं जनयति हेतु-प्रत्ययार्थम् । 21

५. पंचमं प्रत्ययसामग्र्यपेक्षं—स्वानेकप्रत्ययान् (अपेक्ष्य) शक्तिविशेषसंचयार्थं बीजं स्वानेकप्रत्यय(=सापेक्षं) भवति । 22

एतेन प्रत्युक्तं तीर्थिकानां मतं—स्वभावो हेतुप्रत्ययाऽनपेक्षो नित्यं युगपद् जनयति फलं (इति) । प्रत्युक्तं च अपरनिकायानां (अतीतानागतसत्तावादिनां)—प्रत्ययानां नित्यं अनभाव (इति मतम्) । 23

*फलात्पूर्वं बीजमिति सौत्रान्तिकाः स्वविराश्च मन्यन्ते । फलासमन्वागतं कारणं इति माहेश्वराः ।

(इदं च) निदर्शयति—प्रत्ययस्यानित्यस्वभावत्वात्, बीजं न नित्यं युगपद् फलं जनयति । 24

६. षष्ठं स्वफलावाहकं—पृथक् पृथक् रूपचित्तादीनां (बीजानां) स्वस्वफलं आकृष्य उत्पत्तेः बीजं भवति । 25

एतेन प्रत्युक्तं तीर्थिकानां मतं—एकमेव कारणं जनयति सर्वं कार्यं; प्रत्युक्तं च अपरनिकाय(=सर्वास्तिवाद) मतं—रूपचित्तादयोऽन्योऽन्य-प्रत्यया भवन्ति । 27

मूल(=आलय)विज्ञानस्य शक्तिविशेषा भवन्ति इमान्येव षड्-लक्षणानि बीजानि, न अन्यानि । बाह्यं ब्रीहि-गोधूमादीनि, विज्ञान-विपरिणामत्वात्, उपचारतो भवन्ति बीजानि नाम, न तु तत्त्वतो बीजानि । 29

(ख) (द्वेधा कारणात्)

यद्बीजबलात् सन्निहितं प्रधानं फलं जायते, तदुच्यते जनकहेतुः (इति) । (तद्धि) आक्षिपति चिरं उच्छेषं कार्यं; न (च) युगपद् अवरुणद्धि, तस्माद् आक्षेपहेतुर्नाम । 1

(ग) बाह्यं आभ्यन्तरं बीजम् ।

आभ्यन्तरं बीजं वासनातः उत्पादितं प्रवर्धितं (वा) फलानां हेतुप्रत्ययलक्षणं भवति । 2

बाह्यं बीजं, (यद्धि) वासनातो भावितं अभवितं वा, अधिपति-प्रत्ययभावेन कार्यं उत्पादयति उपयुक्ते (च) । तस्य(=कार्यस्य) हेतुप्रत्यय आभ्यन्तरं बीजं, फलं हि सामान्या(ऽऽभ्यन्तर)बीजाज्जायते ।

४. भाव्यः, (=वास्यः), भावयित (=वासकः) ।

यद्धिोऽर्थो वास्यते, स भाव्यो (=वास्यो); (यश्च वासयति) (स भावयिता=वासको) नाम । 5

क. वासकः प्रत्येकं भवति चतुर्लक्षणः । बीजाद् उत्पद्यते वर्धते तस्माद् वासना नाम । कतमो नाम चतुर्लक्षणो भाव्यः ? 6—

१. प्रथमः स्थितिस्वभावः—धर्मश्चेत् आदित एकविधसन्तान-स्वभावः, अथास्ति भाव्यः । एतेन लक्षणेन (सौत्रान्तिकानां)

प्रवृत्तिविज्ञानं शब्दवातादयश्च प्रतिषिद्धाः । अस्थितिस्वभावत्वात् न (ते) भाव्याः । ९

२. द्वितीयोऽव्याकृतस्वभावः—धर्मश्चेत् तुल्योऽविरोधी (अथ वासनो) पलम्भाहः, अस्ति भाव्यः । एतेन तथागतस्य अष्टमं आदर्शविज्ञानं पुराणं बीजं एव आलम्बते, न नवां गह्वाति वासनाम् । ११

३. तृतीयः भाव्यस्वभावः—धर्मश्चेत्, सद्भूतस्वभावो (= स्वतंत्रो), न (पाषाण-) घनोऽलं (अथ) प्रकृत्या वासनोपलम्भाहः, तस्माद् अस्ति भाव्यः । एतेन प्रतिक्षिप्तं—चैत्ताः असंस्कृता धर्माश्च पाषाणघनपरतंत्राः । तस्मात् न भाव्या (इति मतम्) । १३

४. चतुर्थोऽस्ति भावयिता अन्योन्यमिथुनस्वभावः—चेत् समानकाले समानाधिकरणे भावयित्रा नाभिन्नो नैवभिन्नो, अथास्ति भाव्यः । एतेन प्रतिक्षिप्तं परकीयं—पूर्वापरक्षणममिथुनस्वभावार्थं (अस्ति) । तस्मात् न वासनाभाव्यम् । विपाकविज्ञानं एव परिपूर्णस्वलक्षणं भवति । १७

ख. चैत्तादयः कथं नाम न भावयितारः ? चतुर्भिः प्रकारैः १७—

१. प्रथमे—अनित्य उत्पादनिरोध- (स्वभावः) धर्मश्चेत् सकारित्रो (बीज) उत्पाद-वृद्धिकरः, अथ स्यात् भावयिता । एतेन प्रतिक्षिप्तः असंस्कृतः, पूर्वापर- (कालयोः) अविकारी न उत्पादनवर्धनसमर्थः । तस्मात् न भावयिता । १९

२. द्वितीये—अधिमात्रक्रियश्चेत्, स्यात् उत्पाद-निरोध-स्वभावः सबलो (धर्मः) वासनाक्षेपकः; अथ स्यात् भावयिता । एतेन प्रतिक्षिप्तानि विपाकचित्त-चैत्तादीनि (= अष्टमं विज्ञानं) दुर्बलानि । तस्मात् न भावयिता । २१

३. तृतीये—वृद्धि-क्षयवाँश्चेत्, स्यात् अधिमात्रबलः वृद्धि-क्षय-भागी वासयिता; अथास्ति भावयिता । एतेन प्रतिक्षिप्तं—बुद्धस्य पारमिताफलः सद्धर्मः, न वर्धते न क्षीयत (इति), (एवम्) न (स्याद्) भावयिता । स चेत् भावयिता, अथ पूर्वापरबुद्धफलं अपरिपूर्णं, हीन-प्रणीतं स्यात् । २५

४. चतुर्थे—भाव्यसहगतगतिश्चेत्, स्याद् भाव्यः समानकाले समानाधिकरणे नाभिन्नः नैवभिन्नः; अथ स्याद् भावयिता । एतेन

प्रतिक्षिप्तं परकीयं—पूर्वापरक्षणो न सहगतार्थः, तस्मान्न भावयिता (इति) । 27

केवलं सप्त प्रवृत्तिविज्ञानानि तच्चैतानि च भवन्ति वृद्धि-क्षययोः सुकारित्रबलानि । परिपूर्णैतच्चतुर्लक्षण(श्चेद्) भवति भावयिता । एवं भावयितुं भाव्यं चेति उभयं विज्ञानं जायते, उभयं निरुध्यति । वासनार्थं स्थापितं भाव्ये बीजे वर्धते, सुगंधतिलबीजवत् ; तस्माद् वासना-भावयित्रुच्यते । 2

ग. बीजानि, धर्माश्च ।

विज्ञानं बीजेभ्यो जातकाले सद्यो भवेत् कारणं, अथ वासना भवति बीजम् । त्रयो धर्मा (भवन्ति) अन्योन्य-हेतु-फला युगपद् (दीप)-वर्तिशिखोपमाः—शिखा जायमाना दहति वर्तिः ; तृणपूलीवद् वाऽन्यो-ऽन्याश्रयाः, हेतु-फलयोग्यौगपद्याद् । न विरोधः—भावयिता जनयति बीजं, बीजं जनयति धर्मं, यथा (हीनयानिकानां मते) सहभूहेतुर्जनयति पुरुषकारफलम् । बीजं पूर्वापर-सजातीयं मिथो जनयति, सभागहेतुवत् आकर्षति निःस्पन्दफलम् । इदं द्वयं कार्येऽस्ति हेतु-प्रत्यय-स्वभावम् । एतद्भिन्ना अपरे धर्मा न हेतु-प्रत्ययाः चेत्, हेतु-प्रत्ययकथनं उपचारवचनेन विज्ञेयम् । 18

इति समासतो व्याख्यातं सर्वबीजकम् । 9

३. आकारः, आलम्बनम् ।

“असंविदितकोपादि-स्थान-विज्ञप्तिकं च तत् ।”

संविन्तिः—संवेदनं अस्ति विज्ञप्तिः । इयं भवति विज्ञानस्य क्रियाऽऽकारा, विज्ञप्तेः क्रियाकारत्वात् । स्थानं अस्ति आधारः—अधिकरणं—भाजनलोकः ; सर्वेषां एतेषां सत्त्वानां संनिश्रयस्थानत्वात् । उपादिः द्विधा, तद्यथा—बीजानि सेन्द्रियकायाश्च । बीजानि सन्ति—निमित्तानि (=आकाराः) नाम, विकल्प-वासना (च) । सेन्द्रियकायाः सन्ति—रूपीन्द्रियाणि, इन्द्रियाधिष्ठानानि चेति द्वयम् । सा उपादिः (=आलयः) भवति विज्ञानपरिगृहीतस्वभावा, समानक्षेमान्तरायत्वात् । उपादिः स्थानं च (इति) उभयं भवति आलम्बनम् । 15

आकारः ।

आलयविज्ञानस्य स्वभावः हेतुप्रत्ययवशात् जातकालेऽन्तरंगतया बीजभावेन विपरिणमते; सेन्द्रियकायः च बहिरंगतया भाजनभावेन विपरिणमते; अथ विपरिणतं स्वालम्बनं भवति, क्रियाकारं प्रतीत्य उत्पत्तिलाभात् । तत्र विज्ञप्तिरस्ति विपाकविज्ञानम् । स्वालम्बने भवति विज्ञप्ति-क्रिया । इयं विज्ञप्ति-क्रिया दर्शनभागे परिगृहीता । 19

क. द्वौ भागौ

अनास्रवं तु विज्ञानं स्व-भावोत्पत्तिकाले सदृशाऽऽलम्बनाऽऽलम्ब-
काकारेण प्रादुर्भवति । तस्मिन् संप्रयुक्ता धर्मा अपि तथा विज्ञेयाः ।
आलम्बना-कार-सदृशं (विज्ञानं) नाम निमित्तभागः । आलम्बका-
कारसदृशं नाम दर्शनभागः । चित्त-चैत्तं चेत् आलम्बनाकारं, (अथ)
न स्यात् ग्राहकं स्वालम्बनगोचरस्य, स्याद्वा एकैकशो ग्राहकं सर्वेषां;
यस्मात् (तस्य) स्वगोचरं अन्यदिव, अन्यद् स्वगोचरमिव 24 । चित्त-चैत्तं
आलम्बकनिमित्तं विना चेत् न स्यात् संवेदकं आकाशादिवत् । आका-
शाद्यपि (स्याद्) वाऽऽलम्बकम् । तस्मात् चित्त-चैत्ते भवेतां द्वयाकारे; तथाहि
(घनव्यूह-) सूत्र उक्तं—26

“बुद्धेरालम्बनं सर्वं, सा कस्यापि न विद्यते ।

तदालम्बकालम्बनं प्रतिभाग-स्वभाववत् ।”* 28

ख. त्रयो भागाः ।

१. स्यान्मतं—(अस्ति) विज्ञानात्पृथग् आलम्बनविषयः । ते (च
पौराणा) आहुः—(१) बाह्योऽर्थोऽस्त्यालम्बनं (विज्ञानस्य); (२)
निमित्तभागो नाम क्रियाकारो; (३) दर्शनभागो नाम (विज्ञान-) द्रव्यम् ।
स्वलक्षणत्वात् सन्ति चित्त-चैत्तानि । चित्तं चैत्तं च समाने, आश्रया-

* शब्दार्थस्तु—“सर्वं एवास्ति बुद्धेरालम्बनं, बुद्धिरालम्बनं न कस्यापि विद्यते ।
बुद्ध्यालम्बनं बुद्ध्यालम्बकं एकैकभागस्वभावं भवति ।” आचार्यः पूषिन् तु—

“वेदकमात्रकं सर्वं वेद्यं जातु न विद्यते ।

वेदक-वेद्यभागौ तु प्रवर्तते स्वयं पृथक् ॥

ऽऽलम्बन-क्रियाकारेषु समाने, द्रव्येऽपि समाने । लक्षणं तु एकैकस्य भिन्नं, संज्ञा-वेदना-विज्ञाना-द्याकाराणां प्रत्येकं भेदात् । 3

२. (ननु) कथं ज्ञायते विज्ञानात् पृथक् आलम्बनविषयः? अथोच्यते-निमित्तभागोऽस्ति आलम्बनं, दर्शनभागो नाम (च) क्रियाकारः ।

(ननु) निमित्तं दर्शनं (च विज्ञानस्य) आश्रयेतां स्वलक्षणं द्रव्यं इति, तदस्ति स्वसंवित्तिभागः? अस्य (भागस्य) अभावे न स्यात् अननुभूतार्थवत् स्वानुस्मरणं चित्त-चैत्तादीनां धर्माणाम् । (अस्मिन् सति) हि स्याद् स्मर्तुं अलम् । चित्तं चैत्तं च तुल्याश्रयेन्द्रियालम्बने; क्रियाकाराः (तु) अन्योन्यं पृथक्, स्पर्श-वेदना-विज्ञानादीनां क्रियाणां अन्योन्यभेदात् । द्रव्यं (=विज्ञानं तत्संप्रयुक्तं च) तुल्यमपि आकारेण तु अन्योन्यभिन्नं, वेदनासंज्ञाविज्ञानादीनां स्वभावभेदात् । 8

३. वस्तुतस्तु चित्त-चैत्तं जातकाले पृथक् पृथक् न्यायेन परीक्षितं, एकैकस्य भवन्ति त्रयो भागाः—प्रमेयं, प्रमाणं, प्रमाणफलं (च); भिन्नत्वात् निमित्त-दर्शनं (भाग-)योरवश्यं स्व-भावाश्रयत्वात् । तथाहि (प्रमाण-)समुच्चय-शास्त्र-कारिकायां (च दिङ्नागेन) उक्तं*10—

“यदाभासं प्रमेयं तत् प्रमाणफलते पुनः ।

ग्राहकाकारसंवित्त्योः; त्रयं नातः पृथक् कृतम् ॥” 13

ग. चत्वारो भागः ।

क, चित्त-चैत्तानां सूक्ष्मतया विभागकरणे, चत्वारो भागाः भवन्ति—त्रयो भागाः पूर्वसदृशाः, चतुर्थोऽथ भवति संवित्तिभागः । एतमन्तरा, कः संवेदयेत् तृतीयम्? चित्तभागत्वात् हि (अयं) स्वसंवेद्यः । 16

ख, पुनश्च, स्वसंवित्तिभागस्य भावे, किं फलं (स्वसंवित्तेः)? प्रमाणं अवश्यं अपेक्षते फलं, तस्मात् न स्यात् दर्शनभागः तृतीयस्य फलं, दर्शनभागस्य वा; तदा प्रमाणाऽपरिगृहीतत्वात् । अतो दर्शनभागस्तृतीयो न स्वसंवित्ति-फलः स्यात्, प्रत्ययत्वात् ।

*“समानालम्बनाकारं प्रमेयं, ग्राहकाकारस्वसंवित्त्योः । प्रमाणं फलं च त्रयं, न भिन्न-स्वभावमिदम् ।”

एतेषां चतुर्णां भागानां आद्यं द्वयं भवत बाह्यं, अन्त्यं द्वयं आभ्यन्तरम् । प्रथमो (निमित्तभाग) एव आलम्बनं, अन्त्यं त्रयं (तु) उभयथा युज्यते । द्वितीयो (दर्शन-) भाग एवास्ति संवित्तिः । प्रथमः प्रमाणं अप्रमाणं वा, प्रत्यक्षं अनुमानं वा । तृतीयः (स्वसंवित्तिभागः) संवेदकः । द्वितीयः, (दर्शन-) चतुर्थसंवित्त्व-संवित्ति-भागौ प्रत्यक्षीकुरुतः तृतीयं एव, नहि द्वितीयं, अनुपयोगात् । तृतीय-चतुर्थौ उभौ, प्रत्यक्ष-परिगृहीतौ ।—तस्मात् आलम्बनालम्बकं चित्त-चैतं चतुर्भागसंगृहीतं सिद्धम् । (एवं स्वीकारे) नास्त्यनवस्थादोषः, नाभिन्न-नैवभिन्नस्य विज्ञप्तिमात्रतायां एव सिद्धेः । 25

(घनव्यूह-) सूत्रे गाथायां (च) उक्तं 25—

“द्विस्वभावं सत्त्व-चित्तं, बाह्याभ्यन्तरभागतः ।

आलम्बनोपलम्भकव्यासक्तमनेकदर्शनम् ॥” 27

अस्या गाथाया अर्थ उच्यते—सत्त्वानां चित्त-स्वभावो द्विभाग-संगताकारः—आभ्यन्तरवत्, बाह्यवत् । सर्वं भवति आलम्बनोपलम्भक-संगतम् । तत्र दर्शनभागस्य सन्ति नानाभेदाः—प्रमाणं अप्रमाणं वा, प्रत्यक्षं अनुमानं वा । दर्शनं तत्र हि अस्ति दर्शनभागः । 1

घ. भागाः त्रयः, द्वौ, एकः ।

एवं (दिङ्नागमतेन) चत्वारो भागाः त्रिषु वा परिगृहीता भवन्ति, चतुर्थस्य स्वसंवित्तिभागस्य तृतीये परिगृहीतत्वात् ; अन्येषु त्रिषु वा सर्वे परिगृहीता भवन्ति, आलम्बकस्वभावत्वात् । 3

दर्शनभागपरिगृहीतो वा अयमर्थः, दर्शनस्य आलम्बनत्वात् । अथवा एकस्मिन् परिगृहीतो भवति स्वभावाभेदात् । तथा हि लंकावतार- (सूत्रे) गाथायां उक्तं* 5—

“स्वचित्ताभिनिवेशेन चित्तं (वै) संप्रवर्तते ।

बहिर्धा नास्ति वै दृश्यं, अतो वै चित्तमात्रकम् ॥” 7

* शब्दार्थस्तु—“स्वचित्ताभिनिवेशेन चित्तं बाह्यालम्बनवत् प्रवर्तते । तत्र नास्ति दृश्यं, तस्मादुच्यते चित्तमात्रकम् ।”

एवं (शास्त्रेषु) अनेकत्र एकं चित्तमात्रं उच्यते । एतस्मिन् चित्तार्थे चैत्ता अपि परिगृहीताः ।

तस्माद् विज्ञानक्रियाकाराऽस्ति विज्ञप्तिः; विज्ञप्तिः (च) अस्ति विज्ञानस्य । 9

२. आलम्बनम् ।

क. अर्थो भवत्यधिकरणम् । विपाकविज्ञानं साधारणाबीजस्य परिपाकवशाद् रूपादिवत् विपरिणम्यते, भाजनलोकाकारेण आभासमानं (तदेव) बाह्यं महाभूतं, तत्कृतं (=भौतिकं) रूपं च । यदपि सत्त्वानां तद् (=विज्ञान)-विपरिणामोऽन्योन्यभिन्नः, लक्षणं तु समानं, अधिकरणस्य अभिन्नत्वात्, यथा सर्वेषां प्रदीपानां प्रकाशा एकाकारेण प्रसरन्ति । 13 (ननु) कानि तानि विपाकविज्ञानानि एतदाकारेण विपरिणम्यन्ते ?

कस्य (चित्=चन्द्रामस्य) मतं—तत् (-सत्त्वानां विपाकविज्ञानम्) । कस्मात् ? तथाहि सूत्र उक्तं 14—

“सर्वेषां सत्त्वानां कर्मोधिपतिबलेन (लोकस्य) सहोत्पादात् ।” 15

कस्यचित्, (=धर्मपालस्य) मतं—एवं चेत् वस्तुतो बुद्धानां बोधि-सत्त्वानां च (विज्ञानानि) अस्मिन् मिश्रित-समल-क्षेत्रे विपरिणम्येरन्; पृथग्जनादीनां हि अन्यत्र अमुष्मिन् परिशुद्धधातौ उत्तमे क्षेत्रे विपरिणम्येरन् । किञ्च, आर्या रूपतो विरक्ता आरूप्यधातौ जायेरन्, नाधरे परावृत्त्य अस्मिन् क्षेत्रे (तेषां विज्ञानानि) विपरिणम्येरन् । अथ किं प्रयोजनं, यस्मात् प्रत्युत्पन्ने विद्यमानाः तेऽमुत्र उत्पत्स्यन्ते, (येषां च) विपाकविज्ञानं विपरिणतं अस्मिन् धातौ ? क्षुद्रक-विभंग-सूत्र उक्तं—“समानकर्मणां सर्वेषां सहविपरिणामात्” (इति, एकेऽभिप्रयन्ति ।

क. एवं चेद् भाजनस्योपसंहारकाले वर्तमान-जनिष्यमाणानां (सत्त्वानां) अभावात् कस्य विपाक-विज्ञानं विपरिणम्येतास्मिन् धातौ । 21

ख. पुनश्च, पृथग्जनानां रूपे विरक्तानां आरूप्यधातौ जातानां, अरूपकायप्रादुर्भावरहितानां, धातौ पूर्वतो विपरिणमने; किं प्रयोजनम् ?

ग (महासांधिकादिवत्) चेदारूप्ये भूमिभाजने च कायः; (अथ) न भवति स्थूलसूक्ष्मयोर्भेदः; न(च)ऽन्योऽन्यसंनिश्रितोऽयं विपरिणामो भवेत् । अथ तस्य किं प्रयोजनम् ?

वस्तुतस्तु, यदि तस्मिन् भाजने रूपकायस्य संनिश्रय-भोगयोर्विद्यमानत्वात्, तत्र (विज्ञान-)विपरिणामो भवति इति, एवं अन्यत्र (धातौ) जातस्य स्वभूमिचेत्रेऽपि विज्ञानं विपरिणम्येत । अथ भाजनलोकस्य उपसंहारे (=विनाशकाले) आदिसर्गे, सत्त्वा अपि न संविद्यमाना भवेयुः । इदमुक्तं (भवति)—यदि सर्वेषां (सत्त्वानां) साधारणो भोगोऽयं (लोकोऽथ); २ देव-मनुष्यादयो दर्शनभेदात् विशेषान् भोगाननुवध्नन्तीति हि विज्ञेयम् । ३

बीजानि ।

सर्वाणि हि सास्त्रवादि-धर्मबीजानि विपाकविज्ञानाश्रितानि विज्ञानस्वभावपरिगृहीतानि, तस्माद् आलम्बनम् । ५

अनास्त्रवधर्मबीजानि यद्यपि तद्विज्ञानाश्रितानि, न तु तत्स्वभावपरिगृहीतानि, तस्मात् न आलम्बनम् । अनालम्बनत्वेऽपि, न तु भूततथत्वात् (विज्ञानाद्) भिन्नं; (तस्माद्) न विज्ञप्तिमात्रताया विरोधः । ८

सेन्द्रियककायः । विपाकविज्ञानं असाधारणलक्षणबीजपरिपाकबलेन रूपीन्द्रिये-न्द्रियाश्रयायतनयोराकारेण विपरिणम्यते । ते महाभूतानि आभ्यन्तराणि रूपाणि च उपादाय, साधारणलक्षणबीजपरिपाकबलेन अन्यकायस्थानेऽपि विपरिणम्यन्ते । नैतदेवं चेत् न श्रूयेरन् परकीया भोगाः ।

केषांचित् (=स्थिरमतेः) मते, (परकीयं) इन्द्रियमिव विपरिणम्यते । उक्तं (असंगेन) मध्यान्तविभंगे—“स्वैरिव हि परकीय-पंचेन्द्रियाकारेण प्रादुर्भवति ।” केषांचित् (=धर्मपालस्य) तु मते, आत्मानुपयोगात् केवलं परेन्द्रियाश्रयायतनाकारेण विपरिणम्यते । स्वकीयं विज्ञानं परकीयाणां पञ्चानां इन्द्रियाणां, परकीयं (च) स्वीयानां आकारेण विपरिणम्यते; तस्मात् अपरभूमौ जातस्य निवृत्तस्य वा शव इहाऽपि अनुवर्तते । १५

ग. नाना प्रश्नाः ।

१. उक्तपूर्व—कर्मबलेन विपरिणम्यते बाह्यभाजनाकारेण आभ्यन्तरकायाकारेण नानाधातु-भूमिषु । समाध्यादिवलेन यदा भाजनकायाकारेण विपरिणम्यते धातु-भूमिषु, अथ स्वपरानियतं भवति । (विज्ञान-)-विपरिणामं काय-भाजनं प्रायेण सर्वदाऽनुप्रवर्तते । शब्द-प्रभादयोऽपि-

परिणामा अधिकांशतोऽचिरकालिकाः, वर्तमानप्रत्ययबलोपघातोत्पन्नत्वात् । 18

३. समासतः कथिता अस्य (अष्टम-) विज्ञानस्य विपरिणामाः—सास्त्रवबीजानि (दश) रूपायतनानि, धर्मायतनोद्भूतं सद्भूतं रूपञ्च ।

कथमिदं विज्ञानं न चित्त-चैत्ताद्या(=विप्रयुक्तसंस्कृताभावा)ऽकारेण विपरिणम्यते आलम्बते च (तानि) ? सास्त्रवं विज्ञानं समासतो द्विधा विपरिणम्यते—हेतुप्रत्ययबशात् एको विपरिणामः; द्वितीयो विकल्पबशात् । प्रथमे विपरिणामे हि भवति कारित्रं, अन्ये केवलं (प्रज्ञप्ति-) विषयः । विपाकविज्ञानं तु हेतुप्रत्ययबशादेव विपरिणम्यते । (अथ) रूपादीनां भवति सद्भूतं कारित्रम् 24 । चित्ताद्याकारेण विपरिणमने तद् न सद्भूतकारित्रं निमित्तभागानां चित्तादीनां अनालम्बनत्वात् ।

ननु (अवश्यं) तेषां सद्भूतं कारित्रम् ? तस्मात् (=विज्ञानात्) नहि जायते विपरिणाम्यन्ते; (तस्मात्) असंस्कृतादयोऽसद्भूत-कारित्राः । अतो विपाकविज्ञाने न गृहीताः चित्तादयः । यावद् अनास्रवभूमौ (तावद्) अनुत्तर-प्रज्ञया संप्रयुक्तम् । निर्विकल्पकमपि सद्भूत-कारित्रत्वे तु न प्रादुर्भावयति निमित्तं; अन्यथा बुद्धा न स्युः सर्वज्ञाः ।

तस्मात् कामरूपधात्वोः सास्त्रव-भूमिकस्यास्य विपाकविज्ञानं भाजनकायः, अनास्रवबीजं (इति) त्रीण्येव भवन्ति आलम्बनानि । आरूप्यधातौ आलम्बते सास्त्रवं बीजं, रूपतो विरागात् न (अपेक्षते) कर्मफलं रूपं; समाधिकृते रूपे न हेतुविरोधः ।

तद् विज्ञानं इदं रूपं आलम्बनभावेन उपगृह्णाति इति न विज्ञेयम् । अस्यस्य क्रियाकारोऽतिसूक्ष्मः, तस्माद् असंविदितम् । अथवास्याऽऽभ्यन्तरस्याऽऽलम्बनस्य अतिसूक्ष्मत्वाद्, बाह्यस्याऽऽलम्बनस्य भाजनलोकस्य वा दुर्मेयत्वात् (इदं) असंविदितं नाम । 5

कथं अस्ति विज्ञानं आलम्बनविषयग्राहकं, यदि विज्ञानस्य क्रियाकारं असंविदितम् ? (स्थविराणां-) निरोधसमापत्तौ कायं अहिंत्वा विज्ञानं तिष्ठती(ति) मतमिव; अभ्युपगम्यते तु (भवता) निरोधसमापतिः सचित्तका सत्त्वपरिगृहीतत्वात् । एवमेव असंज्ञादिभूमिकाले चित्तं भवति (इति) विज्ञेयम् । 8

(इति) विज्ञप्तिमात्रतासिद्धिशास्त्रे द्वितीयः खंडः ॥२॥

(अथ) धर्मपालादिबोधिसत्त्वैःकृते,
अधिगत(राजा)SSङ्गेन त्रिपिटकधर्माचार्येण युन्-च्चेङ्का (च) अनूदिते
विज्ञप्तिमात्रतासिद्धि-शास्त्रे
तृतीयः खंडः



४. संप्रयुक्ताः ।

आलयविज्ञानस्य पंच भेदाः ।

कतिभिः चैतैः इदं विज्ञानं अस्ति संप्रयुक्तम् ?—

“सदा स्पर्श-मनस्कार-वित्-संज्ञा-चेतनान्वितम् ।”

आलयविज्ञानं अनादिकालतः यावदाश्रयपरावृत्ति सर्वासु भूमिषु सर्वदा एतैः पंचभिः चैतैः संप्रयुक्तं भवति । सर्वत्र चित्ते विद्यमानत्वात् सर्वगं (इति) 15

(१) स्पर्शः

स्पर्शोऽस्ति त्रयाणां (=इन्द्रिय-विषय-विज्ञानानां) सन्निपातः, विकार-परिच्छेदः, (स च) चित्त-चैत्तानां आलम्बनेन सह संगमयिता, वेदना-संज्ञा-चेतनादिस्वभावः कर्माश्रयः । अर्थात्—इन्द्रियं, विषयः, विज्ञानं (चेति त्रयाणां) अन्योऽन्यानुगतत्वात् त्रिकसन्निपातो नाम । अनुसरति च तेषां योगं, तस्मात् स्पर्शः त्रिकसन्निपातो नाम । 19

विकारः ।—(स्पर्शा)ऽवस्थानंतरं भवति त्रयाणां चित्त-चैत्त-जननसामर्थ्यं, तद्धि (सामर्थ्यं) विकार उच्यते । 19

विकार-परिच्छेदः ।—१. स्पर्शः तेन विकारेण सदृशः, तस्मात् परिच्छेद उच्यते । इन्द्रियविकारवशाद् आक्षिप्तः स्पर्शस्य उत्पादः (स) प्रधानः तद्विज्ञाना-लम्बने । तस्माद्धि (अभिधर्म-) समुच्चय-शास्त्रादौ उक्तं—“इन्द्रिय-विकार-परिच्छेदाः, चित्त-चैत्तान् सन्निपातयितुं स्पृशन्ति आलम्बनं; (स हि) स्पर्शस्वभावः ।” 22

२. चैत्तानां जननसामर्थ्येऽनुकूलत्वात् (स्पर्शो) वेदनादीन् (=मनस्कार-वेदना-संज्ञा-चेतनाः) कर्मणां सन्निश्रयतया उपयुक्ते । संवर्त-विवर्त-सूत्र उक्तं—“वेदना-संज्ञा-संस्कार-स्कन्धा हि स्पर्श उपयुज्यते

प्रत्ययतया ।” तस्माद् हि उक्तं (सूत्रे)—विज्ञानं स्पर्श-वेदनादीनां द्विचतुर्णां हेतूनां योगेन जायते । 26

३. योग(-शास्त्रे)ऽपि उक्तं—“(स्पर्शः) भवति वेदना-संज्ञा-चेतनानां आश्रयः ।”— चेतनाया हि संस्कार-स्कन्धे प्रधानस्वामित्वात्; एतस्मिन् (चेतना-)शब्देऽन्ये (ऽपि संस्कारस्कन्धीयाः चैत्ताः) परिगृहीताः । 1

४. (अभिधर्म-)समुच्चय-शास्त्र (Nanjio's, 1199) उक्तं—

“वेदनाश्रयः स्पर्शः, वेदनोत्पादे अनुत्तरत्वात् । स्पर्श (शब्देन) गृह्यते मनोज्ञादिनिमित्तं; वेदनया गृह्यते सातादि-निमित्तं; (स्पर्शो)ऽन्तरतमोऽन्याभ्यां, (वेदनाया) उत्पादे (ऽस्य) प्राधान्यात् ।” 4

५. स्पर्श-स्वभावस्तु असद्भूतः परिकल्पितः, षड्विधानां धर्माणां चैतस्वभावत्वात्, भोगे परिगृहीतत्वाद्, प्रत्ययत्वात् (प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादे) वेदनादिवत् । 5

(२) मनस्कारः ।

मनस्कारः स्वभावेन न त्रिकसन्निपातादभिन्नो, अस्त्याभोगचित्त-स्वभावः, आलम्बने चित्तावर्जनं (अस्य) कर्म । स एवं उत्पादार्थं चित्तबीजं प्रेरयति, आवर्जयति (च) आलम्बनीकर्तुं, तस्माद् उच्यते मनस्कार (इति) । 7

यदि च अयमपि आवर्जकः चैत्तानां उत्पादे, (अथापि) चित्तं अधिपतिः, तस्माद् एव उक्तं चित्तावर्जकं (इति) । ए के (=संघमद्रः) वदन्ति—मनस्कारोऽन्यस्यालम्बनस्य संगमे प्रवर्तकः, एकस्मिन् वाऽऽलम्बने चित्तस्थितिकारकः तस्मात् मनस्कारो नाम । तदुभयं असमंजसं, असर्वगत्वात् समाधिनिर्विशेषत्वात् (च) । 11

(३). वेदना ।

वेदनाऽस्त्यनुभव आलम्बनस्य, साताऽसातानुभय-लक्षणा । स्वभावतोऽस्याः कर्म रागोत्पादनं—संप्रयोग-विप्रयोगानुभयरगोत्पादनं हि 12

केचित् (=संघमद्र) एवं मन्वते—वेदना द्विधा, एका विषय-वेदना=आलम्बनानुभवो वा; द्वितीया स्वभाववेदना=सद्यः स्पर्शानुभवो

वा । स्वभाववेदनैवास्ति वेदना, स्वलक्षणत्वात्; विषयवेदना न, परलक्षण-समत्वात् ।

तन्मतं न न्याय्यं—(१) वेदनया हि सहजस्पर्शानामनुपलम्भात् । (२) समानस्पर्शजा वेदनोच्यते चेद्, स्पर्शः निष्पन्दफलैरिव वेदनास्वभावः स्यात् । (३) पुनश्च, हेतोर्वेदना हि हेतुवेदना नाम, (सा) कथं स्वभाववेदना उच्यते ? (४) चेदुच्येत—राजा यथा स्वराष्ट्रप्रदेशं सर्वं भुङ्क्ते (तथा) वेदना-स्वभावेन भुङ्जीत स्पर्शजा (ऽपि), (तस्मात्) स्वभाववेदना नाम । अयमपि अहेतुः, स्वमतविरोधाद् अस्वीकारात् (च) । (५) चेत्, अपरित्यक्तस्वभावतया स्वभाववेदना नाम, सर्वे धर्माः स्युः स्वभाव-वेदना; तस्मात्तन्मतं बालोपलापन-मात्रम् । 21

वस्तुतस्तु, विषयवेदना अनन्यसाधारणलक्षणा, वेदयते सातादिलक्षणं; अनन्यसाधारणत्वात् अस्ति विषयभावना स्वलक्षणा नाम । 22

(४). संज्ञा ।

संज्ञा अस्ति विषय(=आलम्बन)-निमित्तोद्ग्रहणस्वभावा, नाना-ऽभिधान-प्रज्ञप्ति-कर्मिका । विषयानुलक्षणस्य व्यवस्थितत्वेऽनुजायेरन् नानाऽभिधानप्रज्ञप्तयः । 24

(५). चेतना ।

चेतनाऽस्ति चित्ताऽभिसंस्कारस्वभावं कर्म, (अस्याः) कुशलादिषु चित्तकर्मसु नियोजनम् । इयं स्वचित्तं कुशलादिषु कर्मसु नियुज्य विषयं स्वहेत्वाद्याकारेण उपादत्ते । 26

इमे (=स्पर्शादयः) हि पंच सर्वगाः, तत्परिगृहीतत्वात् । 27

२. आलयविज्ञान-वेदना ।

क. आलयविज्ञानं किल संप्रयुक्तं, तत्सर्वगलक्षणं (इति) परस्तात् सविस्तरं व्याख्यास्यते ।

इमे स्पर्शादयः पंच भवन्ति विपाकविज्ञानं संस्कारलक्षणम् । भिन्ना अपि काले तु तुल्यालम्बनाश्रयाः तुल्यद्रव्याः, तस्मात् संप्रयुक्ता नाम । इदं विज्ञानं संस्कार(=क्रिया)लक्षणं अपदुतमं अनुकूलप्रतिकूलाकारेणापरिच्छेद्यम् । पंच(पेक्षया) सूक्ष्ममेकजातीयं अनुसंततं प्रवृत्तं, तस्मात् उपेक्षावेदनासंप्रयुक्तमेव भवति । 2

ख. पुनश्चैतत्संप्रयुक्ता वेदना केवलं विपाकः, प्रागाक्षेपककर्मणा प्रत्युपस्थितं प्रत्ययमनपेक्ष्यानुप्रवर्तते; कुशलाऽकुशल(कर्म)-बलानुप्रवृत्तत्वात्, केवलं अस्ति उपेक्षावेदना । दुःखा सुखा (इति) उभे वेदने स्तो विपाकजे, न तु विपाकः, प्रत्युपस्थितप्रत्ययापेक्षत्वात् नैतत्संप्रयुक्ते । 5

ग. पुनश्च, निश्चयं विपरिणामनात् एतस्मिन् आलयविज्ञाने स्वान्तरात्मतया सत्त्वानां शाश्वतदृष्टिर्भवति । सुख-दुःखोभयवेदना-संप्रयुक्तं चेदथ न स्यात् निश्चयं विपरिणामनः, कथं गृह्येतात्मतया ? तस्मादियं उपेक्षावेदना एव संप्रयुक्ता भवति । इत्थं चेद् इदं विज्ञानं अपि न भवति दुष्कर्मविपाकः

घ. यस्मात् (भवन्-) मते—कुशलं कर्म उपेक्षावेदनाया उत्पादकं; इदमपि सुख-दुःखजात्यविरोधात् कुशलाकुशलोभयावर्जकैः अव्याकृतैः धर्मेरेव कथं (न) स्याद् उपेक्षावेदना ? 10

३. अन्ये चैताः ।

क. इदं (आलय-) विज्ञानं न विनियतविषयादि (पञ्च) चित्त-संप्रयुक्तं, अन्योन्यविरोधात् । (१) हृन्दोऽभिप्रेते वस्तुन्यभिलाषः; इदं विज्ञानं तु स्वरसेन प्रवर्ततेऽनभिलाष(भूतञ्च) । (२) अधिमोक्षोऽवधारणं सुविनिश्चितस्य वस्तुनः, इदं विज्ञानं (तु) अनवधारणमपटु । (३) स्मृतिः संस्तुतस्य वस्तुनोऽभिस्मरणं, इदं विज्ञानं वर्ततेऽपटु दुर्बलं अविस्पष्टमन-नुस्मरणम् । (४) समाधिः चित्तस्य एकस्मिन्नर्थे आसंजनं (=एकाग्रता); इदं विज्ञानं (तु) स्वरसेन प्रतिक्षणं अन्यविषयम् । (५) प्रज्ञा केवलं वस्तुगुणादिप्रविचये प्रवर्तते; इदं विज्ञानं (तु) सूक्ष्मं अविस्पष्टं अप्रविचायकम् । 16

ख. तस्माद् इदं (=आलयविज्ञानं) नास्ति पृथगालम्बनसंप्रयुक्तम् । केवलं विपाकस्वभावत्वात्, इदं विज्ञानं कुशलाकुशलादि- (चैत्त) संप्रयुक्तम् ।

ग. कौकृत्यादयश्चत्वारोऽव्याकृतस्वभावाः विच्छिन्नाः, तस्मात् न विपाकाः । 19



